To my mentors
Professor Ernst Scheyer and Dr. Sherman Lee

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE BUDDHIST SCULPTURE OF ORISSA

Vol. 1 (Text)

THOMAS EUGENE DONALDSON



INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE ARTS
ABHINAV PUBLICATIONS

First published in India 2001

Publishers
Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts
Janpath, New Delhi-110001
Shakti Malik
Abhinav Publications
E-37, Hauz Khas
New Delhi-110016 (INDIA)
Phones: 6566387, 6562784, 6524658
Fax: 91-11-6857009
e-mail: shakti@nde.vsnl.net.in
abhinav.abhinaf@axcess.net.in

ISBN 81-7017-375-2 (Set)
ISBN 81-7017-406-6 (Text)

Phototypeset in Garamond 10 pt. by
Tara Chand Sons
Naraina, New Delhi-110028

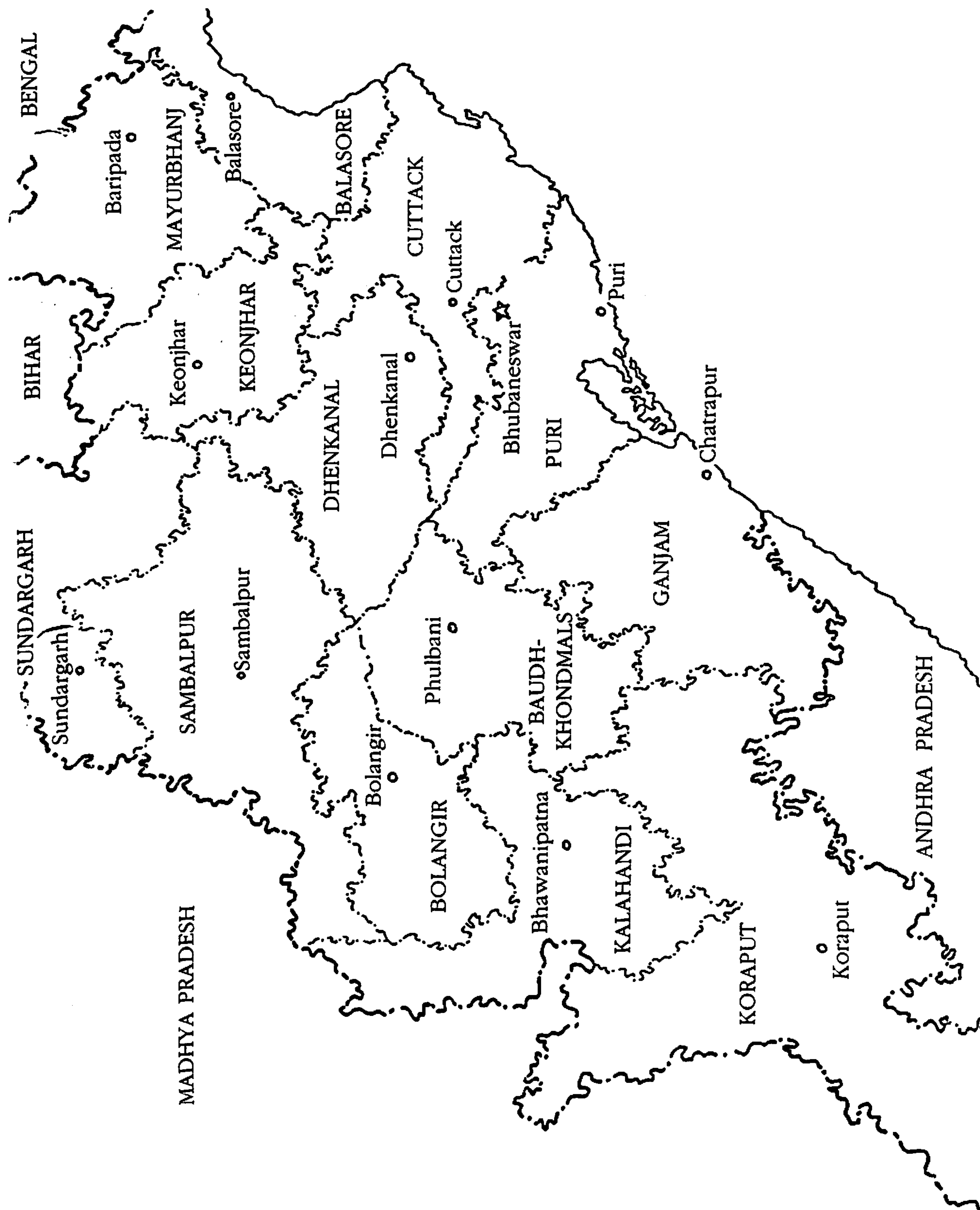
Printed at
D.K. Fine Art Press Pvt. Ltd.
Ashok Vihar
Delhi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to graduate students Nida Marcinkevicius and George McCann for their help in preparing the bibliography and indexes for this manuscript. I am greatly indebted to B.K. Rath of the Orissa State Archaeology, G.C. Chauley of the Archaeological Survey of India, Bhubaneswar Circle, H.C. Das of the Orissa State Museum, and K.S. Behera of Utkal University for valuable information and help in locating various sites, and to Eskay Mohanty in helping me to reach these sites. I want to thank Sasanka Mohanty for taking photographs of the rock-cut images at Udayagiri. Janice Leoshko of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Rob Linrothe of the University of Chicago made numerous valuable suggestions in respect to iconographic problems of specific images.

Field research for this manuscript was partially supported by the Research and Creative Activities Committee of Cleveland State University.

I especially want to thank Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, Academic Director, and Dr. Lalit M. Gujral, Consultant, the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts for their invaluable help, encouragement, and financial assistance in securing a publisher and bringing this work to fruition.



MAP OF ORISSA
showing modern districts and district headquarters

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIIS	American Institute of Indian Studies (Varanasi)
AITMS	Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology Series
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASIAR	Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JAHRS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
JKHRS	Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
NSP	Niṣpannayogāvalī
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research Journal
OSM	Orissa State Museum (Bhubaneswar)
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SBH	Sacred Books of the Hindus
SDO	Sub-Divisional Officer's compound (Jājpur)
STTS	Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha

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INTRODUCTION

With the recent publication of the excavations carried out at Ratnagiri some twenty years earlier by the Archaeological Survey of India[1] and the ongoing work at Udayagiri and Lalitagiri, it is hoped that more attention will be focused on the Buddhist art of Orissa. For the most part scholars, including myself, have concentrated on the Brahmanical art of Orissa, partially due to its greater visibility and accessibility in the form of extant temples which dot the countryside. Thus, very little attention has been paid to Buddhist sites, as noted by Debala Mitra, "which also stand in need of scientific excavations. To judge, however, by the numerous Buddhist images and mounds, Buddhist remains in the State are indeed extensive and would form, when unearthed, a substantial part of the Buddhist heritage of India."[2] Although Orissa nourished the faith long after the Muslim conquest of India, even being a refuge for Buddhists fleeing from the Muslim onslaught in the adjacent areas such as Bihar/Bengal,[3] patronage was especially strong during the Bhauma-kara period (A.D. 736-931) at which time her contribution towards Vajrayāna, according to D. Mitra, was overwhelming. The construction of temples and monasteries continued even as late as the reign of Mukundadeva (A.D. 1558-68), as recorded by Tāranātha,[4] though patronage obviously was sporadic as it is stated that this king had revived the religion after it had suffered reverses at the hands of king Pratāparudradeva (A.D. 1497-1540).

In addition to the excavations at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri, smaller excavations have been carried out by the Orissa State Archaeology at Kuruma (near Koṇārak) and at Brahmavāṇa (near Kalanapur) on the Citrotpalā river while chance discoveries have unearthed a hoard of bronzes at Acutrajpur (near Banpur) and a monastery complex at Langudi hillock (near Salipur). Other recent finds include stone images retrieved from rivers or canals as at Nāgaspur and Tārāpur. Excavations supposedly will begin at Aragarh in the near future while other promising sites, such as Vajragiri and Solaṁpur, are patiently waiting their turn. It is thus obvious that the study of the Buddhist art of Orissa is still in its infancy. Although there are numerous sites scattered throughout the countryside, unfortunately many of them have been plundered, the surface images being removed to various villages, private collections and museums, so that their original find spot is often unknown. Due to the veritable lack of dated inscriptions, dating has to be based primarily on stylistic analysis and thus must be considered tentative until more excavations can be undertaken and the results of those already conducted are more fully published. Due to the paucity of architectural remains, this study will concentrate on the sculptural finds.

Except for the early phase at Lalitagiri, only recently excavated and as yet unpublished,

the overwhelming majority of the Buddhist images from Orissa correspond in date to a similar intense period of Brahmanical activity and there is little doubt that there must have been keen competition and rivalry between these two religions for patronage as well as for converts. It is also a period dominated by Śākta/Tantra concepts and incessant experimentation with new and esoteric forms of deities created to meet the changing needs of society. As noted by one scholar:

> From the close study of images and also liturgical literature it is apparent that the Mahāyānists were determined to win over the masses saturated with Brahmanical concepts by bringing the religion within their reach and conceding to them what they expected from the Brahmanical deities, even though such a concession would require a radical change in the religion.[5]

She further states that the Mahāyānists and afterwards the Vajrayānists, in order to make their religion attractive and acceptable to the maximum number of people from all ethnic groups, including aboriginal and tribal, "introduced the Buddhist counterparts of the Brahmanical and folk deities who would bestow on the votaries what the latter so long got or expected from the Brahmanical gods and goddesses and folk divinities." Thus, M. Ghosh continues,

> to counteract the overpowering, ever-spreading and all-pervading forces of Brahmanism, the Buddhists did not hesitate, even at the cost of their original precepts, to take over the concepts and even iconography of many of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses...In their frenzied zeal to obtain supremacy by drawing people of all walks of life away from the Brahmanical fold, the Vajrayānists took pains to make their pantheon as comprehensive as possible by incorporating all possible iconographic concepts from different religions in order to cater to all tastes and religious temperaments.[6]

This process, of course, was reciprocal as the Hindus likewise borrowed or adopted Buddhist iconographical concepts and deities to similarly make their pantheon as comprehensive and attractive as possible. This reciprocal influence is thus a major underlying thread running through this manuscript in respect to iconographic peculiarities of individual deities. In that both religions, expanding at the same time, are responding to, and drawing from, a common Indian heritage, similarities in respect to concept and purpose are to be expected. In some cases each is incorporating into its pantheon Pan-Indian concepts, such as river-, serpent- and fertility-deities, while in other cases the evolving deities represent parallel developments where it is not always possible to determine who is influencing whom, as in the case of Tārā and Durgā.

Unfortunately very little in the way of early textual iconographic source material has survived in India so that the identification of specific images in many cases has to remain tentative. Where possible identification is based upon descriptions found in available texts, such as the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and the *Sādhanamālā*, though quite obviously these are incomplete compendiums which may be more regional in scope than comprehensive. Although later in date than most of the images, these texts do preserve earlier descriptions culled from various sources and thus are invaluable in the study of Buddhist iconography. Other source material, used primarily for comparative study rather than positive identification, include lost texts which were translated and preserved or elaborated upon in Tibet, China and Japan. In that some of the most popular iconographic forms of Buddhist deities appearing in Orissan sculpture do not find mention in these texts, or differ still from even later Sanskrit texts or

inscribed images, it is obvious that other iconographical source material or local traditions, whether textual, oral or visual, must have been operative at specific locales but have not survived. The study of regional contributions in the form of surviving concrete images is thus essential in constructing a more comprehensive picture of Buddhist iconographic traditions throughout India and the Buddhist world. Indeed, the images themselves may have served as incipient sources for the texts.[7] Hopefully this modest study on the surviving Buddhist sculpture of Orissa will help in this construction and increase our overall knowledge of Buddhist iconography.

References

[1]Debala Mitra, "Ratnagiri (1958-61)", *MASI*, No. 80, 2 vols. (New Delhi, 1981, 1983).

[2]Debala Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur, Orissa* (Delhi, 1978), p. 4.

[3]Kedarnath Mahapatra, "King Narasiṁha Eulogised in the Ekāvalī of Vidyādhara", *OHRJ*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (1959), p. 120.

[4]Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta, 1971), p. 223.

[5]Mallar Ghosh, *Development of Buddhist Iconography in Eastern India: A Study of Tārā, Prajñās of Five Tathāgatas and Bhṛkuṭī* (New Delhi, 1980), p. 15.

[6]*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

[7]My major emphasis is thus on concrete imagery. For those more interested in religious practices, sectarian definitions, ideology, etc., I refer the reader to Nancy Hock, "Buddhist Ideology and the Sculpture of Ratnagiri, 7th through 13th Century", Ph.D. dissertation, University of California (Berkeley, 1987); Rob Linrothe, "Compassionate Malevolence: Wrathful Deities in Esoteric Buddhist Art", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago (1992); Gregory Schopen, "The Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa and Vimaloṣṇīṣa Dhāraṇīs in Indian Inscriptions", *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 3 (1980), 119-49; and David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1987).

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE BUDDHIST SCULPTURE OF ORISSA

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. EARLY HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Even though the Buddha did not personally visit Orissa, according to early Vinaya texts two merchants of Ukkala—Tapassu and Bhallika—became the first lay disciples of the Buddha. These two merchants, on their way to Madhyadeśa with five hundred trading carts, met the Buddha under the *rājayātana* tree on the last day of the seventh week after his Enlightenment. Being directed to pay reverence to the Buddha by a spirit of their departed relative, they readily obeyed and offered him rice-cakes and honey. As related in the commentary of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, the Buddha gave them eight handfuls of his hair which the merchants took home to their native city (*Asitāñjana*) where they deposited it in a magnificent *caitya* erected for this purpose. According to the commentary of the *Theragātha* these two merchants also visited the Buddha at Rājagṛha. In time, Tapassu became a *sotāpañña* and, as a *devāchika-upāsaka*, was included in the list of eminent *upāsakas* while Bhallika entered the *saṅgha* and became an *arhat*. The *Pūjāvalīya* of Śrī Lanka records that Tapassu and Bhallika, sometime after their conversion, visited the east coast of Śrī Lanka where they erected a *caitya* to commemorate their visit.[1]

Although Ukkala is most likely a variant form of Utkala (Orissa), later texts and traditions vary as to its location. Burmese legends, for example, identify Ukkala as a city in the delta of the Irrawaddy, while traditions of the Mahāsaṅghika schools, as recorded in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, place Ukkala in northwest India, the former making them inhabitants of Silukṣa (i.e., Śilā in Gandhara).[2] In the 7th century the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) likewise places their homeland in the northwest, identifying two cities north and west of Balkh.[3]

Further evidence of the early appearance of Buddhism in Orissa is recorded in the *Dathavaṁśa*, a quasi religio-historical record of Śrī Lanka dating to the early 4th century. In its record of the distribution of the sacred relics of the Buddha, it gives a detailed account of a tooth relic taken by Khema to the court of Brahmadatta, the king of Kaliṅga (southern Orissa, northern Andhra Pradesh), who built a magnificent *caitya* over it at his capital Dantapura.[4]

Despite these early references, however, Orissa appears not to have been strongly affected by Buddhism prior to the conquest of Aśoka (*circa* 273-236 B.C.), though from a passage of the Major Rock Edict no. XIII of Aśoka, as noted by D. Mitra, it is apparent that there were *śramaṇas* along with adherents of other sects in Kaliṅga at this time.[5] It was during the rule of Aśoka, as stated by N.K. Sahu, "that a thorough and systematic propaganda was carried out by the protagonists of different schools, and Buddhism made considerable headway in this territory."[6] Tissa, the brother of Aśoka, reportedly selected Kaliṅga for his place of retirement and the emperor is believed to have constructed for him a monastery known as the Bhojakagiri-*vihāra*, which became the centre of activities of the Thera school. Dhammarakhita, Tissa's preceptor, came to Kalinga to spend his last days with Tissa and other monks in this monastery.[7] According to Hiuen Tsang, Aśoka built more than ten *stūpas* in Wu(U)-t'u (Oḍra) át places where the Buddha had preached but, considering there are no references to Buddha's visit to Orissa in early accounts, it is not possible to accept them as commemorative of such a visit.[8] According to Tāranātha, a wealthy *brāhmaṇa* named Rāghava lived in Oḍiviśa (Orissa) during the period of the grandson of Aśoka. He became a follower of Buddhism and was visited by the *arhat* Posada who, at the request of Rāghava, had about eighty-thousand *arhats* assemble in his house where they were entertained for three years.[9]

Although literary evidences in reference to Aśoka's missionary activities in Orissa are scant, there are some remnants of his monuments which bear ample witness to such activities, including his rock edicts at Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa, a pillar at Bhubaneswar (now converted into a huge Śiva-liṅga enshrined in the Bhāskareśvara temple), a bell capital found lying in the Aśoka Jhara (tank) near the Rāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, and an elephant emerging from a large rock at Dhauli.[10] For the most part, however, there is very little archaeological material yet discovered, dating to the Maurya period and the following centuries, that testifies to the early development of Buddhism in Orissa, certainly nothing comparable to the Jaina caves on Udayagiri/Khandagiri hills dating to the reign of Kharavela (*circa* 1st century B.C.). The best surviving remnants are *stūpa* railings dug up near the Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar (fig. 1), four *Yakṣa* figures which possibly formed part of a *toraṇa*, and numerous scattered *nāga/nāgī* figures.

That Buddhism was spreading throughout Orissa in the early centuries of the Christian era is evident in various inscriptions, including the Bhadrak stone inscription of Mahārāja Gaṇa, dated on palaeographic grounds to the 3rd century, which records that some charities were granted by a king to a Buddhist *śramaṇa*—a certain Ārya Saṅgha,[11] while the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the fourteenth regnal year of the Iksvaku king Vīrapuruṣadatta (second-half of the 3rd century) refers to Śrī Lanka monks preaching in Toṣalī.[12] Although these missionaries were evidently preaching the Hinayāna doctrine, from the *Gaṇḍavyūha* it appears that Mahāyāna was also being propagated in Toṣalī at this time. According to this text, Toṣalī was noted as the sphere of intensive missionary and benevolent activities of an eminent monk named Sarvagāmin who had an *ārāma* on the adjacent Surabha hill. Sudhana, a devotee of Mañjuśrī, was instructed by Upāsikā Acalāsthirā to go there to find out solutions to his quest to attain Bodhisattvahood and how to conduct oneself to that end.[13]

Recent excavations at Lalitagiri in the Asia hills of Cuttack district have yielded an early apsidal temple[14] along with an inscription on a pedestal which has tentatively been dated to the 2nd century A.D. that substantiates they early existence of Buddhism in this area while the nucleus of the Mahāyāna Buddhist complex at Ratnagiri in the same hill range dates to at least as early as the Gupta period. A notice of Ratnagiri at its early stage is recorded by Tāranātha:

> Now, near the coast of the ocean, on the top of a hill in the country of Oḍiviśa in the east, king Buddhapakṣa, in the latter part of his life, built a temple called Ratnagiri. He prepared three copies of each of the scriptual works of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and kept these in the temple. He established there eight great centres for the doctrine and maintained five hundred monks.[15]

Although the name of Buddhapakṣa has not yet been traced in Indian historical literature and inscriptions, from Tāranātha's account he was earlier than king Harṣavardhana. As a zealous advocate of Buddhism, he was credited with the restoration of the glory of the faith which had eclipsed due to the activities of Hunimanta (Hūṇa king). According to Nalinaksa Dutt, Buddhapakṣa was a nickname of the Gupta Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya (early 6th century A.D.) a name "given to him by the Buddhists as a patron of Buddhism and an enemy of the Hunas who were anti-Buddhists."[16] Although the excavation at Ratnagiri did not yield any epigraphic record to connect the foundation of the complex with Narasimha-gupta Baladitya, whose dominion included Orissa, or with the name of any ruler, the data derived from the excavations, as noted by D. Mitra, "go well with the epoch of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya." The earliest available Buddhist inscriptions at the site, recording the text of the *Pratīyasamutpāda-sūtra* occasionally combined with the Buddhist creed and originally deposited within *stūpas*, she continues, "palaeographically belong to the latter part of the Gupta period."[17]

Testimony to a Mahāyāna centre existing at Jayarampur in northern Balasore district, near the mouth of the Subarnarekhā river, as early as the 6th century is recorded in a copper-plate inscription of the time of Mahārājadhirāja Gopachandra (*circa* 5th-6th century), dating to the first regnal year. According to this charter, Achyuta (a subordinate king under Gopachandra) granted the village of Śvetabālikā to the Mahāyānist *bhikṣu-saṅgha* for constructing a *vihāra* at Bodhipadraka (Jayarampur) in favour of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara,[18] suggesting that a Buddhist establishment had already existed at Jayarampur prior to the issue of the charter.[19] The site is mostly denuded though a considerable number of bricks, a metal image of the Buddha and a stone goddess, as well as the charter, were recovered by the villagers. From the charter it is evident that there was full co-operation among the Buddhists and brāhmaṇas at this time as students, who used to learn the Vedas and the Smrti-*śāstras*, lived in the *vihāra*.[20]

Religious harmony is also suggested in the Asanapat stone inscription of Śatrubhañja which records that Mahārāja Śatrubhañja of the Nāga dynasty, a devout worshipper of Śiva, patronized and built dwellings and *vihāras* for *bhikṣus* (Buddhist mendicants), *nirgranthikas* (Jain mendicants) and other mendicants as well as for *brāhmaṇas*.[21]

With the conquest of Orissa by Śaśāṅka at the beginning of the 7th century, this harmony was shattered. Śaśāṅka, who is said to have demolished Buddhist monasteries in large numbers,[22] is condemned by the Buddhist community and praised by the Śaivas. In the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, for example, it is said:

> Then Soma (Śaśāṅka) an unparalleled hero will become king upto Benares and beyond. He of wicked intellect, will destroy the beautiful image of Buddha. He of the wicked intellect enamoured of the words of the Tīrthikas, will burn that great bridge of religion (Dharma) as prophesied by the former Jinas (Buddhas). Then, that angry and greedy evil-doer of false notion and bad opinion fell down all the monasteries, gardens and caityas, and rest-houses of the Nirgranthikas (Jainas).[23]

As a devout follower of Śiva, Śaśāṅka probably played a major role in eastern India in the revival of Hinduism and the stamping out of Buddhism. According to traditions recorded in

the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and other Sanskrit works dealing with the history of Bhubaneswar, he built a Śaiva temple in the shrine of Liṅgarāja (Tribhuvaneśvara).[24] In respect to his newly conquered territory, it apparently was divided into two parts for administrative purposes, the southern half (Koṅgoda) under the viceroyalty of Mādhavarāja II and the northern division (Utkala with Dandabhukti) governed by Somadatta of the Datta family.

With the submission of Śaśāṅka by Harṣavardhana and Bhāskaravarman, sometime between A.D. 619 and 624, the feudatory Śailodbhava and Datta families appear to have asserted their independency. Orissa at this time, as described by Hiuen Tsang, was divided into three distinct parts—Oḍra or *Wu(U)-t'u*, Koṅgoda or *Kung-yü* (or *-gu* or *-ya*)*-t'o*, and Kaliṅga or *Ka-leng-ka*. Oḍra, making up the northern part of the country, consisted of the modern districts of Midnapore, Balasore, Cuttack and Puri north of the marshes along the northern fringe of Chilka lake whereas Koṅgoda began south of these marshes. Although the exact boundaries of Kaliṅga are not given it probably extended from the southern border of Koṅgoda (Ganjam and Vizagapatam) to the Godāvarī.[25] According to Hiuen Tsang, Buddhism was in a flourishing state in Oḍra. The people, thusly,

> were indefatigable students and many of them were Buddhists. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and a myriad Brethren all Mahāyānists...There were more than ten Aśoka topes at places where the Buddha had preached. In the southwest of the country was the *Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li* monastery in a mountain; the stone tope of the monastery exhibited supernatural lights and other miracles, sunshades placed by worshippers on it between the dome and the amalaka remained there like needles held by a magnet. To the northeast of this tope in a hill-monastery was another tope like the preceding in marvels. The miraculous power of these topes was due to the topes having been erected by supernatural beings. Near the shore of the ocean in the southeast of this country was the city *Che-li-tā-lo,* above 20 *li* in circuit, which was a thoroughfare and resting-place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. The city was naturally strong and it contained many rare commodities. Outside it were five monasteries close together, of lofty structure and with very artistic images. Far away, 20000 *li* distant in the south was the Sêng-ka-lo (Ceylon) country, and from this place on calm nights one could see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha's Tooth-relic in that country.[26]

From this account it is evident that *Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li,* or Puṣpagiri-*vihāra* was an important establishment in Oḍra. It is likely that this *vihāra* is identical with Puphagiri (Puṣpagiri) mentioned in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription discussed earlier, dating to the 3rd century. From this inscription it is known that pious donations of the *upāsikā* Bodhisiri at various places included a stone *maṇḍapa* at Puphagiri.[27] The site of Puṣpagiri-*vihāra* has not as yet been identified though various scholars have suggested Udayagiri or Lalitagiri[28] or somewhere in the present Phulbani-Ghumsur region,[29] the first sites on the basis of archaeological finds and the latter on the basis of geography based on descriptions of Hiuen Tsang. In A.D. 681 a Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga, named Devendravarman is known to have registered a copper-plate grant in the Puṣpagiri Pañkhāli *viṣaya*, so named because of its proximity to the famous Puṣpagiri.[30] Che-li-tā-lo has also not been identified. Cunningham, restoring it to Charitrapura, identifies it with the present town of Puri whereas L.A. Waddell suggests the correct restoration is Citrotpalā, the name of a branch of the Mahānadī.[31] The location of the Citrotpalā itself is not always agreed upon, however, as Sāralā Dāsa (15th century Oriya poet) identifies the stream as a branch of the Prācī, a river which empties out near the Candrabhāgā at Koṇārak in Puri district,[32] whereas today it is generally identified as a stream branching out from the Mahānadī at Atuda, about ten kilometres north of Cuttack. Recent discoveries along the Citrotpalā include a large monastery complex at Brahmavāṇa

and numerous scattered or retrieved sculptures at Buddhist sites as well as several large Brahmanical temples to suggest it was an important area for both Buddhists and Hindus during the 7th-11th centuries.

Whereas Buddhism was flourishing in Oḍra during Hiuen Tsang's visit, in Koṅgoda it was Hindus and Jains who predominated while in Kaliṅga there were adherents of numerous different sects but few Buddhists, there being above ten Buddhist monasteries and five hundred students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school system. In his account of Kaliṅga, Hiuen Tsang states: "near the south wall of the city was an Aśoka tope beside which were a sitting place and exercise-ground of the Four Past Buddhas. On a ridge of a mountain in the north of the country was a stone tope, above 100 feet high, where a Pratyeka Buddha had passed away at the beginning of the present kalpa."[33]

In these accounts of Buddhism in Orissa and Kalinga the priests are described as being Mahāyānists and from the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, as indicated earlier, it is evident that Mahāyāna was being propagated in Toṣalī as early as the 4th century A.D. In some later Tibetan accounts, as in the work of Tāranātha, Oḍiviśa (Orissa) is considered to be the birthplace of Mahāyāna:

> Shortly after the period of king Mahāpadma, Candrarakṣita became the king of Oḍiviśa. It is said that *ārya* Mañjuśrī came to his house in the guise of a monk, preached some Mahāyāna doctrines and left a book there. According to the followers of the *Sūtra*, it was the *Prajñāpāramitā-aṣṭasāhasrikā*. According to the followers of *tantra*, it was the [*Sarvatathāgata*] *Tattva-saṁgraha*. However, the point is not of major significance, though in my opinion the former view is right. This was the first appearance of the Mahāyāna in the human world after the Teacher's *nirvāṇa*.[34]

Elsewhere, however, Hiuen Tsang states: "The priests of this country all study the Little Vehicle, and do not believe in the Great Vehicle. They say it is a system of the 'Sky flower' heretics, and was not delivered by Buddha."[35] When Harṣavardhana returned to Orissa after his invasion of Koṅgoda in A.D. 643, the Hīnayāna priests met him with a belligerent attitude, saying: "We hear that the king has built by the side of the Nālandā convent a *vihāra* of brass, a work magnificent and admirable. But why did not Your Majesty construct a Kāpālika temple or some other building of that sort?" When the king asked what they meant, the priests replied that the Nālandā priests advocating the "sky flower" doctrine were not different from the Kāpālika sect. They then presented Harṣavardhana a treatise composed by Prājña Gupta in 700 *ślokas* and dogmatically challenged him with the following words: "This represents our doctrine, is there a man of the other school that can upset one single word of it?"[36] The priests asked the king to assemble a conference of both the sects, in order to discuss and debate the right and the wrong, and Harṣavardhana sent a messenger to Ācārya Śīlabhadra, the reputed Chancellor of the Nālandā Convent, asking for four men of eminent ability, well-acquainted with both schools, to meet this challenge.[37] It is not known whether or not this religious conference was actually held, but it is obvious that there was a clash at this time between ideas and ideals of these two schools of Buddhism.[38]

Although very little is known about the history of Orissa during the 7th and 8th centuries, the building activity at Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri appears to have gained momentum in the 7th century, at which time numerous monasteries were constructed, and was further accelerated during the 8th century with Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri and the monastery complex at Udayagiri being the most notable constructions. The myriad of *stūpas*, many monolithic, as mentioned by D. Mitra, indicates that Ratnagiri had acquired a profound sanctity to draw pilgrims from far and near, and there is little doubt that the active patronage of the rulers of the Bhauma-kara dynasty played a major role in its phenomenal growth.[39] The

Bhauma-karas apparently were an aboriginal tribe, generally taken to be the Bhuyans, inhabiting the northern hilly tracts of Orissa, who supposedly migrated from Assam where a branch of their dynasty existed from earlier times. It is quite possible that Harṣavardhana's Orissan expedition led to a period of turmoil that gave the Bhauma-karas the opportunity to establish an independent kingdom in Toṣalī with their capital at Guhadevapātaka, identified with Gohiraṭikrā about five miles from Jājpur on the Vaitaraṇī river in Cuttack district.[40] The earlier rulers seem to have ruled in the north (Toṣalī) contemporaneously with the Śailodbhavas in the south (Koṅgoda), but from copper-plate grants of later kings it becomes evident that they eventually extended their rule to the region once occupied by the Śailodbhavas.[41] The foundation of their dynasty, according to S.N. Rajaguru,[42] commenced in A.D. 736 and their rule lasted for nearly two hundred years, though the latter part of the dynasty is characterized by political turmoil with much of the area being divided into numerous small principalities.[43]

The first three rulers of the Bhauma-kara dynasty—*paramopāsaka* Kṣemaṅkaradeva, *parama-tathāgata* Śivakaradeva I *alias* Unmaṭṭasiṁha, and *parama-saugata* Śubhākaradeva I—were all devout Buddhists as indicated in the Neulpur charter of Śubhākaradeva I.[44] Although Kṣemaṅkaradeva appears to have been the founder of the kingdom, nothing is known of his other achievements. The boundaries of the kingdom were greatly expanded by his son and successor, Śivakaradeva I, who, according to the Ganjam copper-plate grant of the Gaṅga king Jayavarmadeva of Śvetaka, conquered Koṅgoda and the northern part of Kaliṅga.[45] In the Talcher copper-plate grant of Śivakaradeva III, dated in the Bhauma year 149 (A.D. 885), Unmaṭṭasiṁha is given credit for defeating the Rāḍha (southwest Bengal) king in battle and forcing him to give his daughter in marriage.[46] According to K.C. Panigrahi, Unmaṭṭa ruled until about A.D. 790 which would make him contemporary with the Chinese emperor Te-tsong and thus responsible for the gift of an autographed manuscript containing the last section of the *Avataṁsaka*, the section treating of the practice and vow of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*Gaṇḍavyūha*), received by the emperor in A.D. 795,[47] though some scholars identify the Orissan king as Śubhākaradeva I, the son of Unmaṭṭasiṁha.[48] The manuscript and a letter were entrusted to the monk Prājña for translation. Prājña, born in Kapiśā, had commenced his studies in northern India, continued them in Madhyadeśa, resided in Nālandā and visited many sacred places, thus passing eighteen years in learning prior to settling in a monastery in Orissa to study yoga. He next moved to China where, in A.D. 788, he made a translation of the (*Mahāyānabodhi*) *Ṣat-pāramitā-sūtra*. Although the particular monastery in Orissa has not been identified, the fact that Prājña, "after eighteen years of learning at different places including even Nālandā, had settled, before he left for China, in a monastery of Wu-ch'a proves beyond doubt that the monastic establishments of Oḍra had obtained an honourable and prized footing in the Buddhist world."[49]

From Chinese sources a former king of Oḍra, named Śubhākarasiṁha, is given credit for introducing Tantrayāna Buddhism to China at the beginning of the 8th century, arriving at the capital in A.D. 716 at the invitation of T'ang Hsuan-tsung. Included among the numerous texts which he brought with him was the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, which he translated into Chinese in A.D. 725, and an iconographic copybook by his own hand of the deities for the *maṇḍalas* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, the latter surviving in early Japanese copies and known as the *Gobushinkan*.[50] According to this source, he was a prince of a Central Indian family ruling in Oḍra who ascended to the throne at the age of thirteen but soon abdicated to pursue his desire to be a monk. He went southward to the sea where he came to a superb monastery, possibly Ratnagiri, where he obtained the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-samādhi*. He boarded a merchant ship and visited many countries, including Śrī Lanka, during which he developed both meditational and artistic skills. In time he proceeded to Nālandā and studied Tantra from Dharmagupta. After a period of pilgrimage to holy sites, including Gandhara, he travelled to China where he was welcomed as a renowned monk and was given the title of "Teacher of the Country".[51]

In Orissan chronology, Śivakara I Unmattasiṁha was succeeded by Śubhākara I who, according to his Neulpur copper-plate grant, quelled a revolt of his kinsmen who wrongfully claimed the throne. He married Mādhavadevī, who was a devotee of Śiva, indicating that the king and queen belonged to different religious faiths as the king was a Buddhist. In the Baudh copper-plates of queen Tribhuvana-mahādevī II, dated in the year 158 of the Bhauma period, corresponding to A.D. 894, Śubhākara took shelter under the best protection of Dharma "by constructing lofty *vihāras* with stone structure so that it could not be penetrated by the evils of Kali-age",[52] while on an image of Padmapāṇi from Khaḍipadā is a short inscription recording that the image was the pious dedication of the *mahāmaṇḍalācārya paramaguru* Rāhularuchi during the reign of Śubhākaradeva.[53]

At least two of the successors of Śubhākaradeva I were avowedly Buddhists—Sugatāśraya Śivakaradeva II and *parama-saugata* Śubhākaradeva III—and all of these rulers not merely professed Buddhism, as D. Mitra points out, but actively participated in the furtherance of the faith, even being responsible for the construction of Buddhist structures as recorded in various inscriptions.[54] In her Dhenkanal copper-plate of the Bhauma year 110 (A.D. 846), for example, Tribhuvana-mahādevī refers to her predecessors, including Unmattasiṁha and Śāntikara I, as benevolent rulers "who exhausted treasures of their vast empire on religious works in order to enlighten their own country and others—who decorated the earth by constructing in unbroken continuity various *maṭhas*, monasteries and temples."[55] Religious tolerance was widespread throughout the latter part of the Bhauma rule in Orissa with various kings donating land for the ceremonial worship of images, maintenance of existing structures or repairs to edifices of both Buddhism and Hinduism, as in the case of Śubhākaradeva III who, though a devout worshipper of Sugata, in his Hindol plate of the Bhauma year 103 (A.D. 839) granted a portion of the village Noddilo in favour of the god Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva) housed in the temple of Pulindeśvara.[56] In two Talcher charters of the *parama-maheśvara* Śivakaradeva III, on the other hand, dating to the year 149 of the Bhauma era (A.D. 885), is recorded the grant of two villages for meeting the expenses of the maintenance of the Buddhist temple in Jayāśrama-*vihāra*.[57]

Śubhākara I and Śivakara II ruled between A.D. 790 and 829 and it is during this period that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and the Pālas of Bengal claim in their inscriptions to have invaded Orissa. The loss of prestige and power, as well as the resulting disorder, caused by these invasions appear to be reflected in the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana-mahādevī I, where the sad plight of Orissa prior to her accession is described.[58] Śivakara II was succeeded by his younger brother Śāntikara I *alias* Lalitahara, whose descendants continued to rule the Bhauma-kara kingdom up to the end of the dynasty. According to an inscription incised in one of the caves at Dhaulī hill a monastery, named Arghyakā Varāṭikā, was constructed there in the Bhauma year 93 (A.D. 829), during the reign of Śāntikaradeva, by Bhīmaṭa and Bhaṭṭa Loyāmaka, both inhabitants of Jājpur.[59] This same Bhīmaṭa, the son of a famous physician, was responsible for another inscription carved inside the Gaṇeśa-guṁphā cave at Udayagiri hill near Bhubaneswar.[60]

Śāntikara I married Tribhuvana-mahādevī, the daughter of Rājamalla I of the western Gaṅga dynasty of Mysore, who ruled from A.D. 817-35. According to statements recorded in the Dhenkanal plate of his daughter, it was Rājamalla who put an end to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pāla domination in Orissa. The marriage of Śāntikara with the daughter of Rājamalla was not only a turning point in the political history of the Bhauma-karas but also a turning point in the history of their religious faith as Tribhuvana-mahādevī was a devotee of Viṣṇu. Her accession to the throne in *circa* A.D. 846, after short reigns of Śubhākara II and Śubhākara III, thus marked the revival of the Bhauma kingdom after a period of external domination. Tribhuvana-mahādevī I was succeeded by her grandson Śāntikara II, *alias* Loṇabhāra, apparently

abdicating the throne when he became of age, as indicated in one of her Talcher grants.[61] Śāntikara II had two sons, Śubhākara IV who married Pṛthvī-mahādevī, *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādevī II, and Śivakara III, who ruled in succession. Both brothers were Śaivas.

The death of Śivakara III was followed by a struggle for succession to the throne. Though Śivakara III had two sons, Śāntikara III and Śubhākara V, the throne was usurped by Tribhuvana-mahādevī II with the aid of her father, the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya Svabhāvatuṅga, who probably killed Śivakara III.[62] In the Baudh plate of Tribhuvana-mahādevī II, dated in the Bhauma year 158 (A.D. 894), it is recorded that Śubhākaradeva IV and his brother Śivakara III died without issue,[63] a deliberate attempt to suppress the truth and to ignore the claims of Śivakara III's sons who probably set up parallel governments in some parts of the same kingdom. The reign of Tribhuvana-mahādevī II is not mentioned in later Bhauma-kara records, a fact indicating the later members of the Bhauma ruling family never recognized her succession which was secured with the help of an external power.[64] Tribhuvana-mahādevī II was eventually overthrown by Śivakara III's eldest son Śāntikara III, the husband of Dharma-mahādevī. Śāntikara III was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Śubhākara V who married Gaurī-mahādevī and Vakula-mahādevī. Gaurī-mahādevī succeeded her husband on the throne and she was followed by her daughter Daṇḍī-mahādevī. Daṇḍī-mahādevī's known dates are the Bhauma years 180 and 187 (A.D. 916 and 923). From the Taltali copper-plate grant of Dharma-mahādevī[65] it is learnt that Daṇḍī-mahādevī was succeeded by her step-mother Vakula-mahādevī though the circumstances of this succession are not known. It is possible that Vakula secured help from her paternal family in dethroning Daṇḍī.[66] Vakula-mahādevī was succeeded by Dharma-mahādevī, the wife of Śāntikara III, and was probably the last ruler of the dynasty. The last four rulers were thus female, a fact suggesting the non-existence of male heirs.

The Bhauma-kara dynasty lasted for more than two-hundred years with royal patronage being especially heavy during the first hundred years, i.e., during the reign of the first four rulers plus Śubhākaradeva III, all devout Mahāyāna Buddhists. There is little doubt that Orissa must have been at the forefront of new developments taking place during the 8th century, including Vajrayāna. The development of Vajrayāna is invariably associated with Uḍḍiyāna and the *Catuṣpīṭha* concept. According to the Tibetan *Pag Sam Jon Zang* (completed in A.D. 1747), for example, Tantric Buddhism first developed in Uḍḍiyāna, the most important of the four *pīṭhas* frequently mentioned by both Hindu and Buddhist Tantras. Many Tantric Buddhist scholars credited with the introduction of original Tantras are either from or are associated with this particular country, including Saraha, who is credited with introducing the *Buddha Kapāla Tantra*; Kaṁbala and Padmavajra, the expounders of the *Hevajra Tantra*; Luīpā, the originator of the *Saṁpuṭa-tilaka*; Lalitavajra, the author of the three divisions of the *Kṛṣṇayāmarī Tantra*; Kukkurī, the author of the *Mahāmāyā*; Gaṁbhīravajra, the author of the *Vajrāmṛta*; and Pīto, the author of the *Kālacakra Tantra*.[67] Indrabhūti, who was a king of Uḍḍiyāna in the 8th century, organised Mantrayāna Buddhism into Vajrayāna while his sister (Lakṣmīkarā) is believed to have been connected with the initial development of Sahajayāna.[68] Scholars, however, are divided as to the exact location of this important *pīṭha*, some locating it in the Swāt valley of Kabul in the northwest India, some in Assam or Bengal, and others in Orissa.

B. UḌḌIYĀNA-PĪṬHA

Although the number of *pīṭhas* varies with different texts, and there is generally a discrepancy in the lists even when the number is the same, in some of the earliest Tantras the number is four and these are often taken as the original *pīṭhas*. The *Hevajra Tantra* lists the four as Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, Pūrṇagiri and Kāmarūpa[69] while the *Sādhanamālā* names them as Kāmākhyā, Sirihaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna.[70] These two Buddhist lists differ only in one *pīṭha*, being named either Jālandhara or Sirihaṭṭa. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (68.43-46), a

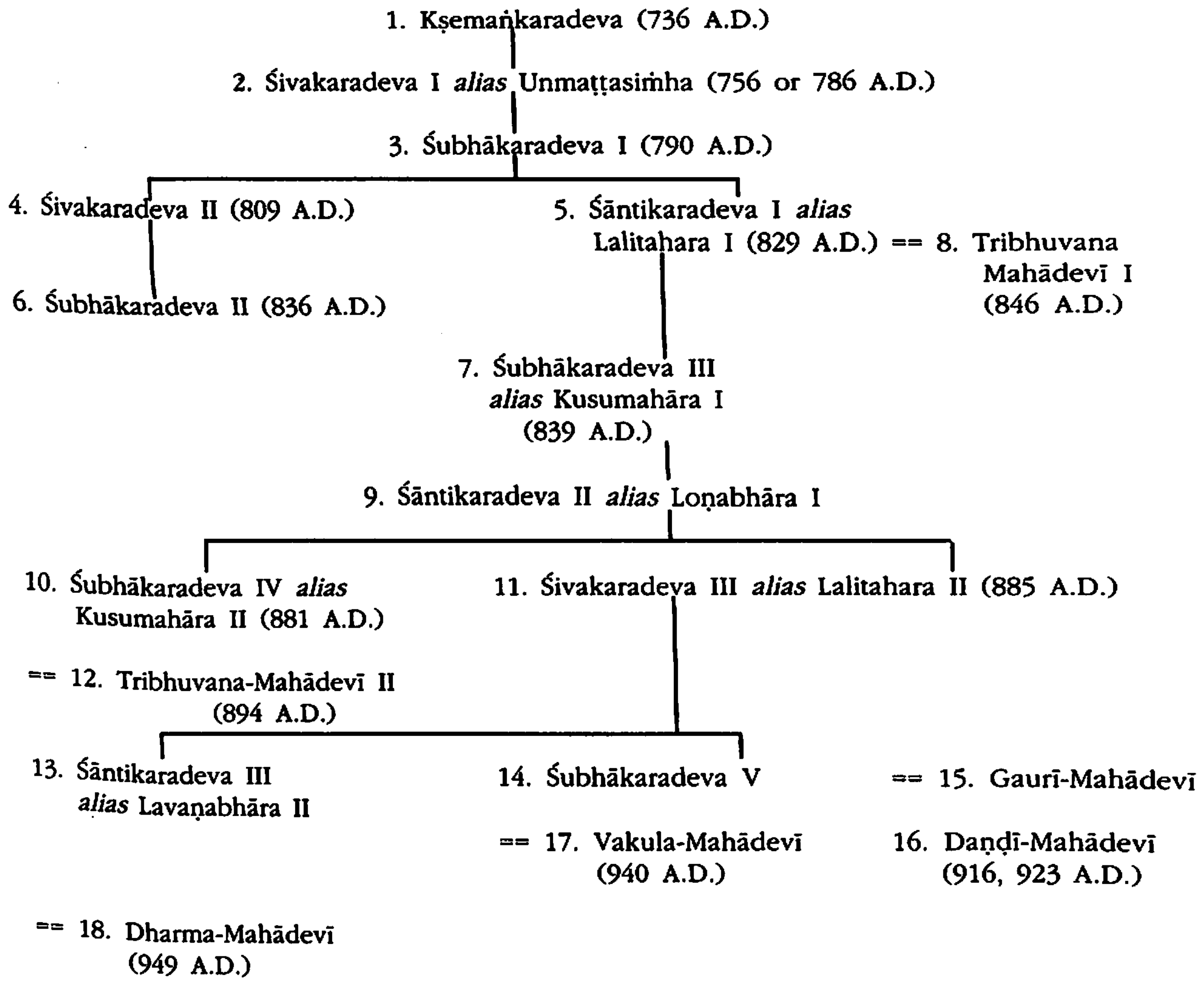
Śākta work, gives the names as (1) Oḍra, seat of the goddess Kātyāyanī and god Jagannātha, in west; (2) Jālandhara/Jalaśaila, seat of the goddess Caṇḍī and the god Mahādeva, in the north; (3) Pūrṇaśaila, seat of the goddess Pūrṇeśvarī and god Mahānātha, in the south; and (4) Kāmarūpa, seat of the goddess Kāmeśvarī and the god Kāmeśvara, in the east.[71] This list conforms to that of the *Hevajra Tantra* except Oḍra replaces Oḍḍiyāna, suggesting the two names may be interchangeable, as are possibly Jālandhara and Jalaśaila or Pūrṇaśaila and Pūrṇagiri.[72] Although the *Kālikā Purāṇa* describes Kāmarūpa as the most important *pīṭha*, it names Oḍra as the first, suggesting the latter was much older than Kāmarūpa. A similar tradition appears in the *Yoginī Tantra*:

> in Uḍḍiyāna the Goddess manifested herself in the first world period (*kṛtayuga*); in the beginning of the second world period (*tretayuga*) she appeared in Pūrṇaśaila; in the third (*dvāparayuga*) in Jalaśaila and in the fourth (*kaliyuga*) the Goddess appeared as Kāmākhyā in order to destroy Ghora.[73]

Of the four *pīṭhas* there is unanimous agreement in respect to the location of Kāmarūpa in Assam. In that this location corresponds to its situation in the east by the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, it is frequently assumed that the four *pīṭhas* were associated roughly with the northern, southern, eastern and western regions of India, an assumption which presupposes either that the *pīṭha* concept evolved almost simultaneously throughout India or that, by the 8th century there was only one important *pīṭha* in each geographical region of the country. Thus, in addition to Kāmarūpa (Kāmākhyā) being located in Assam, Uḍḍiyāna is ascribed to the Swāt valley (west), Jālandhara to the Punjab (north), near Nagarkot, while Pūrṇagiri (south) is sometimes identified with either Poona or Bijapur in the Deccan. B. Bhattacharyya, on the other hand, locates Sirihatta, one of the four *pīṭhas* in the *Sādhanamālā*, at modern Sylhet in Assam and suggests that the other two *pīṭhas*, Uḍḍiyāna and Pūrṇagiri, should also be located in this general area, i.e., northeastern India, inferring that the *Catuṣpīṭha* concept originated here and that the four directions do not apply to the whole of India.[74] The importance of this area is also stressed in a second list in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (18.42-51) which mentions seven *pīṭhas*, three of which are located in Kāmarūpa, so that we have the four original *pīṭhas* plus two more in Kāmarūpa and one in Bengal.[75] In the account of the four *pīṭhas* given by Abul Fazl in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (late 16th century), it is stated that, on beholding the disrespect shown to Śiva and herself by Dakṣa, Satī cut herself into pieces and her body fell in four places: her head and some of her limbs fell in the mountains of Kashmir near Kāmrāj and these relics are called Śāradā; other parts fell near Bijapur and are known as Tuljā (Turjā) Bhavānī. Such portions as reached the eastern quarter near Kāmarūpa are called Kāmākhyā, and the remnant that kept its place is celebrated as Jālandharī, which is this particular spot. Abul Fazl has thus substituted Kashmir for Uḍḍiyāna while the *pīṭha* he places near Bijapur is probably that mentioned as Pūrṇagiri in other texts.[76] There is, of course, no Paurāṇic legend which states that Satī's body was cut into only four pieces. Abul Fazl is obviously recording a tradition which attempts to correlate the four *pīṭhas* with all her body, though it is so vague that, except for the head, the particular parts of her body are not even mentioned. By including Kashmir, he is also recording a tradition that attempts to accord greater importance to northwest India for the development of this *Catuṣpīṭha* concept. By this time, however, most Tantric works give an even greater number of *pīṭhas*, in some cases specifying the particular part of Satī's body which fell at the site along with the name of the presiding Bhairava and Devī. Most of these later works were either composed in Bengal or place a greater emphasis on *pīṭhas* in northeast India, a fact which led Sircar to conclude:

> The greatest centre of Tantricism seems to have originally been in northwestern India. Before the medieval period, the Tantric school of northeastern India rose to eminence and became a great rival of the northwestern school. With the gradual decline of Tantric culture in the northwest as a result of foreign occupation, Bengal seems to

BHAUMA-KARAS



Adopted from Krishna C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa* (Madras, 1961).

have come to the forefront as the abode of great leaders of Tantric thought.[77]

Sircar's belief that Śaktism/Tantrism evolved first in northwest India is based primarily on the fact that Hiuen Tsang, who stayed for some time at the court of the Kāmarūpa king Bhāskaravarman (*circa* A.D. 600-650), does not mention the goddess Kāmākhyā, suggesting she had not as yet attained her pre-eminence in the 7th century, while noticing the prevalence of Śakti worship in Gandhara and the popularity of tantric practices among the people of Wu-tch'āṅg-na "who made the acquisition of magical formulae their occupation."[78] His main argument thus rests on the location of Jālandhara and Uḍḍiyāna in northwest India. P.C. Bagchi also points out that both Hiuen Tsang and Fa-hien locate Uḍḍiyāna in the Swāt valley as do certain annals of the T'ang dynasty in China. He additionally draws our attention to a miniature of an 8th-9th century Nepalese manuscript which bears the inscription "Vajrapāṇi of Maṅgalakoṣṭha of Oḍḍiyāna" and identifies Maṅgalakoṣṭha with Mong-kie-li, the chief town in the Swāt valley described by Hiuen Tsang,[79] though Maṅgalapur is also an important Vajrayāna site in Orissa.

In addition to Sircar and Bagchi, L. Waddell and others identify Uḍḍiyāna with the "Wu-tch'āṅg-na" of Hiuen Tsang and locate it at Uḍyāna in the Swāt valley; M. Sylvain Levi places it somewhere in Kashgarh; N.N. Dasgupta identifies it with the Chittagong region of Bengal; R.M. Nath correlates it with Hojai in the Nowgong district of Assam; B. Bhattacharyya and M. Winternitz locate it in Bengal or Assam; while H.P. Sastri, N.K. Sahu, K.C. Panigrahi and Nik Douglas identify Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa.[80] L. Candra, deviating from these conventional northwest or northeast locations, suggests that Uḍḍiyāna may be identified with Kāñcī in the south of India.

In his argument, P.C. Bagchi states that there are two distinct series of names in Tibetan: (1) O-rgyān, U-rgyān, O-ḍi-yā-na, and (2) O-ḍi-vi-śā, with the first series connected with Indrabhūti, i.e., Oḍiyāna and Uḍḍiyāna, while the second series falls back on Oḍi and Oḍiviśa, i.e., Uḍra (Orissa) and has nothing to do with Indrabhūti. N.K. Sahu objects, however, and points out that these two sets of names are seldom distinguished in Buddhist Tantra literature, and opines that the words Oḍa, Oḍra, Uḍra, Oḍiviśa and Oḍiyāna are all used as variants of Uḍḍiyāna. In the *Sādhanamālā*, he further points out, Uḍḍiyāna is also spelt as Oḍrayāna while in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, as indicated earlier, it is spelt either Uḍḍiyāna or Oḍra. There is also evidence, Sahu continues, that Indrabhūti is the king of Orissa rather than of the Swāt valley. The *Caturāsiti-siddha-Pravṛtti*, for example, mentions him as the king of Oḍiviśa while Cordier, in his *Bṣtāñ-ḥgyur* catalogue, gives sufficient indications of his being the king of Orissa. Also, in his famous work *Jñānasiddhi*, king Indrabhūti opens it with an invocation to Lord Jagannātha, a deity intimately associated with Orissa and with no other area of India. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*, as mentioned earlier, places Jagannātha and Kātyāyanī as the presiding deities of Oḍra/Uḍḍiyāna-*pīṭha*. Kātyāyanī is likewise particularly associated with Orissa, as in the *Prācīmāhātmya* where she is described as the consort of Śobhaneśvara Śiva and as a fearful goddess in the Prācī valley. Tribhuvana-mahādevī, wife of the Bhauma-kara king Śāntikara I, even compares herself with this goddess at the time of her accession to the throne at Virajā (Jājpur). In the *Kubjikā Tantra*, Virajā is mentioned as the goddess of Uḍḍiyāna while in the *Bṛhannila Tantra* it is stated that Bhairavī (consort of Jagannātha) is the goddess of Uḍḍiyāna. In addition, Indrabhūti's son, Padmasaṁbhava, is also associated with Virajā. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* records a prophecy in which the Lord assures Śāriputta that he would be in a distant future time a Buddha under the name of Padmaprabha, and that his place of Enlightenment would be Virajā. Padmasaṁbhava and Tārā, along with other deities, are invoked in an inscription of 25 lines incised in nail-headed characters of the late 8th-early 9th century on the back of an image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa at Udayagiri, not far from Jājpur, which states that a *stūpa* with a relic inside and dwelt in by the Tathāgata was set up on that very spot (fig. 229). This *stūpa* is believed to have contained the relics

of Padmasambhava. Though the site is only partially excavated, at least one *stūpa* has been unearthed. This mass of evidence, according to Sahu, supports the belief that Indrabhūti was a king of Orissa which is the same as Uḍḍiyāna- or Oḍra-*pīṭha*, of which the main deities are Jagannātha and Virajā.[81]

Even the dates of Indrabhūti are a matter of disagreement, however, with some scholars placing him in the 9th century, though part of the problem stems from the fact that there may have been more than one king named Indrabhūti while equally contributory to this confusion is the reluctance on the part of many scholars to identify Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa. A. Wayman, for example, suggests that there were two Indrabhūtis with the first being associated with Oḍḍiyāna and living in the 8th century while the second, the author of the *Jñānasiddhi*, was a king of Orissa in the first half of the 9th century, his sister being Lakṣmīkarā.[82] D. Snellgrove, on the other hand, lists three kings named Indrabhūti with Indrabhūti II, the master of Jālandharī, receiving instructions from both Saroruha and Kambala-pā.[83] Saroruha and Kambala-pā (Lva-va-pā), along with Dombiheruka, are intimately associated with the *Hevajra Tantra*.[84] In the accounts of the eighty-four *siddhas* given by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Kambala-pā is mentioned as belonging to Oḍiviśa (Orissa), as being a disciple of Vajraghaṇṭā and as being preceptor of king Indrabhūti,[85] though the dates and succession of the *siddhas* are also in dispute. Tāranātha likewise implies that there were two Indrabhūtis, though the earlier one apparently was a contemporary of the Buddha.[86]

In the history of the eighty-four *siddhas*, Uḍḍiyāna (Urgyāna) is described as containing about 500,000 towns and was divided into two portions. In the one called Śambhala reigned king Indrabhūti while in the other, called Lankapuri, reigned Jālendra, whose son was married to Lakṣmīkarā, the sister of Indrabhūti who had become a *siddha*. After this, Indrabhūti himself passed on the throne to his son and in twelve years attained *mahāsiddhi*.[87] The problem of identifying Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa, according to N. Sahu, is associated with locating these two kingdoms in Orissa, i.e., Śambhala and Laṅkā. Following the opinion of Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Sahu identifies Śambhala with Sambalpur in western Orissa, citing Ptolemy and Gibbon to prove the antiquity of Sambalpur,[88] though K.C. Panigrahi argues that the name "Sambalpur" is of late origin.[89]

Śambhala is particularly associated with the *Kālacakra-Tantra* in Tibetan accounts though they are at variance regarding the name of the *ācārya* who first brought this text from Śambhala. According to Tāranātha it was Pito, sent to Śambhala by Vajrapāṇi, and he brought many Tantras with him which he taught to the students in Ratnagiri-*vihāra*.[90] In the *Blue Annals* (A.D. 1476-78) it is stated in connection with the search for the *Kālacakra-Tantra* by *ācārya* Cheluka (Tsi-lu-pa), that the *ācārya* had read it in the *vihāra* of Ratnagiri (Rin-chen-ri-bo) which had been left undamaged by the Turuṣkas.[91] Cheluka's connection with Orissa and Ratnagiri is attested to by other Tibetan texts as well, as pointed out by D. Mitra, including a passage from a late 14th century book in which it is stated that "the great preceptor Cheluka, born in Orissa, studied all the Piṭakas and read all the small books of the Piṭaka in Ratnagiri-vihāra, Vikramaśīla and Nālandā."[92] Elsewhere in the *Blue Annals*, which records different traditions, the *ācārya* is named Pindopa while in the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* he is named Bitoba: "At the last moment of the king (Mahīpāla) *ācārya* Bitoba came and Vajrapāṇi instructed him to go through magic to Śambhala where Kālacakra would be found. He went there and brought it to Ratnagiri and explained the doctrine to *bhikṣu* Abadhūtipā, Bodhiśrī and Nāropa."[93] Thus, no matter who the *ācārya*, it is evident, as noted by D. Mitra, that Orissa, in particular Ratnagiri-*vihāra*, "played a significant role in the emergence (or dissemination) of the *Kālacakra Tantra*".[94] In that the *ācāryas* invariably went to Ratnagiri for study after retrieving the Tantra from Śambhala, it appears that Śambhala, if not a mythical realm, was situated close to Ratnagiri-*vihāra*.

In respect to Laṅkā, Sahu notes that the Sonepur tract of western Orissa was known by the name Laṅkā as late as the 10th-11th centuries. A copper-plate charter issued by the Somavaṁśī prince Kumāra Someśvaradeva from Suvarṇapura in the late 10th century reveals that he was the lord of the Western Laṅkā (Paścima Laṅkā),[95] while the Mahadā copper-plate grant of Kumāra Someśvaradeva is stated to have been registered on the bank of the river Citrotpalā (Mahānadī) and close to the territory of Laṅkā.[96] The goddess Laṅkeśvarī, referred to in some of the Tantric *sādhanas* of the *Sādhanamālā*, is still regarded as the presiding deity of this territory, and she is daily worshipped in the bed of the Mahānadī on a low rock called Laṅkeśvarī. Sahu thus concludes that if Uḍḍiyāna be identified with Orissa, and Śaṁbhala with Sambalpur, Laṅkā can be no other than the territory of modern Sonepur.[97] Panigrahi, while agreeing that Uḍḍiyāna should be located in Orissa, again suggests that the name Laṅkā given to the Sonepur region is of late origin, based primarily on myth or legend, and questions the identification of this area with the Laṅkā associated with Indrabhūti due to the absence of Tantric Buddhist artifacts in the Sonepur-Sambalpur region.[98]

Many of the Tantric *siddhas*, like Saraha, Luīpā, Savarīpā and others who are regarded by the Tibetan and other sources as belonging to Uḍḍiyāna, as noted by Sahu, have composed large numbers of religious songs and *Dohās*, the language of which is claimed to be the parent stock of modern Oriya, Bengali and Maithili tongues, which prompts him to state:

> We fail to understand as to why all these Siddhas, if they hailed from the Swāt Valley, would not write a single piece of song in the language then prevalent in the northwest of India and would express their religious and poetic sentiments in the dialects of eastern India. Evidently Uḍḍiyāna was situated in the east and not in the northwest of India in the Swāt Valley region.[99]

Luīpā, for example, who is regarded as one of the earliest *siddhācāryas*,[100] is described in the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* as a member of the fisherman caste who rose to be a writer in the employ of the king of Uḍḍiyāna. He met Savarīpā who initiated him into the mysteries of Tantrism. In the *Tanjur* catalogue of P. Cordier, on the other hand, Luīpā is characterized as a *mahāyogīśvara* and as being born at Candradvīpa in Bengal. He composed a number of songs in the Bengali language which have been discovered and published in the *Bauddha Gan O Dohā* by H.P. Sastri. There is an apparent discrepancy in these two accounts only if Uḍḍiyāna is located in the Swāt valley of northwest India, not if it is located in northeast India, whether Assam, Bengal or Orissa.

Saraha, also known as Rāhulabhadra, is stated in the *Tanjur* catalogue as belonging to Uḍḍiyāna while, according to Tāranātha, he was born in the country of Oḍiviśa, again suggesting either a confusion between these two countries or that these two names both refer to Orissa. In the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* it is recorded that he was born in Rājñī in the eastern country, was an adept in both the Buddhist and Brahmanical lores, and became high priest at Nālandā. He visited Orissa, where he was converted to Mantrayāna, and from there he proceeded to Mahārāṣṭra where, upon performing the *mahāmudrā* ritual of mysticism with a female ascetic, he attained to *siddhi*.[101] A legendary account in the *Blue Annals* associates him with the transmission of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* to Nāgārjuna:

> The adepts of the (Guhya) Samāja agree that the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* had been preached by the Munindra himself, following a request of Indrabhūti, the great king of Oḍḍiyāna, at the time when the Buddha had manifested himself in Oḍḍiyāna and initiated (the king). Thereupon the king and his retinue practised the Tantra by means of the prapañcācārya and became initiates, and the country of Oḍḍiyāna became deserted. After that a yoginī, who had descended from the realm of the Nāgas, heard

it from (king) Indrabhūti and taught it to king Visukalpa of the Southern country. The mahā-brāhmaṇa Saraha heard it from him and taught it to ācārya Nāgārjuna.[102]

Though placed here after Indrabhūti, he invariably is regarded as one of the earliest writers and diffusers of Tantric doctrines and practices,[103] with not less than twenty-five Tantric works being attributed to his authorship in the *Tanjur* catalogue. Two of his *sādhanas,* connected with the worship of Rakta-Lokeśvara or Trailokya Vasaṁkara, who is characterized as Uḍḍiyāna Vinirgata, are collected in the *Sādhanamālā*. He is also credited with singing *Dohās* of mysticism and thereby converted five-thousand people and their king to Buddhism.[104] Although Sahu places Saraha in the 8th century, Bhattacharyya associates him with Dharmakīrti (*circa* A.D. 600-650) and states that "when we fix the date of Saraha we practically go to the root of the Buddhist Tantra or Tantrayāna, because Saraha is reputed to be one of the chief promulgators of the Tantric religion."[105] In respect to the dissemination of the tenets of Tantric Buddhism, Tāranātha states, "it is clearly well-known that the tradition of teachings coming down in the preceptor-disciple succession began from the time of Saraha and Nāgārjuna, 'the father and son' up to *siddha* Śabari-pā. Before this, no *ācārya* is known to have entered the tradition of transmitting *anuttara-guhya-mantra*."[106] Saraha is also placed at the top of the succession list of the *Cakrasamvara Tantra.*[107] The fact that he was converted from Madhyamika to Mantrayāna in Orissa, from whence he spread it to Mahārāṣṭra, testifies to the great importance of Orissa at this early date as a centre of Tantric Buddhism.

That Oḍḍiyāna was considered to be identical with Orissa in the 15th century is confirmed in epigraphical evidence from South India. An inscription engraved during the reign of king Vīrūpākṣa, corresponding to A.D. 1473, refers to the confusion caused by Oḍḍiyāna, i.e., Orissa, in the Deccan, and the consequent cessation of festivals in the Śiva temple at Jaṁbāi in the South Arcot district for ten years. The "Oḍḍiyāna Galabāi", or disturbance caused by Orissa, is also mentioned in an inscription dated during the reign of Sāluva Narasiṁha.[108]

According to Chinese sources, as mentioned earlier, Śubhākarasiṁha, formerly a king of Oḍra who abdicated in order to pursue his religious inclinations, is credited with the introduction of Tantrayāna Buddhism to China, bringing with him numerous texts, including the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and an iconographic copybook (in his own hand) of the deities for the *maṇḍalas* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha,* which in particular stress the importance of Mahavairocana and the interrelated *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-* and *Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas.* Sculptural *maṇḍalas* in the Asia hills testify to the knowledge and popularity of these texts by the early 8th century in Orissa. Archaeological evidence, in fact, is even more compelling in support of our contention that Uḍḍiyāna-*pīṭha* was located in northeast rather than northwest India. As pointed out by Sahu, Panigrahi and others, few Tantric images of any importance from this early date have been recovered from the Swāt valley though there is an abundance of early images in the Gandharan style.[109] Uḍḍiyāna is particularly associated with the worship of deities like Mārīcī, Kurukullā, Lokeśvara, Ūrdhvapāda-Vajravārāhī, etc., and "as none of these deities are traceable in the Swāt valley, its identification with the Tantric land of Uḍḍiyāna cannot be maintained."[110] Nik Douglas arrives at the same conclusion:

> Iconographical comparisons between images from Orissa and Tibet show similarities of style and esoteric content so identical that only evidence of early Tantric activities among the monasteries of Swāt can open this to further interpretation. In Orissa, there is so much evidence of Tantrism, from the earliest times, that there can be no doubt that the original pīṭha of Uḍḍiyāna can definitely be located there.[111]

Vajrayāna images are found in abundance throughout Orissa and northeast India and, though many of them conform to the *sādhanas* preserved in the *Sādhanamālā, Niṣpannayogāvalī* and

other Buddhist texts, numerous others depict esoteric forms which deviate from all known textual descriptions. In other cases, as with the many small Mārīcī images at Ratnagiri, we can follow the evolution of her iconography and the initial influence of the Brahmanical Sūrya as evident in the examples where her chariot is pulled by horses rather than by pigs. The larger images of Mārīcī are scattered throughout Orissa, from Sonepur in the west to Rāmacaṇḍī in the east, from Khiching in the north to Acutrajpur in the south, suggesting her great popularity.[112] Particularly important are two recently discovered images with six heads, twelve arms, a pot-belly and serpent-ornaments which conform to five *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā,* three of which identify her as Oḍiyāna-Mārīcī.[113] Although two 11th century painted images in an abbreviated form from Nepal are known, according to S.K. Saraswati there are no known sculptural representations.[114] Two such images have been found in Orissa, however, one near Singhapur and one at Mārīcīpur, both in Cuttack district, which can be dated on stylistic analysis to the late 10th or early 11th century (figs. 377-78). There is no doubt that the appellation of "Oḍiyāna" derives from her association with Uḍḍiyāna. The discovery of two such images in Orissa further lends support to our contention that Uḍḍiyāna was located in Orissa.[115]

The same is true in respect to a bronze image of Uḍḍiyāna-Kurukullā found at Acutrajpur (fig. 350) which conforms to *sādhana* no. 179 of the *Sādhanamālā,* a fierce form of Kurukullā in which she dances on a corpse. Though late examples are known from Tibet[116] and China,[117] this 11th century image from Orissa is a rare Indian example and the fact it is from Orissa is significant. In his account of the final activities of king Buddhapakṣa of Oḍiviśa, pertaining to serpent charms, Tāranātha informs us that the brahmin Bṛhaspati, who built many Buddhist temples at Kaṭaka (Cuttack), was an adept in the Kurukullā spell.[118] In a *sādhana* for Śukla Kurukullā in the *Sādhanamālā* many of her ornaments are made of serpents.[119] Thus, in spite of Sircar's pronouncement that any suggestion locating Uḍḍiyāna in eastern India or identifying it with Oḍra (Orissa) "is unworthy of any serious consideration",[120] a considerable amount of evidence strongly suggests that Uḍḍiyāna may be identical with Orissa. Though many of the histories are based substantially on legends, the fact that they originate outside of Orissa gives more credence to them than if they were merely local traditions.

In respect to the other original *pīṭhas,* in the *Sādhanamālā,* Jālandhara is replaced by Sirihaṭṭa (Śrīhatta) which is definitely in Assam. The Jālandhara-*pīṭha* of the *Hevajra Tantra,* or Jalaśaila-*pīṭha* of the *Kālikā Purāṇa,* may also have been situated in eastern India, at Jāleśvara in the Balasore district of Orissa near the border with West Bengal,[121] particularly as the *pīṭha* associated with Jālandhara in the Punjab is actually situated at Jvālāmukhī, also a Śākta-*pīṭha,* as even Abul Fazl refers to Jvālāmukhī and not to the neighbouring Jālandhara as one of the original four *pīṭhas.*[122] Jāleśvara appears as *pīṭha* no. 41 in the lists of the *Jñānarnava Tantra* and the *Tantrasāra.* It is especially associated with Mahādeva and its renown was such that even the great Vaiṣṇava saint Śrī Caitanya made a visit to its Śiva temple. Thus, if Uḍḍiyāna, along with Kāmākhyā, Sirihaṭṭa and possibly Jalaśaila/Jālandhara are located in north-east India, then Pūrṇagiri, as Bhattacharyya contends, should also be located in this area[123] rather than in the Deccan as some scholars have postulated. In two chapters on *Pīṭhatattvanyāsa* in the *Tantrasāra,* pertaining to the original four *pīṭhas,* in each case Pūrṇagiri is mentioned as "Uḍḍiśa-nāthātmaka", implying thereby the intimate association of this *pīṭha* with Jagannātha of Orissa.[124] In a stone inscription in the temple at Simhachalam, on the other hand, occurs the name Pūrṇakoti which refers to Śrī Kūrma in the Śrīkākuḷam district of Andhra Pradesh, just south of the border with Orissa, which has led Nandalal De to conclude that "the celebrated temple of Pūrṇadevī or Annapūrṇā at Pūrṇagiri visited by the pilgrims from all parts of the country is situated in Kūrman."[125] N. Douglas, following Bhattacharyya, suggests the village of Vajrayoginī in East Bengal as the location of Pūrṇagiri.[126] Whether situated in

Orissa, Kaliṅga, East Bengal, or the ancient site of Punyatīrtha in Assam,[127] this would also place Pūrṇagiri in eastern India along with the other three *pīṭhas* so that the four cardinal directions mentioned with the four *pīṭhas*, as in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, bear no relation to the whole of India. As in the case of the Catuṣpīṭha Parvata situated close to Yājapura (Jājpur) in Orissa, the four hills (Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Alatigiri) which are regarded as representing the four great Buddhist *pīṭhas* of Orissa,[128] they are all located in a limited geographical area, the area where the concept of *pīṭhas* and Śākta/Tantra ideology most likely developed. In the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (68.7-11), in fact, the four *pīṭhas* or seats are distributed over the four cardinal points of the *maṇḍala* of Kāmeśvarī, so that directions refer to gates and not to geographical locations throughout India.

In contrast to the Purāṇic texts which emphasize *tīrtha* or pilgrimage as a significant way of achieving salvation, in Tantrism there is a homology between a *pīṭha* and a part of the body. As noted by P. Pal, "Tantra has always emphasized the potentially divine nature of the sādhaka and the importance of the human body as a divine residence or temple."[129] The highest *pīṭha* for a Tantric is his own body and the *Tārā-soda*, for example, quoted in the *Tantrasāra* from the *Rudrayāmala*, informs us "that Kāmarūpa represents mūladhara, the heart is Jālandhara, the forehead is Pūrṇagiri, etc."[130] Similar ideas are expressed in early Buddhist texts which attempt to associate 32 places with veins and parts of the body, though no satisfactory list is given. In the *Vajrapādasārasaṁgraha* (xvii.IIIb-2), for example, it is stated: "These places, Jālandhara and so on, are mentioned for the benefit of simple fools who wander about the country." They are, thus, interpreted as symbols for the places within the body, i.e., they are the external equivalent of that which exists within. According to the *Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*, "externally these are places in the world without, where dwell those goddesses who run after flesh and blood and so keep to the towns, but internally these places exist in the body in the form of veins and there is no need to look elsewhere for them." One of the verses of Saraha states: "I have visited in my wandering *kṣetra* and *pīṭha* and *upapīṭha*, for I have not seen another place of pilgrimage blissful like my own body",[131] while Lakṣmīkarā, sister of Indrabhūti, is credited with the following:

> There is no need of undergoing suffering; no fastings, and no rites, nor bathing nor purification and other rules of society. Nor do you need to bow down before the images of gods which are prepared of wood, stone or mud. But with concentration offer worship to your body where all the gods reside.[132]

C. LATER HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

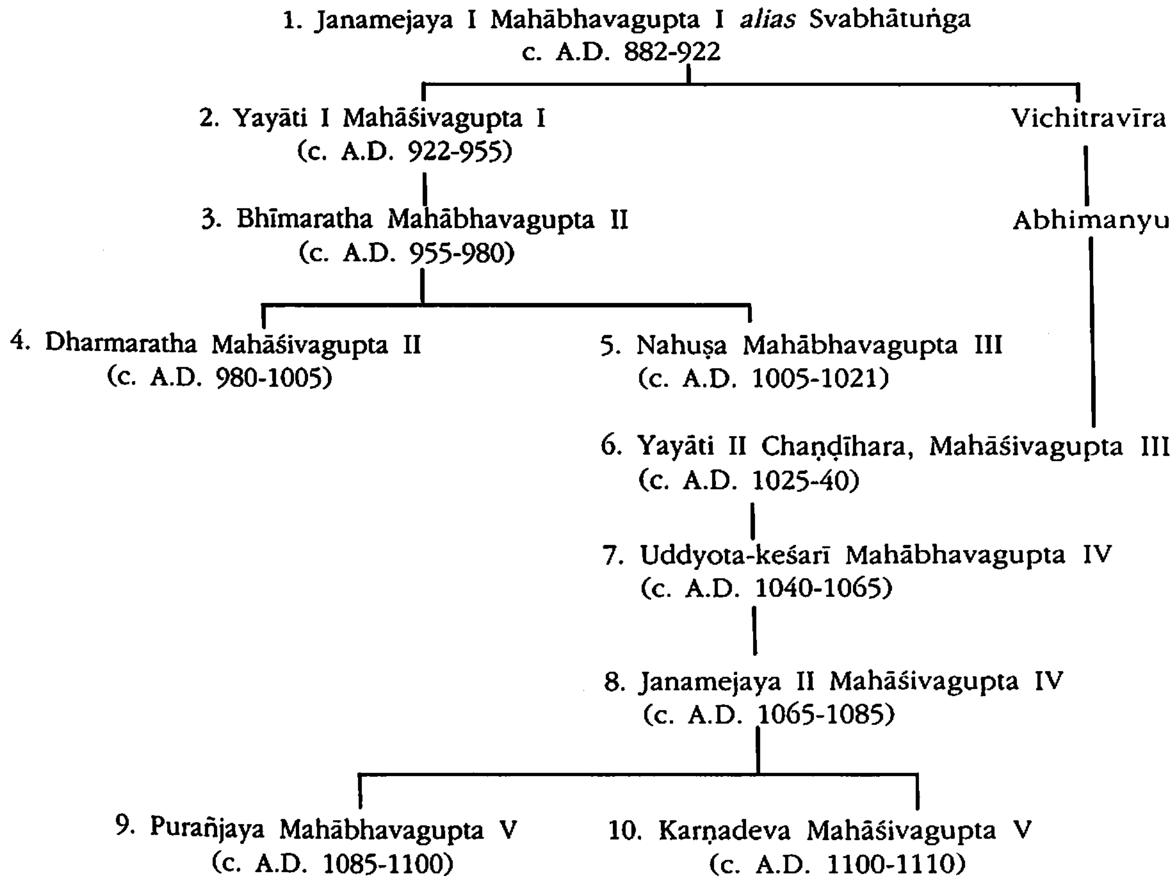
In the loosely constructed administrative policy followed by the Bhauma-karas a certain amount of autonomy was generally allowed to the minor ruling families in Orissa. During the period of disunity following the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pāla invasions, these minor dynasties, such as the Khiñjali-Bhañjas,[133] gained even greater independence and in some cases even challenged their sovereignty, possibly annexing part of the Bhauma-kara kingdom.[134] Eventually the Bhauma-karas were able to drive the Khiñjali-Bhañjas from the Baudh area to Ganjam district. A greater menace, however, appeared on their western borders—the Somavaṁśīs who had been driven out of Dakṣiṇa Kośala by the Kalacuris. Under Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta (*circa* A.D. 882-925) they established an independent kingdom in Bolangir district with their capital at Suvarṇapura (Sonepur), previously forming part of the Khiñjali-Bhañja kingdom. Matrimonial relationship was established with the Bhauma-karas, as indicated earlier, and with the death of Śubhākaradeva IV, Janamejaya helped Tribhuvana-mahādevī (his daughter) usurp the throne. Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta (*circa* A.D. 925-55), the son and successor of Janamejaya, followed the policy of expansion like his father and appears to have annexed South Tosalī from Daṇḍī-mahādevī by his 4th regnal year, so that the lower valley of the Mahānadī river came under Somavaṁśī occupation.[135] The last two Bhauma-kara rulers, Vakula-mahādevī and

Dharma-mahādevī, shifted their activities to North Tosalī where they were proteges of the Bhañja kings as in their copper-plate grants they are described as "an ornament like a flag with insignia in the family of the Bhañja kings."[136] The last known date of Vakula-mahādevī is year 204 of the Bhauma era (A.D. 940).[137] The intervention of the Bhañjas in the internal affairs of the Bhauma-karas, according to B.K. Rath, led Yayāti to defeat Śatrubhañja III and effectively terminate the reign of the Bhauma-karas in about A.D. 945.[138]

Although the Somavaṁśī rulers were primarily followers of Brahminism, they apparently were tolerant towards other religious faiths as it was during the 5th and 18th regnal years of Uddyota-keśarī (*circa* A.D. 1040-65) that the Jaina images were carved in the Lalatendu-keśarī and Navamuni caves of Khandagiri hill outside Bhubaneswar.[139] In the 10th century various forms of esoteric Buddhism flourished in Orissa and archaeological evidence suggests that activity continued unabated, though obviously not on such a grandiose scale as during the reign of the Bhauma-karas. Unfortunately there is little in the way of epigraphical material to indicate where patronage was coming from. It is apparent in the early part of their rule that the country was divided into two parts for administrative purposes, Kośala in the west with the capital at Yayātinagara (near Baudh) and Oḍra in the east with the capital at Abhinava Yayātinagara (Jājpur). The Banpur copper-plates of Indraratha (*circa* A.D. 1000-20), brother and probably successor to Dharmarāja,[140] record that he granted a village to defray the cost of ritualistic offerings to be made to Khadiravarṇī-bhaṭṭārikā,[141] most likely the Khadiravaṇī Tārā image presently housed in the Tikirai temple (fig. 305). The Ratnagiri copper-plate charter of Karṇadeva Mahāśivagupta V (A.D. 1100-10), the last Somavaṁśī king, records the grant of a village in favour of Rāṇī Karpūraśrī, who probably belonged to a family of professional dancers and hailed from Solaṇapura-*mahāvihāra*.[142] In that the plates were excavated from a mound containing a single-wing monastery, D. Mitra suggests that Karpūraśrī probably passed her retired life in Ratnagiri-*mahāvihāra*, either as a lay devotee or a *bhikṣuṇī*.[143]

The disintegration of the Somavaṁśī kingdom began from the time of Janamejaya II (*circa* A.D. 1065-85) and slowly they lost their western regions to the Nāgas, the Telugu-Coḍas and Kalacuris, their northern dominions to the Pālas and their southern dominions to the Gaṅgas. By the time Karṇadeva ascended the throne the Somavaṁśī kingdom must have been confined only to the coastal tract comprising the present districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore and appears to have been a bone of contention between the Pālas and the Gaṅgas. After the death of the Pāla king Rāmapāla, in *circa* A.D. 1110, the king of Utkala, without the support of Rāmapāla, was surrounded and slain by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1147).[144] Although Coḍagaṅga was a follower of Śaivism before his conquest of Utkala, sometime after A.D. 1112 he changed his religious ideology and embraced both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. He also is credited with bringing about some harmony between the Buddhists and the *brāhmaṇas* of Orissa. He was regarded not only as a popular king among the Hindus, but also as a mighty ruler by the Buddhist kings of Śrī Lanka with whom he made some matrimonial alliance.[145] Though little is known about the attitude of the Brahmanical Gaṅgas towards Buddhism, based on the excavations at Ratnagiri, D. Mitra concludes that the religion appears not to have been much affected by this political change at the beginning of Gaṅga rule.[146] There is, however, a paucity of archaeological remains and images in contrast to the stupendous output of Brahmanical temples throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, despite the fact that Orissa, with comparative immunity from Muslim inroads, became a refuge of the fleeing monks from northern and eastern India. According to the *Blue Annals*, as mentioned, Ratnagiri-*vihāra* was left unscathed by the Turuṣkas.[147] Tradition, on the other hand, as recorded in later works, suggests that the Gaṅga kings in fact persecuted Buddhists. The *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, composed by Īśvara Dāsa towards the end of the 16th century, relates how Anaṅgabhīmadeva sided with the Brahmins and clubbed thirty-two Buddhists to death when they failed to satisfy him in answering a test.[148] A similar tradition is recorded in the

SOMAVAṀŚĪ-KEŚARĪS



Adopted from Krishna C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa* (Madras, 1961).

Mādalā Pāñji (chronicle of the Jagannātha temple) whereby Mādana Mahādeva (Rājarājadeva II; A.D. 1170-90), predecessor of Anaṅgabhīma, drove away the Buddhists living in the caves of Śārā, Pāmrā, Arāgada, Vindhyeśvarī, Vaṇivakreśvara, Yamunājhāḍapaḍā and Dhaulī hills.[149]

The latter part of the Gaṅga period was one of continuous warfare against the Muslims. Upon the death of Bhānudeva IV the Gaṅga dynasty ends as Kapileśvara usurped the throne and became the founder of the Suryavaṁśa dynasty (A.D. 1434/35-1568). The political-ideological aspect of the Jagannātha cult developed during the early Gaṅga period, whereby Jagannātha was conceived as the state deity, becomes even more pronounced during the reign of Kapileśvara (A.D. 1434/35-67), who is the first known king to have recorded gifts to Lord Jagannātha in the Jagannātha temple at Puri.[150] Pratāparudradeva (A.D. 1497-1540), though bequeathed a large empire from his father Puruṣottama (A.D. 1467-97), appears not to have been militarily ambitious and seemingly made little attempt to expand his empire. After his defeat by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, in which he lost the land south of the Godāvarī, the political power of Orissa rapidly disintegrated, the king apparently being more concerned with religious concerns than with political ambitions. It was during his reign that Caitanya visited Orissa along with several of his followers. The interplay of different systems of Vaiṣṇavism and Tantrism in existence at this time actually transformed the cult of Bhakti into an eclectic form of Vaiṣṇavism. Pratāparudradeva embraced the new form of Vaiṣṇavism and its doctrine was incorporated into the cult of Puruṣottama.[151] Little information is available regarding the state of Buddhism at this time though, according to a tradition recorded by A. Stirling, Pratāparudradeva was favourably disposed towards Buddhism until influenced by his wife, a zealous supporter of the *brāhmaṇas*, to test the magic skill of the Buddhists and *brāhmaṇas*. "When the *brāhmaṇas* came out successful, the king expelled the Buddhists from his dominion and destroyed all the Buddhist scriptures with the exception of two books."[152] As in the case of the persecution by Anaṅgabhīmadeva, we do not know if this tradition is based on fact. During the reign of Mukundadeva (A.D. 1559-68), as mentioned earlier, Tāranātha informs us that this king erected Buddhist temples and a few monasteries and thereby revived the religion destroyed by Pratāparudradeva.[153] The *Śambhala-lam-yig* also records the construction of many Buddhist structures in Oḍiviśa by Mukundadeva who, though initially a follower of the Brahmanical religion, was influenced by his wife, who was Buddhist. D. Mitra suggests that Ratnagiri may have been one of the centres which benefited from his patronage as there is evidence of structural activity to the main *stūpa* (Stūpa No. 1) long after the 13th century.[154] The death of Mukundadeva in A.D. 1568 brought the solidarity of the country to an end. Two independent kingdoms were founded upon the remains of the empire of Pratāparudradeva, one in the south and the second in the north, both of which claimed to be Gajapatis. In the north the chiefs of Khurda were given the rank of Rāja of Orissa by the Mughal emperor Akbar at the intercession of Mansingh who settled the ensuing dispute between Rāmacandra and the heirs of Mukundadeva in favour of the former.[155] Orissa thus lost her independence with the administration at Khurda passing into the hands of the Mughals and the southern dominions being in control of the Sultans of Baḥmanī.

References

[1]N.K. Sahu, "Religious Movements in Utkala and Kaliṅga in the 6th century B.C.", *OHRJ*, Vol. IV, No. 3/4 (1956), pp. 80-81.

[2]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa* (Cuttack, 1958), pp. 9-10.

[3]Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 vols. (London, 1905), I, pp. 111-12.

[4]N.K. Sahu, *OHRJ*, IV, No. 3/4, pp. 85-86. It was removed to Śrī Lanka in the 4th century.

[5]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 4.

[6]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* p. 23.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 23.

[8]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 5.

[9]*Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India,* trans. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, ed. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (Calcutta, 1980 reprint), p. 78.

[10]See Krishna C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar* (Calcutta, 1961), pp. 178-92.

[11]S.N. Rajaguru, "Buddhism in Orissa from Epigraphical Sources", *OHRJ,* Vol. XXII, No. 2 (1976), p. 1.

[12]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 6.

[13]*Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; and N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* pp. 81-82.

[14]The foundations of an early apsidal temple are also visible on top of Udyagiri hill outside of Bhubaneswar. It also underwent numerous architectural changes though it was a Jaina structure.

[15]*Tāranātha,* p. 144.

[16]Nalinaksha Dutt, Foreword to N.K. Sahu's *Buddhism in Orissa,* p. vii.

[17]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* pp. 8-9.

[18]S.N. Rajaguru, "Jayarampur Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Gopachandra", *OHRJ,* Vol. XI, No. 4 (1963), pp. 230-33.

[19]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 9.

[20]S.N. Rajaguru, *OHRJ,* XI, No. 4, p. 224.

[21]Anirudha Das, "Asanapat", *OHRJ,* Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1965), p. 5.

[22]See B.N. Srivastava, "Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa", *Bulletin of the U.P. Historical Society,* Vol. X, No. 3 (1965), pp. 43-45.

[23]S.N. Rajaguru, *OHRJ,* XXII, No. 2, p. 4.

[24]K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-19.

[25]R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa,* 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1931), I, p. 141

[26]T. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 193-94. See also Samuel Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, 1911), p. 134, where it states that there are about 100 Saṅghārāmas, and 10,000 priests or so, all Mahāyānists.

[27]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 11.

[28]K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 33; and Ramaprasad Chanda, "Exploration in Orissa", *MASI,* No. 44 (1930), p. 6.

[29]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* p. 50.

[30]S.N. Rajaguru, "Gurāṇḍi Copper-plate Grant", *AHRS,* Vol. II (1927), 275-76.

[31]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* p. 85.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 85.

[33]T. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 198.

[34]*Tāranāthā,* p. 90.

[35]S. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 159.

[37]*Ibid.*, p. 160; and N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* pp. 51-53.

[38]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* p. 53.

[39]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 12.

[40]Krishna Panigrahi, "Bhauma Art and Architecture of Orissa", *Arts Asiatiques,* Vol IV (1957), p. 275. Harṣa and the Bhaumas both claim descent from Bhagadatta. See Binayak Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* (Calcutta, 1934), p. 36.

[41]K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar,* p. 11.

[42]S.N. Rajaguru, "The Dasapalla Copper Plate Grant of Rāṇaka Śatṛbhañja Deva, Saṁvat 198", *OHRJ,* Vol. I, No. 3 (1952), pp. 208-13.

[43]Some scholars have placed the beginning of the Bhauma period in the 9th century. See Philip K. Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1975), pp. 196-201.

[44]R.D. Banerji, "Neulpur Grant of Śubhākara: the 8th year", *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XV (1919-20), p. 3.

[45]S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa,* Vol. II (Bhubaneswar, 1950), pp. 258-63.

[46]B. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[47]Krishna C. Panigraphi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas & the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa* (Madras, 1961), pp. 24-26.

[48]Sylvain Levi, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XV (1919-20), pp. 363-64. Either Śubhākarasiṁha or Śrīman-

Mahārāja Śivakara Unmattasiṁha can be translated as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion", though *unmatta* ("mad") is not translated in the latter case. See K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas & the Somavaṁśīs,* p. 25.

[49]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 12.

[50]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra,* trans. Chikyo Yamamoto, Śata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 359 (New Delhi, 1990), p. vii; *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha,* facsimile reproduction with summary of contents by Lokesh Chandra and D.L. Snellgrove, Śata Piṭaka Series, Vol. 269 (New Delhi, 1981); and John Huntington, "Cave Six at Aurangabad: A Tantrayāna Monument?", *Kalādarśana,* ed. Joanna Williams (New Delhi, 1981), p. 48.

[51]See Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China", *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 8 (1945), pp. 251-63; and Alex Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana* (Delhi, 1992), pp. 13-15.

[52]*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIX (1951-52), p. 216.

[53]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 14; and A. Ghosh, "Khaḍipadā Image Inscription of the Time of Śubhākara", *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVI (1941-42), pp. 247-48.

[54]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 13.

[55]B. Misra, *op. cit., p. 28.*

[56]*Ibid.,* p. 12.

[57]*Ibid.,* pp. 40-51.

[58]*Ibid.,* p. 29; and K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas & the Somavaṁśīs,* pp. 27-28.

[59]*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIX (1927-28), 263-64; and B. Misra, *op. cit.,* p. 11.

[60]*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIII (1915-16), p. 167; and B. Misra, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

[61]D.K. Ganguly, *op. cit.,* p. 202.

[62]K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas & the Somavaṁśīs,* p. 7.

[63]*Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXIX, p. 153.

[64]K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas & the Somavaṁśīs,* p. 7.

[65]*Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXI, pp. 213ff.

[66]D.K. Ganguly, *op. cit.,* p. 204.

[67]Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (ed.), *Sādhanamālā,* 2 vols. (Baroda, 1968), II, p. xliii (introduction); and N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* p. 142.

[68]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* p. 143.

[69]D.L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study* (London, 1959), I, p. 70.

[70]B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā,* II, p. xxxvii.

[71]K.R. van Kooij (trans.), *Worship of the Goddess According to the Kālikāpurāṇa* (Leiden, 1972), p. 170.

[72]Dines C. Sircar (*The Śākta Pīṭhas,* Calcutta, 1971 edition, p. 13), however, believes that Oḍra is a mistake for Uḍḍiyāna as Uḍḍiyāna appears elsewhere in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (18.42-44), 49-51). Oḍra appears throughout chapter 68, however, and it is doubtful that so many "mistakes" would have been made.

[73]van Kooij, *op. cit.,* p. 35.

[74]Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta, 1968 reprint), pp. 16-17.

[75]D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

[76]*Ibid.,* p. 14.

[77]*Ibid.,* p. 24.

[78]T. Watters, *op. cit.,* I, p. 225. This, however, may simply refer to the use of *dhāraṇīs.*

[79]P.C. Bagchi, "Reviews on Sādhana Mālā", *IHQ,* Vol. VI (1930), p. 581. For the illustration see Alfred Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde,* part I (Paris, 1900), pp. 121, 148.

[80]Cf. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* (Delhi, 1980), pp. 43-44; and Nik Douglas, *Tantra Yoga* (New Delhi, 1971), p. 7.

[81]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa,* pp. 144-46.

[82]Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* (Delhi, 1980 reprint), p. 96.

[83]D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra,* pp. 12-13.

[84]*Tāranātha*, pp. 245-46. According to the *Blue Annals* (third-quarter of the 15th century), Virūpā, the preceptor of Dombi-heruka, received initiation from Lakṣmīkarā, sister of Indrabhūti. See George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 2 parts (Calcutta, 1949, 1953), I, p. 390.

[85]Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, "Recherches Bouddhiques", *Journal Asiatiques* (1934), pp. 218-35.

[86]*Tāranātha*, p. 241, n. 68.

[87]*Ibid.*, p. 245, n. 90; and B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, p. xxxviii.

[88]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 148.

[89]Krishna C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa: Hindu period* (Cuttack, 1981), p. 309.

[90]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 148; and *Tāranātha*, p. 289.

[91]G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, II, p. 755.

[92]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*,. p. 18, n. 5.

[93]*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

[94]*Ibid.*, p. 18.

[95]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII (1913-14), pp. 237-42.

[96]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 148-49.

[97]*Ibid.*, p. 149.

[98]K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, pp. 309-10. Recent excavations have unearthed numerous 6th-8th century ruins, including a monastery complex, in the Mārāgudā valley though most of the material, as yet unpublished, appears to be Brahmanical and Śākta, aside from a large mound believed to contain a *stūpa*.

[99]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 152-53.

[100]B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, II, p. xxxviii. There are apparently two *ācāryas* named Luīpā, the younger one being referred to as Matsyendranātha, and their activities are often confused. See N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 164. In Tibetan traditions he is credited with converting an Orissan king to Buddhism. See *Tāranātha*, p. 178.

[101]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 163.

[102]G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, I, pp. 359-60.

[103]See Ramesh Shankar Gupte, *The Iconography of the Buddhist Sculptures (Caves) of Ellora* (Aurangabad, 1964), pp. 146-50.

[104]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 162-63. There were also two Sarahas. Sahu places the earlier one in the late 8th century and the later one, author of songs and *Dohās*, in the 10th century.

[105]B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, p. xliii.

[106]*Tāranātha*, pp. 151-52.

[107]B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, pp. xliii-xlv.

[108]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 154.

[109]In recent years numerous metal sculptures of Vajrayāna deities have been discovered and attributed to this general area, though they date primarily from the 9th through the 11th centuries. Cf. Pratapaditya Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir* (New Delhi, 1975), pls. 50-70 and especially 78-81.

[110]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 153.

[111]N. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[112]See Thomas Donaldson, "Orissan Images of Aṣṭabhujapita Mārīcī", *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*, Vol. 3 (October, 1985), pp. 36-44, figs. 24-36.

[113]See Thomas Donaldson, "Uḍḍiyāna Mārīcī Image from Orissa", *Oriental Art*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 213-17.

[114]S.K. Saraswati, *Tantrayāna Art: An Album* (Calcutta, 1977), p. XLV.

[115]Nagendranath Vasu (*Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhañja*, Delhi, 1981 reprint, p. xcv) mentions an image of Oḍḍiyāna Mārīcī from the Pancpir sub-division of Mayurbhañja district but he does not describe or illustrate it

[116]Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (New Delhi, 1978 reprint), pl. XLII.

[117]Walter Eugene Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (New York, 1965 reprint), II, p. 105, pl. 3 B 40.

[118]*Tāranātha*, pp. 147-48.

[119]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 148.

[120]D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[121]See Baman Charan Pradhan, "Śakti Worship in Orissa", Ph.D. Dissertation, Sambalpur University (Sambalpur, 1983), p. 31.

[122]D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[123]B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, II, p. xxxix. Bhattacharyya suggests the location could be the village of Vajrayoginī in the Vikrampur area of East Bengal (Bangladesh).

[124]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 155.

[125]Surendra Kumar Moharana, "Development of Tantric Buddhism in Orissa", Ph.D. Dissertation, Utkal University (Bhubaneswar, 1985), p. 136.

[126]N. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[127]B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 43.

[128]N.K. Sahu, *Budhism in Orissa*, p. 155.

[129]Pratapaditya Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra* (Los Angeles, 1981), p. 57.

[130]*Ibid.*, p. 28.

[131]D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, pp. 69-70.

[132]R.S. Gupte, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[133]Krishna C. Panigrahi, "Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhañja", *OHRJ*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (1962), p. 13.

[134]B.K. Rath, *Cultural History of Orissa: A.D. 855-1110* (Delhi, 1983), p. 59.

[135]*Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

[136]*Ibid.*, p. 64.

[137]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI (1967-68), pp. 307-12.

[138]B.K. Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 64. For slightly different dates concerning the inauguration of the Somavaṁśī period see K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas & Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, pp. 9-10.

[139]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII (1915-16), pp. 166-69.

[140]B.K. Rath, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-74. Rath identifies Indraratha with Nahuṣa while other scholars are of the opinion they are two different kings. See K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas & Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, p. 34.

[141]Kunja Behari Tripathy, "Banpur Copperplate Inscription of Somavaṁśī Indraratha", *JASB Letters*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (1966), pp. 271-76.

[142]Debala Mitra, "Ratnagiri Plates of Somavaṁśī Karṇa", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII (1959-60), pp. 263-68.

[143]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 18.

[144]Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "The Kenduli Copperplate Grant of Narasiṁha Deva IV of Saka 1305", *OHRJ*, Vol. V, No. 1/2 (1956), pp. 54-56.

[145]K.C. Mishra, *The Cult of Jagannātha* (Calcutta, 1971), pp. 40-41.

[146]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 19.

[147]G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, II, p. 755.

[148]K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, p. 312.

[149]S.C. De, "An Image of Lokanātha from Bhubaneswar", *OHRJ*, Vol. II, No. 2 (1953), p. 44.

[150]K.C. Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[151]*Ibid.*, p. 54.

[152]Quoted from D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 19-20.

[153]Nalinaksha Dutt, Foreword to N.K. Sahu's *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. xiv-xv. See also *Tāranātha*, p. 321.

[154]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 20.

[155]R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 319.

BUDDHIST SITES IN ORISSA

As noted by Debala Mitra, "the entire land (Orissa) is dotted with the images of Buddha and divinities of the Buddhist pantheon. The number of stray images all over the state is indeed overwhelming."[1] Epigraphical evidence, unfortunately, mentions only a few Buddhist establishments and provides very little information in regard to patronage and dating as indicated in chapter I. Patrons mentioned in epigraphical records who erected structures or made grants in favour of Buddhist deities, for example, include:

1.	Mahārāja Gaṇa	Bhadrak	3rd C.
2.	Śatrubhañja	Asanapat	5th-6th C.
3.	Unmattasiṁha Śivakaradeva	Dhenkanal	8th C.
4.	Śāntikara I	Dhenkanal	9th C.
5.	Rāṇaka Vajranāga	Udayagiri	10th-11th C.
6.	Indraratha	Banpur	11th C.

In several cases individual images are inscribed with the names of donors and in two cases with the name of the reigning king:

7.	Śubhāgupta	Udayagiri		7th C.
8.	Simyaka	Udayagiri		?
9.	Rāhularuchi	Khaḍipadā	(Śubhākaradeva)	8th C.
10.	Dhāraṇī Varāha[2]	Khiching	(Rāyabhañja)	11th C.
11.	Śrī Rāṇī Mulauccha	Jayarampur		?

Included among the few sites mentioned in epigraphical records are the following:

1.	Arghyakā Varāṭikā	Dhaulī
2.	Bodhipadraka	Jayarampur
3.	Candrāditya-vihāra	Lalitagiri
4.	Gaurīputra-saṅgha	?
5.	Jayāśrama-vihāra	Jagati/Talcher
6.	Mādhavapura-mahāvihāra	Udayagiri
7.	Puphagiri/Puṣpagiri-vihāra	?
8.	Ratnagiri-mahāvihāra	Ratnagiri
9.	Solaṇapura-mahāvihāra	Solaṁpur
10.	Toṣalī	Śiśupālgarh/Bhubaneswar

Other epigraphical records include a short inscription on the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple on top of Jogamunda hill at Padmapur in Koraput district which preserves a small genealogy of three Buddhist *ācāryas*—Candralekha, Bhaddakhan and Dharmakīrti—suggesting that the monastery of the famous *ācārya* Dharmakīrti was located on this hill.[3] In an inscription of Gaganaśivācārya on the Someśvara temple at Rāṇipur-Jhariāl we are informed that an image of Buddha was one of four deities enshrined within.[4] On an architectural slab found in the core of a peripheral wall of Monastery I of Period II at Ratnagiri is an 8th century inscription recording the names of two *sūtradhāras* (architect, mason).[5]

Except for inscriptions of the Buddhist creed, etc., which can provide only approximate dates on the basis of paleographic comparisons, these are the only epigraphical records discovered so far which include the names of specific sites and/or individual donors or patrons.

In the manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (A.D. 1015) housed in the Cambridge University Library (Ms. no. Add. 1643), which illustrates celebrated Buddhist images, shrines and *stūpas* pertaining to different parts of India, four of the miniatures quite likely refer to Orissan antiquities. The first is an image of Khadiravaṇī Tārā with the label interpreted by D. Mitra as reading "Koṅgo(da)maṇḍale Khadiravaṇī Tārāh" which probably refers to the Khadiravarṇī Tārā of the Banpur grant discussed earlier, the image now housed in the Tikirai temple at Banpur.[6] The second illustration, also of Tārā, has the label "Alagataru Tārā of Oḍra-deśa". The third miniature is a *caitya* named "Alagachchhattra-caitya" while the fourth is a *stūpa* labelled "Kūrmma-stūpa of Oḍra-deśa" which possibly refers to the Buddhist complex at Kuruma in Puri district.[7] Though this manuscript does not provide dates for these antiquities it is clear that by the 11th century they were well-known throughout India.

11.	Koṅgo(da)maṇḍale	Tārā image	Banpur	1015 A.D.
12.	Alagataru (?)	Tārā image	?	1015 A.D.
13.	Alagachchhattra (?)	Tārā image	?	1015 A.D.
14.	Kūrmma-stūpa		Kuruma	1015 A.D.

Numerous other sites and Buddhist establishments are mentioned in literary works or later histories though this information is not as reliable, being much later in date and frequently based on legends which are not as yet corroborated by archaeological evidence. Included among the sites and names mentioned from this material which are not included above are the following:

15.	Bhojakagiri-vihāra	Tissa	?	3rd C B.C.
16.	Bhoraśaila	Dignāga	Delāṅga	5th C.
17.	Che-li-tā-lo	Hiuen Tsang	Citrotpalā?	7th C.
18.	Virajā	Padmasaṁbhava	Jājpur	8th C.
19.	Muñjaśi sanctuary[8]	Muñja	?	8th C.

Literary works also mention the names of famous *ācāryas* who are either from Orissa or had spent time there. Though essential in establishing the early importance of Orissa in the development of various forms of Buddhism, this information is overly vague and individual sites are seldom listed. Nāgārjuna (A.D. 2nd century), for example, not only visited Oṭiśā (Orissa) but is credited with erecting a large number of *vihāras* there.[9] Vasumitra supposedly furthered the cause of Buddhism while in Orissa (A.D. 5th century) where he converted the philosopher Makṣika along with many of his followers.[10] Triratnadāsa, the pupil of Vasumitra, is credited with establishing some fifty religous institutions in Orissa and is known to have

been a great friend of the logician Dignāga who resided in the Bhoraśaila monastery (Delāñga).[11] Dharmapāla, a disciple of Dignāga, popularized the Yogācārya school of thought while Dharmakīrti is credited with converting many people of different sects to Buddhism during his stay in Orissa in addition to constructing a monastery.[12] Included among the Tantric *ācāryas* associated with Orissa are Saraha, mentioned earlier; Vajraghaṇṭa, described by Tāranātha as belonging to a royal family of Oḍiviśa;[13] his disciple Kaṁbala-pā who was mentioned earlier as the preceptor of king Indrabhūti; Virūpā, after whom the Virupā river was supposedly named;[14] Kṛṣṇācārya (Kānhupā); Pītopāda (Biṭoba) who was a teacher of esoteric yoga at Ratnagiri-*mahāvihāra* as indicated; Abhayākara Gupta, born at Jhāṛkhaṇḍa in Orissa;[15] and Abadhūtipā, Bodhiśrī and Nāraopa who studied at Ratnagiri-*mahāvihāra*.

There are thus about twenty sites which have been mentioned in epigraphical and literary material, with only about half of them associated with existing sites. *Stūpa* ruins, monastery and temple foundations, and Buddhist images are scattered through the entire state, however, with the heaviest concentration, as in the case of Brahmanical temples, appearing in the coastal districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, especially along the small estuaries of the major rivers, including the Soṇa, the Birupā (Virupā), the Citrotpalā, the Alaka, the Prācī and the Dayā.

1. TABLE OF BUDDHIST SITES BY DISTRICT

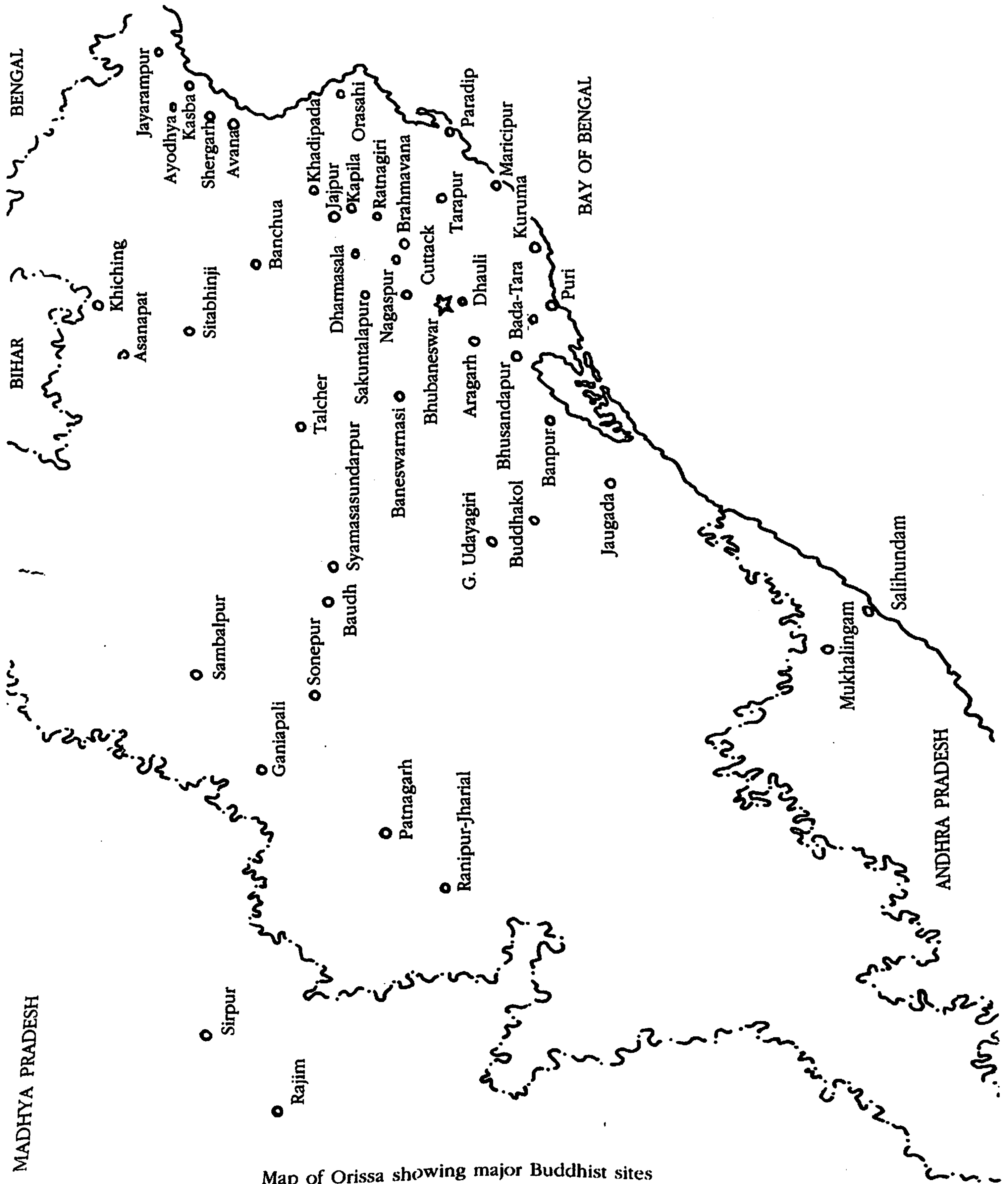
BALASORE DISTRICT	REMAINS/IMAGES
Avana	seals; Buddha; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa; Maitreya
Ayodhyā	Buddha; Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa; Mārīcī; Prajñā; Tārā; Vajra-Tārā; Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī; Varāhamukhī
Badgaon	Vajravārāhī (?)
Badia	3-headed Devī
Balasore	*stūpa* remains; museum; Avalokiteśvara; Khasarpaṇa; Maitreya
Bardhanapur (Ṭikarapara)	Tārā
Basta	Buddha; Avalokiteśvara
Bhuinpara (Shergarh)	Siṁhanāda Tārā
Dhūpasila (Nilgiri)	Mahattarī-Tārā
Gaṇḍhibeḍha	*stūpa* ruins; coins; Jambhala (?)
Gohiraṭikra	*stūpa* ruins
Jayarampur	*stūpa* ruins; copper-plate; Buddha (bronze); Tārā
Kasbā	Buddha; Avalokiteśvara (Balasore); Mahākāla (?); Tārā
Kaupur	Tārā
Khaḍipadā	Buddha (OSM); Padmapāṇi (OSM); Vajrapāṇi (OSM)
Khaira	coins; Buddha (OSM)
Khangara (Khaḍipadā)	Buddha; Tārā
Kupāri	caves; 3-headed Devī; Māyādevī (?)
Mañgalapur	Prajñāpāramitā
Orasāhi/Ḍākineśvarī-pīṭha	Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara
Shergarh/Patana	Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā
Solaṁpur	Buddha; Amoghapāśa; Avalokiteśvara; Jambhala; Lokeśvara; Maitreya; Mañjuśrī; Tārā; Vajrasattva (Calcutta)
Soro	broken images; *liṅga* with *dhāraṇī*; Avalokiteśvara; Mañjuśrī
Sujanāgarh	Mārīcī (from Köisārīgarh)

BOLANGIR DISTRICT

Rāṇipur-Jhariāl	brick temple ruins; Buddha
Sonepur	Mārīcī (Patna Museum); Mahāśrī-Tārā/Prajñāpāramitā (?)
Tārāpurgada (Binka)	Tārā (?)

CUTTACK DISTRICT

Adasapur	Cintāmaṇi-Tārā
Amarāvatī-kaṭaka	Mañjuśrī
Ali (Aul)	Tārā
Bagalpur	Crowned Buddha (?)
Bāṇeśwarnāsi	Buddha; Khasarpaṇa (OSM); Prajñāpāramitā; Siṁhanāda-Avalokiteśvara (?); Tārā (Patna Museum)
Bhaṭṭārikā	Tārā (from Bāṇeśwarnāsi?)
Chaudar	ruins; Buddha (Calcutta); Buddha mask (bronze); Avalokiteśvara; Heruka (Sambalpur); Khasarpaṇa (Calcutta); Tārā (Calcutta); Vajravārāhī (?); broken images at Sevasadana
Cuttack	Avalokiteśvara (from Udayagiri); Bāsulī-Thākurāṇī; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa (from Udayagiri)
Dharmaśālā	Buddha; Avalokiteśvara; Ḍākinī; Parṇaśavarī; Tārā; Sugatisandarśana (OSM)
Dihasāhi (Erasama area)	Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri
Dondua-maṭha (Kalyānapur)	Buddha; Mañjuvara/Mañjughoṣa; 6-armed Devī
Duburi hill	*stūpa* railings; door-jambs
Durgāpur	Arapacana Mañjuśrī
Fakirpatana (Buhalo)	Buddha
Jājpur	Buddha (Ratnagiri); Akṣobhya (Ratnagiri); Amitābha (Ratnagiri); Avalokiteśvara; Dhanada-Tārā; Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara (?); Vajradharma (?)
Kaduapara-Dihasāhi	Mārīcī
Kalanapur (Brahmavāṇa)	monastery; Buddha; Avalokiteśvara; Hāritī/Tārā; Lokeśvara; Mañjuśrī; Mārīcī; Vajrasattva
Kapila	Mahākāla temple; Buddha; Avalokiteśvara; Ḍākinī
Kaupada (Kaduapara)	Mārīcī
Kendrapara	Buddha; Akṣobhya; Avalokiteśvara; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa;
Kendupatna	Maitreya
Khaira	Buddha (OSM); Avalokiteśvara; Mañjuśrī; Tārā; Vajrapāṇi
Kulanagiri	broken images; Avalokiteśvara
Kuṇḍeśvara	Tārā
Kurukulla	Kurukullā (?)
Kusinga	Arapacana Mañjuśrī
Lalitagiri	apsidal shrine; monasteries; *stūpa*; reliquary caskets; museum; images
Langudi hill	monastery ruins; *stūpa* ruins; rock-cut images of Buddha; Avalokiteśvara; Bhṛkuṭī; Tārā
Mahāṅga	Buddha; Ākāśagarbha (Lalitagiri)
Mārīcīpur	Uḍḍiyāna Mārīcī
Mudupur	Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara
Nagaspur	Ārya-Sarasvatī; Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara; Mañjuvara; Prajñāpāramitā; Tārā
Narsinghapur	Buddha (OSM)



Map of Orissa showing major Buddhist sites

Nasikakotian	Vajrasattva
Natara	broken images; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa; Tārā
Nathuavara	Buddha (OSM)
Odisoandeigoda	votive *stūpa*; Ḍākinī (?); Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī; Tārā
Oratapurgarh	*stūpa* ruins
Paradipgarh	apsidal shrine; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa; Tārā
Radhanagar	*stūpa* railings; coins; rock-cut elephant
Ratnagiri	monasteries; *stūpas*; seals; temples; museum; images
Śakuntalapur	votive *stūpa*; Buddha
Salipur	museum; Buddha; Vairocana on broken back-slab
Singhapur	votive *stūpas*; Avalokiteśvara
Taranga	Buddha
Tārāpur	Buddha; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa; Mañjughoṣa/ Mañjuvara; Mārīcī; Prajñāpāramitā; Tārā
Tiadi-sāhi (Kaduapara)	Tārā (bronze)
Tīrthamaṭha (Turanga)	votive *stūpa*
Udayagiri	monastery; *stūpa*; seals; images; rock-cut images
Vajragiri	ruins; Avalokiteśvara (OSM); Khasarpaṇa (OSM); Mañjuśrī (OSM); Vajrapāṇi (OSM)
Varāhapur	Buddha
DHENKANAL DISTRICT	
Talcher	Buddha; Tārā; Bhṛkuṭī; Mahārājalīlā Mañjuśrī
GANJAM DISTRICT	
Buddhakol	broken images; Buddha
Ganjam	Buddha; Avalokiteśvara
Jaugada	Aśoka Rock Edicts
Kayima	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
KALAHANDI DISTRICT	
Mārāgudā	mound (*stūpa*?)
KEONJHAR DISTRICT	
Bañchua	Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara; Maitreya
Deogaon	Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara
Sadha	Buddha
Talagarh	Buddha
MAYURBHAÑJA DISTRICT	
Baḍasāhi	Mahāmāyūrī (?)
Baripada	museum; Jambhala; Kurukullā
Hariharapur	Jāṅgulī-Tārā (?)
Khiching	architectural ruins; Buddha; Arapacana Mañjuśrī; Avalokiteśvara; Jambhala; Mañjuvara; Mārīcī (Baripaḍa Museum); Tārā; Vasudhārā; Vajrasattva
Kōisārīgarh	Mārīcī (at Sujanāgarh); Mahāmāyūrī (?)
Rāṇibandh	Ārya-Tārā; Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (Baripada Museum)
Udalā	Mārīcī (Baripada Museum)

PHULBANI DISTRICT

Baudh	votive *stūpa*; Buddha; Śaṅkhanātha-Lokeśvara (bronze); Mahattarī-Tārā; Maitreya (bronze); Khasarpaṇa
G. Udayagiri	Mucilinda Buddha
Paragalapur	Buddha; Tārā; eroded images.
Śyāmāsasundarpur	Buddha

PURI DISTRICT

Acutrajpur	bronze hoard (OSM); Buddha; Hālāhala Lokeśvara; Tārā; Khasarpaṇa; Mārīcī
Amaraprasādgarh	Guhya-Mañjuvajra
Amareśvara	Avalokiteśvara (OSM)
Aragarh	*stūpa* railing; votive *stūpas*; temples; Buddha; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa; Vajradharma (?); Vajrasattva/ Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara (?)
Arkavaṭa	Jambhala
Astaraṅga	Mārīcī
Baḍa-Tārā	Jambhala; Kurukullā (?); Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Bairoi	Mārīcī
Banpur	Tārā; Lokeśvara
Bāṭeśvara (Tulasipur)	Avalokiteśvara
Benupada	clay votive *stūpas*
Bhillideuli	Buddha
Bhingarpur	Buddha (stolen)
Bhubaneswar	*stūpa* railings; Buddha; Avalokiteśvara; Cundā; Hālāhala-Lokeśvara; Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara; Mahārājalīlā Mañjuśrī; Tārā; museum
Denua	Buddha
Dhauli	Aśoka Rock Edicts; caves; rock-cut elephant
Durdurabasta	3-headed Devī
Gada Beguniāpadā	votive *stūpa*
Gareḍipañcana	Amṛta-Locanī (?); Mārīcī
Ghorodia	Avalokiteśvara
Gopalpur	Mārīcī
Jiunti	Tārā
Kapilaprasād	*stūpa* ruins
Kapileśvara	Dhanada-Tārā
Kenduli	Avalokiteśvara
Kurkimuṇḍia	*stūpa* railings
Kuruma	monastery; Buddha; Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa; Yamāntaka
Lataharaṇa	Avalokiteśvara
Manitri	Avalokiteśvara
Phiriphira	Tārā
Rāmacaṇḍī	Mārīcī
Rengala	Buddha
Sundaragram	Tārā
Vīrabalabhadrapur	Buddha

SAMBALPUR DISTRICT

Gaṇiāpāli/Melchamunda	monastery ruins; Mucilinda Buddha; broken images
Nāgarāja	monastery ruins
Parimalagiri/Nṛsiṁhanāth	?

A. BALASORE DISTRICT

Balasore is the northernmost coastal district. It is bounded on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the north by the district of Midnapore of West Bengal, on the west by Mayurbhañja and Keonjhar districts, and on the south by Cuttack district, much of the southern border being formed by the Vaitaraṇī river. Other important rivers are the Subarnarekhā, the Buddhabalaṅga, the Soṇa, the Sālandī and the Jalaka. In addition to being ruled by the major dynasties of Orissa, the northern portion of the state was occasionally ruled over by minor dynasties, the most notable being the Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa Bhañjas whose rule apparently extended as far north as Tamluk, now a village in West Bengal.[16] Testimony to being under the hegemony of the Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa Bhañjas is evident in the sculptural style of many 10th-11th century images, as at Ayodhyā, which is more akin to the style of Khiching than to the rest of Orissa. In the southern portions of the district, however, as at Khaḍipadā and Solaṁpur, the sculptural style is more closely related to that at Ratnagiri, as would be expected considering their close proximity to Jājpur. The earliest Buddhist remains are those discovered at Jayarampur near the border with Midnapore district of West Bengal, dating to the 5th-6th century. Other major Buddhist sites within the district include Ayodhyā, Avana, Balasore town, Kasbā, Kaupur, Khaḍipadā and Solaṁpur while stray images have been found at Alinagar, Badgon, Badia, Bardhanapur, Dhūpasila, Gaṇḍhibeḍha, Gohiraṭikrā, Khaira, Khangara, Kupāri, Maṅgalapur, Orasāhi (Dakeśvarī-*pīṭha*), Soro and Sujanāgarh.

1. Ayodhyā/Nilgiri/Shergarh Area

The village of Ayodhyā is situated about six miles from Nilgiri. It was at one time the capital of the Vairāṭa-rājas and throughout its long history was considered a sacred site for both Hindus and Buddhists. It is surrounded by rivers—the Ghargharā on the east, the Soṇa to the north and the Sindhu to the south. A chain of irregular caves in the nearby hills suggests there was a large Buddhist establishment dating to a period much earlier than the surviving sculptures. During the 10th-11th centuries it was a flourishing centre of Buddhism with Mārīcī and Tārā as the presiding deities.[17] Ruins of more than one hundred temples have been noted in the area.[18] Numerous sculptural images of Buddhist, Hindu and Jain deities are scattered throughout the village, in private homes as well as in temples, and arrangements are being made by the Orissa State Archaeology for the erection of an archaeological shed to house these images.[19] Stylistically most of the Buddhist images date to the 10th or 11th century and are closely related to examples from Khiching. They are similarly carved out of chlorite and, except where broken, are well-preserved and evince superb craftsmanship in finely carved surface details.

At the southern end of the village are numerous shrines, all heavily plastered, constructed in the late 19th century by Bhānu Khuntiā. A large number of dressed stones from earlier temples have been utilized in these shrines.[20] The most important for this study is the Jayadurgā (Khuntiā) temple with its presiding deity being Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī. Other images within the sanctum, all in active worship as Hindu deities and generally covered with garments, include a Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī (?), a Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara, and a Varāhamukhī while near the entrance is a small image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. Mārīcī, worshipped as Jayadurgā, is eight-armed and stands in *pratyālīḍha* in her chariot pulled by seven sows (fig. 368). She is surrounded by four companions while the popular Buddhist *dhāraṇī "Ye dharma hetu prabhavā..."* is carved on the upper part of the back-slab in characters ascribed to the late 10th century.[21] The two-armed Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī stands in *tribhaṅga* on a *viśvapadma* and is richly ornamented (fig. 260). His right hand delicately holds a small lotus in front of his chest while his left hand holds the stalk of an *utpala* which supports either a *vajra* or a book. He is flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Yamāntaka who duplicate his pose. Lokeśvara stands in a slightly flexed pose with his right hand in *varada* and his raised left hand holding a lotus (fig. 198). He is framed by a *kalpavṛkṣa* which showers gems to *pretas* standing below.

He is flanked on the left by a seated, two-armed Cintāmaṇicakra-Avalokiteśvara. The four-armed Varāhamukhī, worshipped as Vārāhī, stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a *viśvapadma*. Her principal right hand wields a *vajra* while her left hand is in *tarjanī-pāśa* (fig. 376). Her back hands hold arrows and a bow. Inserted into a niche on the front exterior of the temple is a small image of the Brahmanical Vārāhī. The original temple of Mārīcī Thākurāṇī was located about half a mile west of a place called Kāṇḍabhāri, though all that remains are a broken granite pillar, huge carved stones and an *amalaka-silā*.[22] There is little doubt that at one time this must have been a huge temple.

Other images scattered throughout the village include a beautiful, seated Tārā, the Prajñā of Tathāgata Ratnasaṁbhava (?), several small Buddhas, and a four-armed Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa. The larger image of Tārā depicts her seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. Her right hand is in *varada* while her left hand holds the stalk of an *utpala* (fig. 297). She is richly adorned and a second *utpala* on her right supports a votive *stūpa*. The Prajñā of Ratnasaṁbhava (?) is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* while the left hand holds the stalk of a lotus supporting a jewel? (fig. 323). In the first of the small Buddha images, now headless, Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his right hand in *abhaya*, suggesting he probably represents the Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi (fig. 109). In the second example the Buddha displays *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and a votive *stūpa* is above each shoulder. The image is badly worn. Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa stands in a graceful *tribhaṅga* pose with his major right hand in *varada* while the obliterated uplifted hand held a rosary. The two left arms are badly damaged.[23] He is richly ornamented and bears an effigy of Amitābha on his crown. He is framed by a *toraṇa* with a votive *stūpa* at each upper corner opposite his shoulders. He is flanked by Tārā on the right and by Bhṛkuṭī on the left while a seated figure (goddess?) is on each corner of the pedestal. Flying *vidyādharas* are on the upper corners of the back-slab.

Inside the sanctum of the Uttareśvara Mahādeva temple in the northern part of the village, built on the foundation of an earlier destroyed temple, is an image of Vajra-Tārā, a seated Buddha and an image of the serpent goddess Āstika-jaratkāru, in addition to the Śiva-*liṅga*. The image of Vajra-Tārā is popularly known as the Thākurāṇī of Ayodhyā to suggest she originally had her own shrine. She has four faces (three visible) and eight arms (fig. 320). She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and is surrounded by four goddesses. The Buddha (Ratnasaṁbhava) is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his right hand displaying *varada-mudrā* (fig. 112).

At Badia, on the outskirts of Ayodhyā, is the upper portion of a broken image of a three-headed goddess. All of her arms are broken off, however, and it is not possible to determine if she is a Brahmanical or a Buddhist deity. The image at Purāṇagaon, three miles northwest of Ayodhyā, which Vasu identified as the Buddhist goddess Kurukullā,[24] is actually an image of Pārvatī. At Dhūpasila, three miles east of Nilgiri, a broken image of Mahattarī Tārā is presently being worshipped in a miniature temple while in the sanctum of the modern Budhār-caṇḍī temple at Sujanāgarh, three miles west of Nilgiri, is an image of Mārīcī, regarded as the tutelary deity of the Vairāṭa-rājas who migrated to Nilgiri from a place called Gaḍgaḍiā some ten miles away.[25] Unfortunately the image of Budhār-caṇḍī (Mārīcī) is unavailable for inspection and the identification is based on a description by the local priests. According to tradition the image originally came from Köisārīgarh which is situated in Mayurbhañja district on the Soṇa river some twenty-eight miles from Baripada.[26]

On the outskirts of Shergarh, affixed to the outer compound wall of the residence

of Śrī S. Senapati, is an image of Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā being worshipped as Ugra Tārā (fig. 285). Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada*. Her left hand, placed on her seat behind her thigh, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. The image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century. Surface details are partially obfuscated by paste from *pūjā* rituals.

2. Avana/Soro/Badgaon/Orasāhi

Numerous Buddhist antiquities were uncovered in 1981 when students of Belabhūmi College cleared away the debris around the Brahmaṇī (Caṇḍī) temple at Avana, a village located some twelve miles from the Bahanāga railway station. Included among the Buddhist relics were hundreds of inscribed terracotta seals containing Buddhist *dhāraṇīs*,[27] and several small stone images, two of the best representing Maitreya and Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/ Mahākaruṇa. Maitreya is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. His right hand is extended in *varada* while his left hand holds the stalk of the *nāgakeśara* flower (fig. 121). The four-armed Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa is seated in *lalitāsana* with his principal right hand in *varada* and the left hand, resting on his knee, holding the stalk of a lotus. His uplifted back hands hold a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu* (fig. 244). Both images are badly worn. In that terracotta seals with the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* have been found in other parts of the village, it is likely that at some stage there was a *vihāra* here, probably in the late 9th or early 10th century as most of the images as well as an inscription on the lintel of the Caṇḍī temple date to this period.[28]

At Soro, off National Highway No. 5 between Bhadrak and Balasore, Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain relics are scattered throughout the village with many being clustered in groups and placed under trees or in small shrines. Among the better preserved images are a seated Mañjuśrī (fig. 169), a standing Avalokiteśvara and fragments of an ornate doorframe. From numerous copper-plate grants of Somadatta, Bhānudatta and Śaṁbhuyaśa we learn that in the 7th century it was the headquarters of a *viṣaya* (district) called Sarephahara.[29] Among the antiquities found at Gohiriāsāhi, two miles from the Soro railway station, is a Śiva-*liṅga* with the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* "*Oṁ ye dharma hetu prabhavā he...*" inscribed on four sides of its square pedestal, paleographically assignable to the late 9th or early 10th century.[30]

The presiding deity of the Bāsulī-Thākurāṇī temple at Badgaon, a village some five miles from Soro, supposedly represents Vajravārāhī[31] but the image, in active worship as a Brahmanical goddess, is unavailable for inspection. The temple is of modern origin though early images of Mahiṣamardinī and Āstika-jaratkāru are found within the premises of the compound. Ruins of a fort, including large bricks and stone slabs dating to the 8th-9th century, are scattered about the village.

Included among the loose sculptures of the Ḍākeśvarī-*pīṭha* at Orasāhi, a small fishing village at the mouth of the Vaitaraṇī river near Chandbali on the Bay of Bengal, is an image of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, the upper portion with part of his face being broken off (fig. 222). He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* while the left hand holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus. A second lotus blossoms on his right. Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī are on the upper register of the pedestal while three devotees, Sūcīmukha and offerings are on the lower register. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

3. Balasore/Kasbā

The city of Balasore, though known primarily for its Śaiva temples, has numerous Buddhist relics scattered throughout various sections of the town and in addition has a museum in the Santikanan area which includes among its collection images of Khasarpaṇa



MAP OF NORTH-EASTERN ORISSA

Lokeśvara, Avalokiteśvara, Buddha and Tārā. Avalokiteśvara is seated in *bhadrāsana* with his hands in *vyākhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 223). Of the images scattered within the city, three are especially notable with two of them being of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. The first image of Khasarpaṇa, badly fragmented, is now placed within the compound of the Fakir Mohana College (fig. 216). He is seated in *lalitāsana* with the right leg broken off below the knee and both arms missing. An effigy of Amitābha is in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* while the other Tathāgatas are in miniature *stūpas* dispersed in the landscape around the *makara-toraṇa* framing the head of Khasarpaṇa. The second image of Khasarpaṇa is inserted into a niche of a wall within the city (fig. 215). He is seated in *lalitāsana* and both arms are broken off at the elbow. The five Tathāgatas, each seated in a cave or *caitya*, are again dispersed in the landscape around the trefoil *toraṇa* framing the head of Khasarpaṇa. He is flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva while Tārā, Sūcīmukha and Bhṛkuṭī are on the pedestal along with the *saptaratnas*. The third image, of Maitreya, is situated on the bank of an old tank.[32] He is seated in *bhadrāsana* with his hands in *vyākhyāna-mudrā*. A *nāgakeśara* flower issues from under his left arm. Among the smaller images in the city is a small Avalokiteśvara presently housed in the sanctum of the Bāṇeśvara temple along with several Brahmanical images (fig. 205). The ruins of a *stūpa*, called Uṣā-medha, are visible in the Sunhat area of the city.

It is most likely that some Buddhist images in Balasore town originated from Kasbā, situated near Bhīmpur on the seashore some eight miles southeast of Balasore. N.N. Vasu mentions large images of Avalokiteśvara and the Buddha in meditation having been removed from Kasbā to Balasore. On the bank of an ancient tank at Kasbā are still to be seen a broken image of Tārā and a large stone wheel.[33] According to local tradition there were originally sixteen large *cakras* at the site but the others have been covered up by the shifting earth. The lone surviving example has a seated four-armed figure in the hub-cap, similar to examples found at Kaupur, Ayodhyā and Khiching, and may be of Vaiṣṇava origin rather than Buddhist. On the other side of the village is a two-armed, badly worn image housed in a small shrine. The terrifying deity, worshipped as Bāsulī Thākurāṇī, stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a corpse. It is garbed in modern clothes so it is not possible to determine if it is male or female. It is flanked by eight *yoginīs*, four superimposed one above the other on either side, to suggest a *maṇḍala*. Iconographically the image could be Mahākāla, Bhairava or Cāmuṇḍā (fig. 281). It can be dated to the 10th century.

4. Jayarampur/Basta

Jayarampur, situated near the mouth of the Subarnarekhā river in the northeast corner of the district close to the border with Midnapore district of West Bengal, was an important Mahāyāna Buddhist centre from as early as the 5th century, as indicated earlier. While excavating a mound in the village in 1960 a copper-plate was recovered which dated from the first regnal year of Gopachandra (early 6th century A.D.). The charter records the grant of the village of Śvetabālikā to the Mahāyānist *bhikṣu-saṅgha* for constructing a *vihāra* at Bodhipadraka (Jayarampur) where presided Ārya Avalokiteśvara.[34] The mound, locally known as *Ahutikuṇḍa* (a sacrificial pit), additionally yielded large quantities of large-sized old bricks, a chlorite image of Tārā with the inscription "Śrī Rāṇī Mulauccha", and a bronze image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (removed to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar).[35] The prosperity of the site no doubt was due to its location on a trade route which probably connected with Tamralipti.

The village of Basta or Bansada, some fifteen miles west of Jayarampur on the national highway midway between Balasore and Jāleśvara, appears to have been a major centre of Vajrayāna Buddhism during the 9th-10th centuries though most of the sculptures have been removed. An image of Buddha and one of Avalokiteśvara associated with Tārā are presently kept in the residence of Ray Mahasya of Laxamananath.[36]

5. Kaupur/Kupāri/Gaṇḍibeḍha

The village of Kaupur is situated approximately eight miles northwest of Bhadrak on the bank of the Sālandī river. In addition to numerous Brahmanical deities scattered throughout the village, there is an image of Tārā lying under a tree by the side of the road leading into the village (fig. 287). She stands in a slightly flexed pose with her right hand in *varada* while her left hand, placed on the head of a four-armed Ekajaṭā, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. On the right is a kneeling Sudhanakumāra with his hands folded in *añjali*. The five Tathāgatas are at the top of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

Kupāri, situated nine miles from Agarapara in Bhadrak sub-division, was visited by John Beams in the late 19th century. According to Beams there was a Buddhist monastery and a temple which enshrined a colossal image of the Buddha.[37] R.L. Mitra mentions seeing an image of Māyādevī at the site with a 10th century inscription of the Buddhist creed on the back.[38] The site and the caves dotting the neighbouring hills are mentioned in the Neulpur copper-plate of Śubhākaradeva I to suggest it was a well-known site in the 8th-9th century.[39] Though Buddhists may have resided in these caves at that time, there is little today at the site to substantiate the claims of Beams, Mitra, Fabri[40] and others. The pillared hall is in a dilapidated condition and its original purpose is unknown.[41] The images are Brahmanical, however, and the only sculpture at the site which may be Buddhist is a three-headed, multi-armed seated goddess (fig. 342). The lower portion of the image and most of the arms are broken off, the only recognizable weapon being a bow. Identification is thus impossible and there is no way of determining if the image is Buddhist or Brahmanical.

Gaṇḍibeḍha, on the road between Kupāri and Soro, is the site of the discovery of a large hoard of copper coins. Each coin contains on one side a line of writing mentioning "Śrī Nandasya" while on the other side is a couchant bull.[42] The village supposedly is named after the Mahāyānic text *Gaṇḍavyūha* which was sent through Prājña to the Chinese emperor as mentioned earlier. Though most of the scattered images within the village are Brahmanical, the remains of a large Buddhist *stūpa* are reported to exist on nearby Ḍubri hill.

6. Khaḍipadā

Khaḍipadā, situated about ten kilometres northeast of Jājpur in the Dhamnagar Police Station of Bhadrak sub-division, must have been a flourishing site for Mahāyāna Buddhism during the Bhauma period judging by the surface finds which include two colossal Buddha images, Vajrapāṇi and an inscribed Padmapāṇi, all of which have been removed to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. The two Buddha images were constructed from several stone slabs. The first image depicts Buddha seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his right hand in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and most likely was a sanctum image along with the two images of standing Bodhisattvas (fig. 71). The back-slab behind the head is missing and his facial features are partially obliterated. The second image, badly broken, depicts the Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā* and may have served as the Tathāgata Vairocana on a large *stūpa* (fig. 96). Padmapāṇi is depicted standing in a relaxed *tribhaṅga* pose (fig. 187). His right arm is broken off at the elbow while the raised left hand holds a lotus, its stalk meandering down the side of the back-slab. On the left edge and at the top of the back-slab is incised an inscription in a single line which records the dedication of the image by *mahāmaṇḍalācārya paramaguru* Rāhularuchi during the reign of king Śubhākaradeva,[43] suggesting the probable existence of a large *maṇḍala* at the site. Stylistically the image, as noted by R.P. Mohapatra, "is endowed with substance and weight but lacks in natural grace. As compared with its prototypes found in the Asia hills, it looks serene but lifeless."[44] All four of these large sculptures can be assigned to the 8th century.

Numerous smaller images of the Vajrayāna pantheon have been retrieved from the

vast mound at Khaḍipadā and are presently kept in a village shrine.[45] Nearby is the village of Gohiraṭikrā which may be the site of the original Bhauma-kara capital (Guhadevapāṭaka) while the wooded area north of Khaḍipadā, from which a few Buddhist images and the remains of a *caitya* have been discovered, is known locally as "Baidākhiā".[46] On the edge of a tank on the outskirts of the village Khangara, beneath a *varuṇa* tree, is a badly-worn image of the Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 78). Elsewhere in this village, next to an image of Manasā, is an image of Tārā (fig. 295). She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and her left holding a lotus. Both images can be dated to the 9th century.

7. Solaṁpur (Solaṇapura-vihāra)

The village of Solaṁpur, mentioned in the Neulpur grant of Śubhākaradeva,[47] lies on the other side of the Vaitaraṇī river from Jājpur. The village has grown up on the mounds and ruins of Buddhist edifices and some thirty Buddhist images are still within the village, including examples of Buddha, Jambhala (fig. 6), Lokeśvara, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Vajrasattva.[48] Its mention in the Ratnagiri plates of the Somavaṁśī king Karṇadeva at the beginning of the 12th century[49] suggests it had a prolonged life. Among the images fixed to the walls of the Raghunātha temple is a slab representing the eight great events associated with the life of Gautama Buddha (fig. 50). The main image shows him in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, indicating his enlightenment at Uruvelā. Immediately above his head, and below the *mahāparinirvāṇa* scene at the apex of the pointed back-slab, is a row of six seated Bodhisattvas which, along with one on either side of the *nirvāṇa* scene, form a set of eight corresponding to the *maṇḍala* cult of Bodhisattvas so popular in Orissa. In another niche on the temple is a smaller image of Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 82). More impressive is a large standing image of Tārā filling another exterior niche (fig. 288). She assumes a relaxed pose with her right hand lowered in *varada-mudrā* while her raised left hand holds the stalk of a lotus. She is flanked at the base on either side by a small companion goddess while a Tathāgata image is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A second image of Tārā in another niche is much smaller (fig. 294). She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* while the left, placed on the seat behind her thigh, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. Later in date is the image of Mañjuśrī loosely placed on the front porch of the temple (fig. 163). He stands in a rather rigid pose with his right hand in *varada* while the left hand holds the stalk of an *utpala*. A lotus stalk meandering up on either side supports a book on its blossom. He is flanked on either side by a female attendant while the pedestal is decorated with a pair of addorsed lions at the centre, a three-faced Yamāri on the right and a kneeling devotee on the left.

Placed beneath a tree in front of the Śānteśvarī Thākurāṇī temple are numerous fragmented images, including Avalokiteśvara, Jambhala and Vajrapāṇi (fig. 6). Several small broken images of Buddha are placed on the porch of the shrine along with a large image of a four-armed seated Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (fig. 246). Amoghapāśa is seated in *lalitāsana* with his lower right hand in *varada* while the left hand, placed on the seat, holds the stalk of a lotus. His raised back hands hold a noose and a *kamaṇḍalu*. Nearby is a two-armed seated Avalokiteśvara while within the shrine, unavailable for inspection, are several small Tārā images. A chlorite image of Vajrasattva has been removed to the Indian Museum at Calcutta (fig. 116) while other images still scattered in the village include a seated four-armed Tārā accompanied by Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Mahāmāyūrī (fig. 314). It is quite likely that the stray images of Vajradharma (?) and Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara (?) in the Siddheśvara temple compound, on the edge of Jājpur on the other side of the river, and the Dhanada Tārā in the Varāha temple compound, on the same side of the river and opposite the Daśāśvamedha *ghāt* of Jājpur, originated from Solaṁpur. The majority of the images at Solaṁpur can be dated from the 9th to the 11th century.

B. BOLANGIR DISTRICT

The modern district of Bolangir in western Orissa is bounded on the north by Sambalpur district, on the west by the Nawapada sub-division of Kalahandi district, on the south by Kalahandi district, and on the east by Phulbani district. The major rivers are the Mahānadī and the Tel. Politically this area formed part of the Sambalpur tract which frequently was under the hegemony of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī rulers of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala. In the late 9th century, as indicated earlier, Janamejaya, having been driven out of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, set up a small independent kingdom in this area with his capital at Suvarṇapura (Sonepur). Other dynasties which held portions of this area at various times include the Bhañjas, the Telugu-coḍas, the Kalacuris, the Gaṅgas and the Chauhans. In later periods it is particularly associated with Śākta and Tantric legends and culture. For the most part the surviving archaeological finds are Brahmanical.

At Rāṇipur-Jhariāl, as indicated previously, there is an inscription on the Someśvara temple, dating to the late 9th century, which informs us that Buddha is one of the four deities enshrined within the temple.[50] The image is still inserted in a small niche on the wall of the antarala leading to the sanctum. The Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands in *añjali* (fig. 512). For the most part Rāṇipur-Jhariāl, consisting of twin villages situated on the two sides of an enormous outcrop of flatrock in the Titlagarh sub-division, is known for its Chauṣaṭ Yoginī-*pīṭha*, a myriad of stone Brahmanical temples, and a large brick Vaiṣṇava temple. As a Brahmanical *tīrtha* it finds mention in verse 62 of the Bilhāri inscription, being visited by the Cedi king Lakṣmaṇarāja,[51] and in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, as quoted in the *Tīrthakhaṇḍa* of Kṛtyakalpatru.[52] An inscription on top of a nearby rocky elevation records the name "Siddhācārya" next to a pair of foot-prints while the inscription on the Someśvara temple records that the temple was constructed by the famous Śaiva ascetic Gaganaśivācārya.[53] That Buddhism also flourished at the site is evident by recent excavations undertaken by the Orissa State Archaeology which uncovered an ancient brick wall having ten layers of bricks as well as numerous brick structures erected on the ruins of earlier stone constructions. An image of a seated Buddha found on top of the mound was probably enshrined within the ruined structure which appears to be contemporary with the 10th century brick Indralath temple nearby.[54]

Sonepur, situated at the confluence of the Mahānadī and Tel rivers, is of great antiquity, punch-marked silver coins attributed to the 4th century B.C. even being unearthed, and it was known in ancient times as Suvarṇapura (golden town). Antiquities of Sonepur suggest that the town was far more extensive in area in earlier periods than it is now. In later times the town became renowned for its many Śaiva shrines and in the 17th century *Kośalānanda Kāvya* it was even declared to be another Vārāṇasī. It was equally renowned for its many Śākta shrines and is the home not only of *aṣṭacaṇḍīs* but also the abode of the *sāt-bahen* or seven sisters, a popular Tantric cult throughout western Orissa.[55] The majority of the many extant temples in the city today, however, were built by the Chauhan chiefs who assumed control of the area in the second-half of the 14th century. Only a few Buddhist relics remain to testify to its ancient past as a thriving Buddhist site, the foremost being a badly worn and headless image worshipped as "Buddha Tārā" placed in front of the Sureśvarī temple (fig. 311). The goddess is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* with her right leg resting on the left. Her arms, broken off at the elbows, were possibly in *vyākhyāna-mudrā* with a lotus stalk passing under and over each arm. She is flanked on either side by a Bodhisattva seated in a similar pose and with hands also displaying *vyākhyāna-mudrā* though a lotus issues up only on their left side. A book is supported by the lotus for the Bodhisattva on the left to suggest he represents Mañjuvara. Four companion goddesses appear on the pedestal. Due to the missing *mudrā(s)* and attributes it is difficult to determine if the major deity represents Mahāśrī-Tārā or possibly Prajñāpāramitā. The image can be ascribed to the 10th century.

In addition to numerous small bronze Brahmanical images in the Patna Museum from Sonepur, there is also a small stone image of Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī.[56] She is eight-armed, has three heads, and stands in the conventional *pratyālīḍha* pose in a chariot drawn by seven sows. The latter are aligned frontally in a stiff manner to suggest a late date, probably the late 10th or early 11th century.

About a mile south of Binka (Binitapura), formerly the headquarters of the Somavaṁśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, are the ruins of Tārāpuragada, a medieval fort surrounded on three sides by wide moats and on the fourth by the Mahānadī river. The presiding deity of the fort is named Tārādevī and most likely is the Buddhist goddess Tārā. Though still in worship amidst the ruins of the fort, her image is badly worn and identification is not possible.[57]

C. CUTTACK DISTRICT

The coastal area of Cuttack is one continuous network of rivers and canals dotted with temples, ruins and displaced sculptures of Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain faiths. The district is bounded on the north by the Vaitaraṇī river, which separates it from Balasore district, on the west and northwest by Dhenkanal district, on the south by Puri district, and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. The landscape on the west is dotted with irregularly scattered groups of mountains running east and west. The three major rivers are the Brāhmaṇī, the Mahānadī, and the Vaitaraṇī while the major tributaries are the Alaka, the Birupā, the Devī and the Citrotpalā. Of the numerous canals the most notable are the Kendrapara and the Taladanda. Throughout most of the history of Orissa, Cuttack played a major role in the political activities of the state, the capital being located near Jājpur during the Bhauma-kara period and at Kaṭaka (Cuttack-Chaudar) during both the Somavaṁśī and Gaṅga periods, the three most important periods in respect to political and cultural endeavours. As the nerve centre of the state, it is only natural that it received heavy royal patronage. As indicated earlier, the overwhelming majority of the temples and ruins are situated in the coastal area, particularly along the smaller tributary rivers.

1. Alaka River (Jagatsinghpur Area)

One of the more interesting of these tributary rivers in respect to Buddhist remains is the Alaka which branches off from the north side of the Devī river, part of which virtually rejoins the Devī where it empties into the Bay of Bengal. The major centre of activity occurs in Jagatsinghpur sub-division with Buddhist sculpture being found at Dihasāhi, Kaduapara, Kalyānapur (Dondua-maṭha), Kuṇḍeśvara, Mudupur and Nasikakotian. In the Khanduala temple at Kaduapara (Dihasāhi) is a headless image of Mārīcī while in the adjacent village of Kaupada is a better preserved image of Mārīcī worshipped as Ambikeyī (fig. 373). Elsewhere in the vicinity at Tiadi Sāhi, placed next to an image of Hara-Pārvatī in an open pavilion, is a small brass image of Mahattarī-Tārā being worshipped as Bagalā (fig. 309).

Three particularly interesting images are preserved in the Dondua-maṭha near Kalyānapur. Unfortunately they are being worshipped as Hindu deities and are badly worn through *pūjā* rituals. The first, worshipped as Vāsudeva, represents the Buddha descending from Trāyastriṁśa heaven (fig. 55). He stands in a slightly flexed pose with his right hand in *varada* and the left hand holding the folded end of the *uttarāsaṅga*. He is flanked at the base by Indra holding an umbrella and a kneeling image of the nun Utpalavarṇā while a conflation of Hindu deities appears on either side of the back-slab accompanying Buddha on his descent. The second image is of Mañjughoṣa/Mañjuvara (fig. 179). He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a lion. His hands are in *vyākhyāna-mudrā* with an *utpala* issuing from under his left arm. He has a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. The third image depicts a six- or eight-armed female deity seated in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 344). The upper part of the back-slab is broken off while her head and the pedestal are from other broken sculptures. Her lower right hand

is in *varada* while her lower left hand rests on the thigh in a similar manner but possibly held an object now missing. The other hands are broken off though it appears that she may have been dispensing an arrow from a bow. She is flanked on either side by a standing male. The pedestal contains an urn, a tripod, a *māravijaya* scene with Acala attacking Māra, and a standing crowned attendant holding an umbrella. The figure on the left side of the attached back-slab of the pedestal is a male in *pratyālīḍha* with his right arm raised in the manner of Acala. All three images at Dondua appear to date to the 10th century.

Although Kuṇḍeśvara is best known for its Brahmanical art, N.K. Sahu illustrates a broken image of Tārā from the site with only the upper half surviving and additionally mentions seeing another Tārā image.[58] The image which he illustrates, however, actually is the upper half of a Mahattarī-Tārā image at Ratnagiri (fig. 310). He also illustrates an image of Bhairava which he identifies as Sambara.[59] It is thus not clear if, in fact, there are any Buddhist images at this site.

In the centre of the village of Mudupur, three miles from Dihasāhi, next to an image of the Brahmanical serpent goddess Manasā, is an image of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (fig. 219). He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. His right hand is in *varada* while the raised left hand, now missing, held a full-blown lotus. His head is framed by a cave. On either side of his head is a Tathāgata seated in a *caitya* while the other three are aligned at the centre at the top edge of the back-slab. The four companions to Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara are carved on the sides of the back-slab, Hayagrīva and Tārā on the right side while Sudhanakumāra and Bhṛkuṭī are on the left. The upper row of the pedestal contains the *sapta-ratnas* while the lower row is decorated with a kneeling Sūcīmukha, a figure trampling a serpent, offerings, a lamp and three kneeling devotees. The image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.

At Nasikakotian, five miles from Jagatsinghpur, there are numerous ruins of early brick temples plus a partially reconstructed temple dedicated to Śiva (Khandeśvara Mahādeva) which the local populace have erected from materials of broken temples in the immediate vicinity.[60] Placed within a small shrine at a front corner of the compound are three detached images—the Jain Śāntinātha, the Hindu Bhairava, and the Buddhist Vajrasattva—which testify to the practice of religious tolerance prevailing at this time throughout Orissa, all three images stylistically belonging to the 11th century. Nothing is known, however, as to the exact location of the three temples in which these images were housed though presumably the Bhairava belonged to the earlier temple at this site. He is three-headed, ten-armed, and stands in *ālīḍha* on a *viśvapadma* above a prostrate corpse (fig. 275). He shows obvious affinities with terrifying Buddhist deities[61] though his *ūrdhvaliṅga* state suggests his Śaiva nature. Vajrasattva is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his right leg resting on his left (fig. 114). His right hand holds the *vajra* in front of his chest while the left, at the hip, holds the bell. He is richly ornamented and wears a tall *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*. A devotee kneels on the pedestal while the Buddhist creed is etched on the back-slab.

In the Jhadamalli shrine at Kusinga, a small village near Dihasāhi, are three badly-worn images in the sanctum which are collectively worshipped by the local populace as the Grāmadevatī (fig. 8). While the first image is the Hindu Mahiṣamardinī, the other two images are Buddhist. The larger centre figure is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* under a tree. His arms are broken off at the elbow so that the specific *mudrā* is not identifiable. The third image most likely is Arapacana Mañjuśrī. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his raised right hand holding a sword above his head. The left hand holds a manuscript in front of his chest. In all three images the facial features are obscured by accretions of paste from *pūjā* rituals.

Enshrined within a small modern temple at Mārīcīpur, situated on the north side of the Devī river where it empties into the Bay of Bengal, about six miles from Macchagaon, is a rare and impressive image of Uḍḍiyāna Mārīcī (fig. 377). She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot drawn by seven sows. She is six-headed, the smaller sixth head above the centre head being that of a sow, and has twelve arms. She has a pot-belly with a serpent draped over her left shoulder, wears a garland of skulls and carries the head of Brahmā in her lower left hand.[62] The four side heads of Mārīcī have recently been restored. The only other image at the site is one of the door guards to the original temple. She is four-armed and holds a *kapāla* and a shield in her left hands. Her right arms are missing. Her hair is arranged in two tiers of serpentine curls. She is flanked on either side by an attendant holding a sword and a shield (fig. 388).

2. Bāṇeśwarnāsi/Narsinghapur

Although Bāṇeśwarnāsi, situated on a hillock on the northern edge of the Mahānadī river in Narsinghapur area, was originally an important Buddhist site, it is virtually abandoned today, the only noteworthy shrine being the recently constructed but unfinished Padmeśvara Śiva. The site has mostly been denuded though large-scale brickbats, *stūpa* remains and sculptural fragments (both Hindu and Buddhist) can be noticed on all sides of the hillock while many images of Buddhist deities are being worshipped in Hinduised form throughout the vicinity, including an image of Siṁhanāda Avalokiteśvara (?) which is identified by the local populace as the goddess Sumaiśuṇī to whom animals are sacrificed for propitiation.[63] Firmly embedded into a niche of the wall behind the Padmeśvara Śiva temple is an image of Prajñāpāramitā (fig. 326). Her hands, originally in *vyākhyāna-mudrā,* have been "restored" to *añjali-mudrā* in recent times. Surface details are exquisitely carved. She is flanked by a female companion on either side while a Bodhisattva is at the base of the *toraṇa* at each end. The image can be dated to the 11th century (C-22).

Two images from the site have been removed to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. The first is an image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā.* His head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa.* Beneath the *vidyādhara* on each upper corner of the back-slab are images of Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva functioning as four *māras* or evil beings.[64] On the right side they are represented wielding their weapons in a threatening manner as if attempting to disrupt the meditation of Buddha. On the left side, in contrast, they have their major set of hands in *añjali* to suggest they are now paying homage to the Buddha. In general the image is rather stiff and lifeless in contrast to the Prajñāpāramitā image and likely is a later work, probably dating to the late 12th or early 13th century. The second image is of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (fig. 220). He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the raised left hand holding the stalk of a full-blown lotus. He resides in the womb of Mount Potalaka amidst which are dispersed the five Tathāgatas. He is flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī while Sūcīmukha, Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva are on the pedestal. Stylistically the image is closely related to the previous image.

N.K. Sahu also mentions two exquisite Tārā images at Bāṇeśwarnāsi.[65] One of these, representing Khadiravaṇī-Tārā, has been shifted to the Patna Museum (fig. 307). She is flanked by Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā while the five Tathāgatas are dispersed around the *pīḍha-deul* design of the upper half of the back-slab. Stylistically the image is identical with the image of Prajñāpāramitā and both are probably the work of the same sculptor. Another image of Tārā, most likely from Bāṇeśwarnāsi, is being worshipped as the presiding deity at Bhaṭṭārikā, located on the bank of the Mahānadī near Baramba. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with her right hand in *varada* and her left hand holding a lotus.

Under a tree along the road at the base of the hill are collected numerous broken images of Buddhist and Brahmanical deities, including a Bodhisattva seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. Vestiges of a lotus stalk rise up on his left but the whole upper part of the image is missing so that his identity cannot be established.

From Narsinghapur an image of Buddha with Hindu gods serving as the four *māras*, similar to examples at Bāṇeśwarnāsi and Fakirpatana, has been shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (acc. no. AY 223). It is badly worn.

3. Chaudar

Chaudar is situated on the northern bank of the Birupā river about four miles north of Cuttack. According to tradition, as recorded in palm-leaf manuscripts, Janamejaya made Chaudar his eastern capital, performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice here and constructed the Śiva Uttareśvara temple.[66] In the Gaṅga period it was one of the five great forts built by Coḍagaṅga and served as the earliest capital of the Gaṅgas in Orissa. The walls of its fort were supposedly two miles long on each side. Its present name possibly derives from the four gates of these walls of which fragmentary pillars still survive. That it was also an important Śaiva centre is evident from the ruins of eight Śiva temples, called Aṣṭa-Śambhu, which surround the city. The site has mostly been denuded, however, so very little survives to attest to its former glory. Ruins of a raised pillared hall, known locally as Baddhi or Paravadi, may have been a Buddhist shrine though some believe it was a site of royal residence.[67]

Numerous Buddhist sculptures noticed by several earlier scholars are now missing while other images have been removed to various museums. Of several bronze masks, one was removed to the Indian Museum at Calcutta.[68] A votive inscription behind the ears of the mask is dated to the 11th or 12th century on paleographic grounds.[69] One of the most interesting missing images is a four-armed Prajñāpāramitā.[70] She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her major set of hands displaying *vyākhyāna-mudrā*. Her lower right hand is in *varada* while the lower left hand is damaged but likely held the manuscript. She is richly adorned and wears a tall conical crown. Stylistically the image can be dated to the 11th century.

Also missing are two images noticed by R.P. Chanda affixed to a modern Vaiṣṇava temple.[71] The first, identified by N.K. Sahu as Vajravārāhī, depicts a nude female in *ālīḍha* trampling two corpses (fig. 351). Her lowered right hand holds a *vajra* while the raised left hand holds a *kapāla*. A *khaṭvāṅga* tipped with a *vajra* rests against the left part of her body. A female devotee kneels before her while a standing *ācārya* offers a small human figure (?) held in his hands.[72] Behind the striding goddess is a small seated Vajrasattva. The upper part of the back-slab is decorated with flames. The absence of a sow-face excrescence near her right ear and her *ālīḍha* (rather than *pratyālīḍha*) pose precludes us from identifying her positively as Vajravārāhī. She may merely be a *ḍākinī*. The second image, identified by N.K. Sahu as Khadiravaṇī Tārā,[73] depicts Tārā in a standing pose with her right hand in *varada* and the left holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. She is flanked by a standing companion goddess on either side with the one on her left being Ekajaṭā. The right companion holds a shield in her left hand to suggest she is not Aśokakāntā Mārīcī so that the main deity cannot be identified as the Khadiravaṇī form of Tārā. Stylistically the image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.

In the Indian Museum at Calcutta is an image which probably represents Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara as he is surrounded by four companion deities. He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the left, broken off below the elbow, holding the full-blown lotus.[74] He is flanked by two companions, possibly Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva, while Tārā

and Bhṛkuṭī appear on the lower register of the pedestal along with Śucīmukha and two kneeling devotees. *Sapta-ratnas* are on the top register. The head of Lokeśvara is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* with the five Tathāgatas dispersed in the mountain landscape, each seated in a *caitya* or cave. The image, in chlorite, can be dated to the 11th century. There are also two small chlorite images from Chaudar in the museum, including a Buddha showing *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. He is seated on a throne and his head is framed by a pointed-halo. A lotus rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The second image is Khadiravaṇī Tārā. She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and left hand holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. She is richly adorned and wears a tall *kiriṭā-mukuṭa*. Her head is framed by a trefoil-shaped halo and a rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. She is flanked by two companions, probably Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. A row of kneeling devotees is on the pedestal. Both images date to the 11th-12th century.

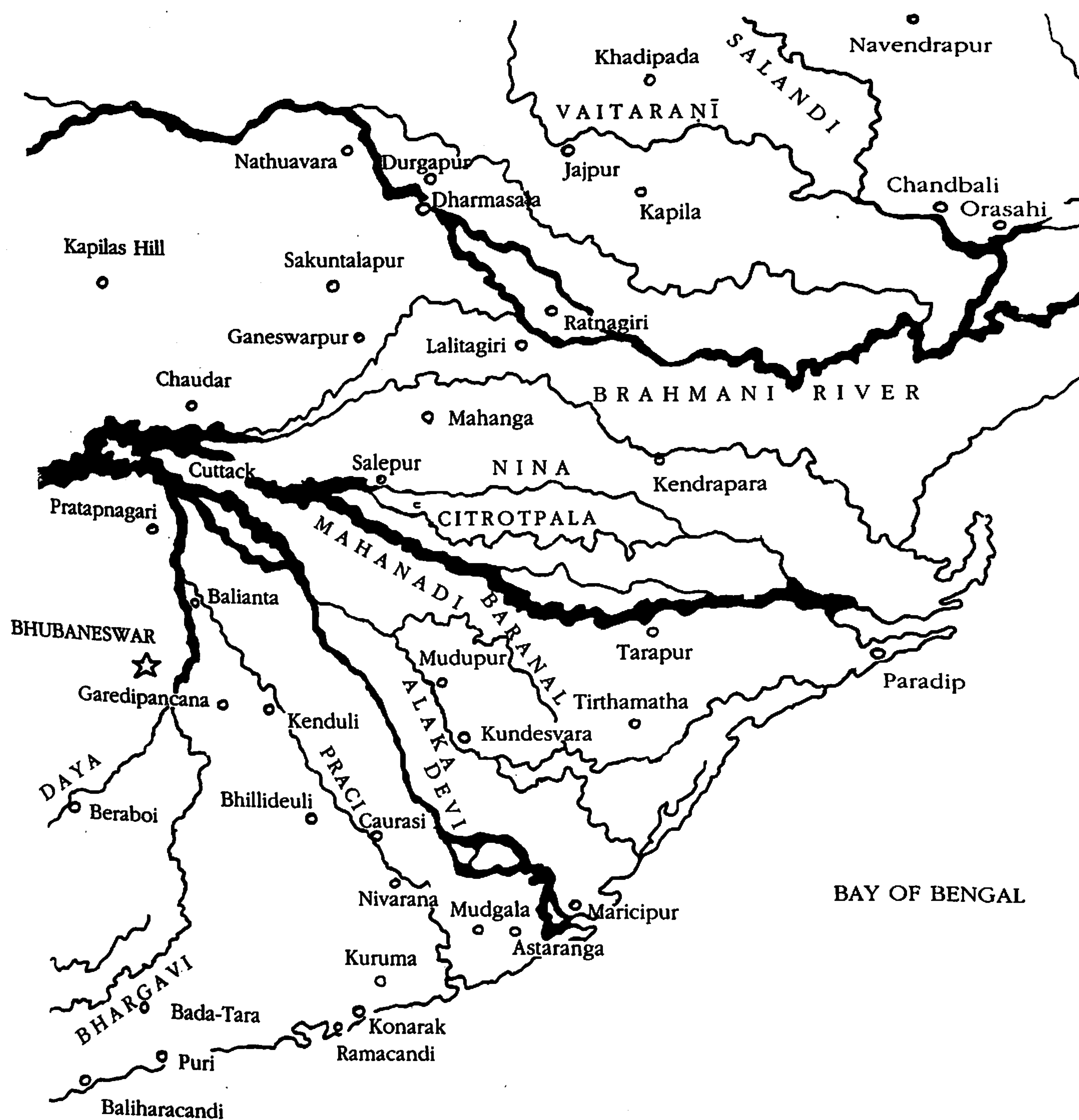
N.K. Sahu mentions seeing several Buddhist images in the collection of Padma Śrī Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Sahu at Chaudar, including two colossal Buddha images, one in *dharmacakra-mudrā* and the other in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, both of whom are headless, and an image of Heruka holding a *vajra, kapāla* and *khaṭvāṅga*.[75] The latter may be the image now housed in the University Museum at Sambalpur (fig. 270). He is dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a corpse, his left foot broken off and only the head of the corpse remaining intact. His raised right hand wields the *vajra* while his left hand holds a *kapāla*, the arm cradling a *khaṭvāṅga*. He wears a garland of skulls and his hair rises up in flames. The image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.

There are also numerous Buddhist images included among the sculptures and fragments contained in the premises of the Sevasadana (Children's orphanage) just outside of Chaudar, one of which is the lower part of Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. Another represents a headless Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā* while others include a broken torso of Avalokiteśvara in *dharmacakra-mudrā* (fig. 35) and an exquisite broken torso which possibly represents Avalokiteśvara (fig. 463). The necklace, *yajñopavīta* and clothing of the latter are meticulously and beautifully rendered. All of these images can be dated to the 11th or early 12th century.

In the premises of the fort at Amarāvatī-kaṭaka, near Chaṭia, is an image of Mañjuśrī (fig. 168). He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* while his left hand, placed on the seat behind his leg, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* supporting a book. He is richly adorned and has a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. Surface details are partially obscured by fungus. The image can be placed in the 8th century.

4. Citrotpalā River (Salipur/Kendrapara/Brahmavāṇa/Nāgaspur Area)

The Citrotpalā, quite possibly the Che-li-tā-lo mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, is a small tributary of the Mahānadī which branches off at Atuda, about ten kilometres north of Cuttack, and heads eastward towards the Bay of Bengal,[76] forming a fork near Salipur with the northern branch being known as the Nina. In addition to a plethora of Brahmanical temples and sculptures, there are many Buddhist sites along the banks of this small river, including Brahmavāṇa, Buhalo (Fakirpatana), Kalanapur, Kendrapara, Kendupatna, Mahāṅga, Nāgaspur and Naṭara. At Brahmavāṇa, near Kalanapur, recent excavations of the Orissa State Archaeology have unearthed the remains of a brick *stūpa* and monastery along with stone images datable to the 9th-10th century (figs. 36-39). Most of the images have been heavily plastered by the local populace who worship them as Hindu deities. An image of Tārā (or Hāritī), for example, has been refashioned into an image of Pārvatī holding the baby Gaṇeśa (fig. 38). There are two images of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* with one having three lines of inscription (fig. 81). There are also images of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī (fig. 37) and Vajrasattva (fig. 113). In



Map of the Mahānadī Delta

the latter image the *vajra* has been transformed into a grooved fruit (?) and the bell has been plastered over. For the most part, due to clumsy reworking, the figures look almost folk-like and give us little idea of their original style. In the Kālāgni temple at Kalanapur is a small Mārīcī image. She is in the conventional *pratyālīḍha* pose riding a chariot pulled by seven sows.

In the village of Fakirpatana, adjacent to Buhalo, is an image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* being attacked, and then paid homage to, by four Brahmanical deities as in the image from Bāṇeśwarnāsi, though this image is more complex in iconography and more accomplished in execution (fig. 91). The head of Buddha is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* with a miniature *rekhā-deul* at the apex. On the upper right corner of the back-slab are four Hindu deities riding on their *vāhanas* with one right arm raised in a threatening manner to suggest they are the army of Māra. On the left side the four gods—Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—are repeated in placement but now each holds his principal set of hands in *añjali* to indicate they are paying homage to Buddha. The pedestal is *tri-ratha* in design and is divided into two registers. Decoration consists of a lion at each upper corner, vessels heaped with offerings, warriors, and the attack and temptation of Māra. Unfortunately surface details are partially obfuscated by accumulations of paste and grime. The image is in active worship and is locally referred to as Dharma Das. The image can be ascribed to the late 11th or early 12th century.

At Nāgaspur, nearby, seven Buddhist images are housed in a make-shift open pavilion where they are worshipped as the Brahmanical Sāta Bhaunī. Surface details are again obscured by accumulations of paste and grime. Included among the images are two examples of Tārā and one each of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, Ārya-Sarasvatī, Mañjuvara and Prajñāpāramitā. In the seated Tārā image she is in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and her left holding the stalk of an *utpala*. Particularly interesting is a standing image of Tārā where her right hand is in *varada* while her left arm embraces a creeper emerging from the lower left which forms a canopy over her head (fig. 289). A companion deity stands opposite each of her shoulders while a Tathāgata is at the apex of the floral canopy. A group of *pretas* are trying to climb the meandering creeper while others, with hands clasped, are beseeching boons or treasures from Tārā. Iconographically the image thus depicts Tārā as a "giver of prosperity" and is strongly influenced by the concept of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara, as in his image at Ayodhyā (fig. 198). The pedestal is broken off. Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* while the left hand holds a full-blown lotus (fig. 213). The upper part of the back-slab is designed as a mountain landscape in conventional fashion with the five Tathāgata Buddhas each housed in a *caitya* or cave. Mañjuvara Mañjuśrī is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā* while an *utpala* supporting a manuscript issues from under his left arm. The image which possibly represents Prajñāpāramitā shows the deity seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with her hands displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* (fig. 329). A book is visible on the full-blown lotus issuing from under her left arm. Ārya-Sarasvatī is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* while her left hand, possibly restored, is awkwardly placed on her lap rather than on her seat or rather than being raised chest high (fig. 325). A lotus supporting a book issues from under her left arm. Her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. As with the other seated images at the site, the sides of the back-slab are decorated with a pilaster on either side to suggest a throne-back. On stylistic evidence these images can be dated to the late 11th century.

At Kendupatna there are numerous Buddhist images placed under a tree near the embankment of the Kendrapara canal. The best preserved is a seated Maitreya. He is in *lalitāsana* with his right hand displaying *varada* while his left hand, on the seat behind his leg, holds the *nāgakeśara* flower. In the adjacent village of Naṭara there is a repository of

Buddhist and Brahmanical images, many broken, which are collectively worshipped as the Grāmadevatī of the village.[77] The best preserved Buddhist image of the group is a standing four-armed Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa with the uplifted back right hand missing (fig. 231). His lower right hand is in *varada* while the left hands hold the stalk of a lotus and a *kamaṇḍalu*. He is richly ornamented and is flanked at the base by Tārā and a four-armed Hayagrīva. The image is exquisitely carved and can be dated to the 9th century. One of the smaller images is a seated Tārā.

At Salipur there are several Buddhist relics housed in a local branch of the Orissa State Museum, including a chlorite fragment containing the Tathāgata Vairocana within a miniature temple (fig. 34). The fragment is part of a back-slab which also contains portions of a halo decorated with lotus petals and floral designs. A second image is a headless, bejewelled Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 92). Though small, both of these images are exquisitely carved and stylistically can be ascribed to the 10th-11th century.

At Mahāṅga, near Śukleśvara and midway between Salipur and Lalitagiri in Kendrapara sub-division, are two detached Buddhist images. The largest is of Ākāśagarbha, an image which originally formed part of a set (A) of eight free-standing Bodhisattvas at Lalitagiri (fig. 153a). The second image, in the premises of the Laṅgaleśvara temple, is a headless, seated Buddha displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā*. He is flanked by an attendant on either side, each also headless, while a pair of confronting deer and numerous kneeling devotees are on the pedestal. Surface details are badly eroded and it is impossible to determine if this image also came from Lalitagiri.

Kendrapara has a large collection of Buddhist images, many of which were removed from Asia hills sites by the local Zamindars. In the early 20th century R.P. Chanda acquired five large sculptures from the collection of Rāmagovinda Jagdeva for the Indian Museum at Calcutta, three of which he ascribed to Lalitagiri, one to Udayagiri and the other to Ratnagiri.[78] The Lalitagiri images include a Vajrapāṇi (fig. 154a) and a Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkarmbhin (fig. 156a), both of which belong to the same set (A) of eight Bodhisattvas as the image of Ākāśagarbha at Mahāṅga. The third image, only tentatively assigned to Lalitagiri, is a seated, four-armed Durgottāriṇī-Tārā (fig. 315). The image Chanda ascribed to Udayagiri is a seated Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (fig. 212). Only the two standing Bodhisattvas thus can positively be assigned to one of these three sites. There are numerous other Buddhist images scattered throughout the village, including several examples inserted into the *beki* and affixed to the *sandhi-sthala* of the rebuilt Vinode Behari temple (figs. 32-33). Two of the *beki* images depict sculptural *maṇḍalas,* one with Akṣobhya at the centre and the other with Mañjuśrī seated in *lalitāsana,* each surrounded by eight Bodhisattvas. Two of the images on the *sandhi-sthala* depict Vairocana or crowned Buddhas (?), one displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* and the other showing *dhyāna-mudrā*. Near Maṭamaṭha in the Baṇiāmala section of Kendrapara is an inscribed four-armed standing image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa, presently being worshipped as Viṣṇu[79] (fig. 233). His principal left hand, holding the stalk of the lotus, is placed at his hip. He is flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva. The image can be dated to the late 8th-early 9th century.

5. Cuttack

Cuttack is situated at the apex of the delta of the Mahānadī river, the city extending from the Mahānadī on the north to the Kathjori on the south. Due to its strategic location, Coḍagaṅga shifted his capital here after his conquest of Orissa and built a fort at the site.[80] According to tradition as recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (A.D. 1211-38) ascended the throne at Cuttack and built the fort of Bārabātī nearby.[81] In A.D. 1229, as stated in his Nāgari copper-plates, he built a temple of Jagannātha at Cuttack, known as Abhinava Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka, in which he installed the image of Puruṣottama.[82] For the most part Cuttack

is renowned as a fortified town and as the administrative seat of the Gaṅgas. There are, however, numerous Buddhist images scattered about the city. In the premises of the Solapuamā temple, firmly planted on either side of a masonry *maṇḍapa*, are two images apparently removed by J. Beams from Udayagiri along with a doorframe, an image of Gaṅgā and a twelve-armed Cundā which are now in the Patna Museum, all of which were seen in Cuttack in A.D. 1928 by R.P. Chanda.[83] The first image is a four-armed Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 236). He stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose with his lower right hand in *varada* while his left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. His uplifted hands hold a rosary and a lotus. He is richly ornamented and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his coiffure. A long inscription is etched on the back of the image while the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* is carved on the halo. The second image most likely represents Avalokiteśvara though N.K. Sahu identifies it as the Tathāgata Amitābha.[84] The Bodhisattva is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and is four-armed (fig. 254). His uplifted back hands hold a rosary and a small vessel. His principal set of hands are now in *dhyāna-mudrā* though this may be a later restoration (?). A lotus issues from under his lower left arm and a trident entwined by a serpent stands on the left side of the deity. Both of these images can be placed in the early 9th century.

Included with several Brahmanical images in the premises of the Bāsulī Thākurāṇī shrine of Baṇiāsāhi within the city is a four-armed, standing Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 414), worshipped locally as Brahmā, possibly due to the presence of a Sarasvatī image placed next to it. His lower right hand is in *varada* and the upper hand holds a rosary. The corresponding left hands hold a lotus and *kamaṇḍalu*. He is richly adorned and is flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva. Surface details are badly worn. The image, dating to the 9th century, may also have been brought to Cuttack by J. Beams. The adjacent image is a four-armed female worshipped as Bāsulī Thākurāṇī and identified by N.K. Sahu as Cundā.[85] She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with her major right hand in *varada* while the uplifted hand holds a rosary. The major left hand may have held a vessel but now (restored?) displays *varada*. The object in the uplifted left hand may originally have been a book or a *tridaṇḍī* but has been refashioned as a goad. She is richly ornamented and wears a tall crown with a lotus finial. The back-slab, not included in the photo published by N.K. Sahu,[86] is decorated with a *makara-toraṇa*. The image probably dates to the late 13th or early 14th century. Iconographically it could be Dhanada-Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī or the Brahmanical Pārvatī (C-20).

There is also an image of Avalokiteśvara, identified as Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara in the Patna Museum, which is stated to be from Cuttack, though it is not clear if Cuttack refers to the site or district (fig. 203).[87] It may have been one of the images removed from the Asia hills sites by J. Beams. He is seated in *lalitāsana* and iconographically midway between the simple form of Lokeśvara and the more complex form of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. The image can be dated to the 8th-9th century.

According to Tāranātha the *brāhmaṇa* Bṛhaspati, dating to the period of king Buddhapakṣa (Gupta period?) who is credited with the construction of the nucleus of Ratnagiri-*vihāra*, built many temples of the Buddha at Kaṭaka though as yet nothing has been discovered from such an early date to substantiate this claim.[88]

6. Brāhmaṇī River (Dharmaśālā/Vajragiri/Langudi/Ali/Singhapur Area)

Numerous villages around Dharmaśālā, on the bank of the Brāhmaṇī river, contain images of Buddhist as well as Brahmanical deities. The compound of the Gokarṇeśvara temple on the right bank of the river at one time had numerous detached Buddhist images, brought by the Rāja of Madhupur from Buddhist centres in the surrounding area, though many of these have since been shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, including a badly-worn image of a six-armed standing Avalokiteśvara who conforms iconographically to his

Sugatisandarśana form rather than the Amoghapāśa form due to the absence of a *pāśa* (fig. 256).[89] Images seen at one time or other in the compound include examples of Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Parṇaśavarī, and various Tathāgatas.[90]

In an open field on the west side of National Highway No. 5 is a *ḍākinī* image worshipped as Haladei-sunī (fig. 352). She is mostly nude and strides above two corpses with her left foot raised high. Her right hand, broken off, probably held a *kartrī* while her raised left hand holds a *kapāla*. A *khaṭvāṅga* leans against her left shoulder. A flying *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while opposite the right shoulder of the *ḍākinī* is a small kneeling female figure. The image is badly worn and there is no way to determine if it is Buddhist or Hindu. A similar image appears in the interior of the Vajra-Mahākālī temple at Kapila, originally a Buddhist temple dedicated to Mahākāla, to suggest that the Dharmaśālā *ḍākinī* image may also be of Buddhist origin. Stylistically it can be dated to the 10th-11th century. At Jaraka Crossing there are two images of Tārā placed in makeshift shrines with the largest one being worshipped as Tāriṇī (fig. 303). She is seated in *lalitāsana* with the right hand displaying *varada* and the left, placed on her seat, holding a lotus. She is flanked by standing images of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. Facial features are badly worn. The smaller image is similar except the companion deities are eliminated.

At Durgāpur, on the left bank of the Brāhmaṇī near Dharmaśālā, numerous sculptures from collapsed temples have been preserved in a modern huilding on the east side of National Highway No. 5, one of which is a small image of Arapacana Mañjuśrī (fig. 181). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his right hand wielding a sword above his head. His left hand holds a book in front of his chest.

On Duburi hill near Niladeipurśāsana there was originally a *stūpa* of which some fifteen railing pillars with sockets and one coping stone are still *in situ* among a heap of ruins. Other relics at the mostly denuded site include a door-jamb fragment decorated with *gelaba* scrollwork. Other nearby hillocks include Kaima and Radhanagar. At the latter site, in addition to a hoard of silver coins and pottery finds, are numerous Buddhist railing fragments decorated with full lotus designs flanked by half-lotus medallions along with a rock-cut elephant.

The most impressive rock-cut images in the area are those recently discovered on the western end of Langudi hillock, visible on two sections of an escarpment which projects up slightly more than two feet from the bedrock. In the lowest section, beginning at the proper left, is a Buddha seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 10). His hands are in *dhyāna-mudrā*. On his left, sharing the same niche, is a Bodhisattva seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* while the raised left hand holds an *utpala* (?) which may support an attribute.[91] Surface details are partially obfuscated by fungus and, as with other images, the lower part of the image is buried by debris. This shallow niche is separated from the next one by a band of *mali phula phaḍika* scrollwork. The first figure in the second niche is a female seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and the left hand, on her seat behind her thigh, holding the stalk of an *utpala*, suggesting she represents Tārā. The fourth figure of this grouping is a standing, four-armed Bhṛkuṭī. Her lower right hand is in *varada* while the back uplifted hand holds a rosary. The lowered left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*, mostly broken off, while the *tridaṇḍi* held in the uplifted back left hand is partially obscured by fungus and debris. The second grouping, carved on the same edge of the escarpment, begins some ten feet further up the hill and is dominated by four large images of Tathāgata Buddhas, along with smaller images of a standing Avalokiteśvara, a seated Buddha and numerous devotees, fronted by a partially buried monolithic *stūpa* (fig. 11). The first Buddha from the proper left is Amitābha while the second one is Akṣobhya. Next is a small Buddha displaying

bhūmisparśa-mudrā and then, as the escarpment takes a sharp bend outward, an image of Amoghasiddhi flanked on his left, at the top, by a small image of Akṣobhya (?) and below by a kneeling devotee with hands in *añjali*. A small Buddha at the top right appears not to have been finished. The fourth Tathāgata is carved on the corner as the escarpment bends sharply back. A kneeling female offers a garland to him at his right. Further down the hill on the north spur is a grouping of *stūpas* carved on a tall ledge. One of the larger *stūpas* is flanked on either side by a pair of *vidyādharas* holding a garland of flowers over its crowning *chattri*. Near the top of the hill are scattered remains of a brick *stūpa* and possibly two monasteries. The imagery appears to date to the 9th-10th centuries.

The site of Vajragiri, situated about eight miles off National Highway No. 5 on the edge of the Asia hill range, is mostly denuded. Numerous pillars, slabs and broken images are scattered throughout the village and surrounding fields. Presently placed under a *nox-vomica* tree off a dirt road leading into the village is a partially broken image of Avalokiteśvara (fig. 200). He is two-armed and is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. His facial features are badly worn. The image can be assigned to the 8th century. Most of the images from the site, as indicated earlier, have been shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, including a Mañjuśrī seated in *lalitāsana*, a broken upper portion of Mañjuvara Mañjuśrī, a standing Vajrapāṇi, a standing Avalokiteśvara, and two images of seated Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. In the largest of the latter two, Lokeśvara is in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada-mudrā* (fig. 221). His raised left hand holds a full-blown lotus while a second lotus rises up on his right. The five Tathāgatas are housed in *caityas* dispersed in the mountain landscape around the *toraṇa* framing his head. Lokeśvara is flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva. Tārā, Sūcīmukha and Bhṛkuṭī are on the pedestal. In the smaller image of Lokeśvara (acc. no. AY 129), the head of Khasarpaṇa and the right middle section of the back-slab are missing. The damaged lotus in his left hand appears not to be full-blown. A *kīrtimukha* is at the apex of the *toraṇa*. Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva are near his left arm. The lower portion of the pedestal is decorated with six kneeling devotees facing a lamp and a stand supporting a manuscript.

Vajrapāṇi is four-armed and stands in a slightly flexed pose (fig. 264). His principal right hand holds a *caurī* to suggest he probably served as a flanking attendant to a Buddha. His back right hand holds a *nīlotpala* supporting a *vajra*. His raised back left hand holds a manuscript while the lower hand is on the head of a four-armed male standing in an abbreviated *pratyālīḍha* pose (fig. 413). In the opposite corner is a seated female attendant holding a *vajra*. The lower half of the Mañjuvara image is missing, as indicated, and the image is badly worn (fig. 175). His hands are in *dharmacakra-mudrā* with a *nīlotpala* rising from under his left arm, the flower supporting a manuscript. In the Mañjuśrī image the deity, seated in *lalitāsana*, was broken into two parts but has been rejoined (fig. 170). His right hand shows *varada* while the left hand holds a *nīlotpala* supporting a manuscript. His hair is arranged in the *śikhaṇḍaka* mode and he is richly adorned. These images at Vajragiri vary in date from the 8th through the 10th century to testify to a sustained period of patronage.

At Kulanagiri, near Ratnagiri, there are a few scattered remains piled together at the top of the hill, including a broken image of Avalokiteśvara showing *dharmacakra-mudrā*, to suggest there may have been a Buddhist establishment here at one time (fig. 3). Further toward the coast at Ali (Aul), situated between the Brāhmaṇī and Kharasrota rivers, an image of Tārā has been affixed to the exterior compound wall of the Lakṣmī-Varāha temple (fig. 296). She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada* and the left hand on the seat behind her thigh, a *nīlotpala* rising up from the hand. A second *nīlotpala* rises up on the right side of Tārā. A kneeling devotee is on the right corner of the pedestal. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

Included among the sites on the west side of the national highway is Khaira, situated about three miles from Dhanmandala railway station in the Badachana area. Among the images noted by Mohapatra at the site were examples of Tārā, Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara. An image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* has been shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. The images can be dated to the 9th century. Although Mohapatra suggests that these images may have originated from one of the sites in the Asia hills,[92] this cannot be substantiated as activity was quite widespread at this time throughout Orissa.

Recent excavations by the Orissa State Archaeology have unearthed a votive *stūpa* at Śakuntalapur, a short distance beyond Mahāvināyaka near Chandikol (fig. 13). The *stūpa* is still partially buried and the Bodhisattva within its single niche is badly damaged. Numerous Śākta images have also been unearthed along with the ruins of the Suvarṇeśvara temple. In a modern enclosure on top of the Jahnagiri hillock overlooking the excavation are placed two images of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, one on either side of a large *nāga* (fig. 12). All are brightly coloured with modern paint. The two Buddha images and the votive *stūpa* can be dated to the 9th-10th century.

At Singhapur, just north of the Brāhmaṇī river and a few miles west of the highway, are two votive *stūpas* on the edge of a large tank. In the niche of one *stūpa* is a standing, three-faced, four-armed deity (Mārīcī?) with her major set of hands clasped at the chest (fig. 15). In the compound of the Nārāyaṇa temple are two broken images of standing Avalokiteśvara, each daubed with whitewash (figs. 195-96). Stylistically the images can be dated to the 10th century. In an open shrine at Odisoandeigoda, about two kilometres from Singhapur on the road to Nathuavara, are several images being worshipped as Hindu deities, the best preserved being a Manasā, a kṣetrapāla, a seated Tārā and Uḍḍiyāna Mārīcī, brought to my attention by B.K. Rath of the Orissa State Archaeology. The Tārā image, possibly four-armed, is badly worn. Uḍḍiyāna Mārīcī, carved of chlorite, is worshipped as Moudei (Mahādevī). She has six heads and twelve arms (fig. 378). As in the example from Mārīcīpur, she is stout in body, wears serpent ornaments and a *muṇḍamālā*. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* in a chariot drawn by seven sows. Her major right hand raises a sword over her head while the left hand is in *tarjanī-pāśa*. Stylistically the image can be ascribed to the late 10th or early 11th century. There is also a badly worn small image of a female in a dance pose on the platform with the other images. She may be a *ḍākinī* or a *yoginī*.

Within the Svapneśvara Mahādeva temple of the same village are several sculptural fragments, including another female dancing figure, the lower half of a seated Bodhisattva and the lower portion of a votive *stūpa*, the latter two being carved of chlorite. Three of the niches of the *stūpa* drum are visible while the fourth niche is cemented to the back wall of the sanctum of the temple. The Tathāgatas in these three niches are Amoghasiddhi, Akṣobhya and Amitābha.

At Nathuavara, best known for its Kapateśvara temple, a Buddha image was discovered but has been shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his hands on his lap in *dhyāna-mudrā* (acc. no. AY 219).

7. Jājpur/Kapila/Taranga

The city of Jājpur, situated on the Vaitaraṇī river at the edge of the Asia hills, is an old and prominent *pīṭha* of Śākta/Tantrism whose history goes back at least as early as the *Mahābhārata* (Vana-parva, 83.6; 114.5-25) where it was considered the primary *kṣetra* or holy place in Orissa that attracted pilgrims from Northern India.[93] In epigraphy Jājpur (Virajā) is mentioned as Virañjā in the Parlakhimedi copper-plate of Pṛthvī-mahārāja who flourished towards the end of the 6th century.[94] The Soro copper-plate of Bhānudatta (7th century) refers

to Virajā while Unmattakeśarī, who ruled about the middle of the 7th century, had his capital at Virajā. Under the Bhauma-karas, Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka became the capital of Utkala and it was the name the new rulers applied to Virajā or a new city built by them in its vicinity.[95] All of the copper-plate grants of the Bhauma-kara rulers were issued from this place which is referred to as Guhadevapāṭaka by the early rulers and Guheśvarapāṭaka by the later rulers, both names probably deriving from the Guha rulers of the 5th-6th centuries.[96] When the Somavaṁśī-keśarīs conquered eastern Orissa they shifted their capital from Yayātinagara (city of Yayāti) in the upper Mahānadī valley of western Orissa to Guheśvarapāṭaka which was renamed as Abhinava-Yayātinagara (new city of Yayāti). Although it lost some of its political prestige when the Gaṅgas shifted the capital to Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, it continued to be a focal point of Śākta worship into later times. Whereas early names for the site from texts and inscriptions include Virajā, Virañjā, Varañjā-nagara, Varāha-tīrtha, Guhadevapāṭaka and Guheśvarapāṭaka, in later Muslim chronicles like the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* and the *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhi*, Yayātinagara was referred to as Jājnagar and subsequently the suffix *nagara* was substituted by *pura* and the place became Jājpur.[97]

In addition to its renown as a Śākta-*pīṭha*, Jājpur was also an important centre for Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain art as evident by archaeological remains. Unfortunately, due to its continued prominence as a political centre, as well as its importance as a holy *tīrtha*, even into the Gajapati period (16th century), Orissa itself even being referred to as the kingdom of Jājnagar in Muslim accounts, the city became the greatest victim of Muslim iconoclasm and vandalism so that, except for detached sculptures embedded into later structures, very little survives in the way of architecture at Jājpur, there being today not a single monument which can be dated to the Bhauma and Somavaṁśī periods, the greatest periods of its cultural and political history. The Oriya texts compiled in recent years indicate that "there are at present no less than one hundred living shrines in and around Jājpur, each of which had originally an ancient temple but only less than half a dozen of ancient structures have come down to us."[98] Although there are sculptural fragments of Buddhist images scattered throughout the city, as in a small pavilion next to the Jambeśvara Śiva temple, the most impressive images are preserved in the premises of the Sub-divisional Officer compound, which include a colossal Avalokiteśvara and three seated Buddha images.

The Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi, locally known as Santa Mādhava, was originally found at Santamādhava, a village two miles from Jājpur. The image, broken into two sections and minus its feet, measures sixteen feet and five inches in height (fig. 189). The right arm is broken off at the elbow while the left hand, placed at the hip, held a lotus, only portions of the stalk still intact. An effigy of Amitābha is above his tiara. Stylistically the image can be ascribed to the 7th-8th century. The three seated Buddha images presently in the same enclosure as the colossal Padmapāṇi were removed from Ratnagiri to Jājpur.[99] Two of the three depict a Tathāgata flanked by four Bodhisattvas and probably formed part of the iconographic programme of a small *stūpa* which consisted of four Tathāgatas and sixteen Bodhisattvas (figs. 132a-b). One of the Tathāgatas is Akṣobhya while the other is Amitābha. The Bodhisattvas differ from the conventional eight found in most Orissan *maṇḍalas* and appear to be based on the sixteen great Bodhisattvas of the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* where four surround each of the directional Tathāgatas,[100] who become particularly popular in Japanese Shingon Buddhist *maṇḍalas*.[101] On the back of each sculpture is inscribed the Buddhist creed in characters of about the 9th century. The third image depicts Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 89). His head is framed by a pointed halo edged with flames. At the top are leafy branches of the *bodhi* tree. He is flanked at shoulder level by an effigy of Mañjuvara on the right and by Avalokiteśvara on the left. Above each Bodhisattva is a votive *stūpa*. A *vajra* rests beneath the feet of Buddha at the front edge of the *viśvapadma*. The pedestal, *tri-ratha* in design, is decorated with the assault and temptation

of Māra on its centre projection while a lion is at each corner. The Buddhist creed, inscribed in four lines in characters of the late 11th century, is on the back of the image.[102]

Housed in a small corner shrine of the Siddheśvara compound is an image carved in chlorite which possibly represents Vajradharma (fig. 227). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his principal set of hands in front of his chest, either causing a lotus to blossom or displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā*. His raised back right hand holds a *cakra* (?) while opposite his left shoulder is a *makara*. It is possible that the upper left corner with the *makara* is a decorative motif from a broken image, though it is identical in respect to style and the type of stone. Two or more Tathāgata images are on his tiara while a diminutive peacock or *haṁsa* is on the lower portion of his pedestal. Within the *jagamohana* of the main shrine is a standing, multi-armed composite image which possibly represents Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara (fig. 502).

In an exterior niche of the Varāha temple is an image of Dhanada Tārā. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and displays *varada* and holds a rosary in her two right hands while her left hands hold a *nīlotpala* and a book (fig. 312). She is flanked by six or more attendant Bodhisattvas (?). The image can be dated to the 11th-12th century. It is likely that this image and the two in the Siddheśvara compound originated at Solaṁpur.

Kapila, situated in the Binjharpur Police Station of Jājpur sub-division, is listed as one of the eight holy sites within Virajā enumerated in the *Brahma Purāṇa* (40.6-8) which the pilgrim should visit.[103] In addition to Brahmanical images there are numerous Buddhist sculptures scattered throughout the village. Included among images under a banyan tree outside the Vajra-Mahākālī temple compound is a standing Avalokiteśvara (fig. 193). His right hand is in *varada* while the left hand, broken off, held the stalk of a lotus. He is flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. Surface details are badly worn. The image can be dated in the 9th-10th century. Nearby is a small Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana*. His right hand is in *varada* while the left, on the seat behind his thigh, holds the stalk of a lotus. Facial features are obliterated. The image can be dated to the 9th-10th century. The Buddhist creed is inscribed on the back of the statue. Placed near the entrance to the temple is a badly-worn, four-armed Bodhisattva. He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. His principal right hand is in *varada* while the left, on the seat behind his thigh, holds a lotus. The objects in his uplifted back hands are indistinct. The upper part of the back-slab is broken off. The image can be dated to the 8th-9th century. Within the sanctum of the temple, worshipped as Vajra-Mahākālī, is an image of Mahākāla, the temple having been converted to the Brahmanical goddess after the demise of Buddhism (fig. 282). As in the case of the sanctum image of the converted Mahākālī temple at Ratnagiri, the image consists of head and shoulders only. The left hand holds a *kapāla* up to the mouth while the object in the right hand, most likely a *kartrī*, is obliterated. Placed within the *jagmohana* is a *dākinī* striding above a corpse (fig. 353). Her right hand brandishes a *kartrī* while the left hand lifts a *kapāla* to her lips. The left leg is lifted shoulder high, as in the image from Dharmaśālā, and she wears a garland of skulls. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

Included among the numerous sculptures scattered around the village of Taranga is an image of Buddha placed in an open field by a stream near the Jāṅgulī shrine which includes numerous Jain images placed on its open platform. Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his right hand displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. His face is badly weathered. The back-slab tapers inward at the top. A kneeling devotee is on the right corner of the pedestal. The image probably dates to the 9th-10th century.

8. Lalitagiri (Śrī Candrāditya-vihāra)

Lalitagiri or Naltagiri, one of the three major Buddhist sites in the Asia hills, is situated

about seven miles beyond the Birupā river. The site has been known to scholars since A.D. 1869 when it was visited by C.S. Banerjee, the Subdivisional Officer at Jājpur, who shortly afterwards published an account of the site and surrounding area.[104] In 1875 it was visited by John Beams, magistrate of Cuttack district,[105] while somewhat later it was visited by B. Chatterjee.[106] Over the years it has been plundered of many of its sculptures. Some forty years prior to the visit of R.P. Chanda in A.D. 1927-28, Ramgovinda Jagdeva, proprietor of Udayagiri, supposedly removed four images to Kendrapara, as mentioned earlier, while somewhat later two images were removed to Padmadaspur by another zamindar. Three of the images from Kendrapara were presented by Chanda to the Indian Museum at Calcutta[107] while other images are now housed in various museums, including a seated Tārā in the British Museum.[108] Still others are scattered in surrounding villages, as at Mahāṅga four miles to the south. In 1977 K.S. Behera of Utkal University undertook trial excavations and discovered numerous votive *stūpas* and fragmentary Buddha images. Over the years the discovery of an Archer type gold coin of Chandragupta II, Puri Kuṣāna coins, and Andhra ceramics contemporary with the Andhra-Satavāhana period has led to speculation that the site must have had an early beginning. Excavations undertaken since 1985 by the Archaeological Survey of India, directed by G.C. Chauley, have verified these speculations.

Lalitagiri is composed of three separate hills—the Olāsuṇī, the Pārābhāḍi and the Laṇḍā. The Olāsuṇī, famous in Orissa as the seat of the prophet Arakṣita Dāsa who resided there during the last-half of the 18th century, is of little antiquarian interest to the scholar. On the northern slope of the Pārābhāḍi hill there is a long gallery cut out of the rock in which a series of large Bodhisattvas were originally placed, though today it is mostly a heap of ruins and is known as the Hātīkhāl (elephant pit). When visited by R.P. Chanda there were six images facing north and half-buried in debris while fragments of two others were lying nearby,[109] suggesting there was originally a grouping of eight. When visited by P. Mukherjee in the mid-20th century, however, there were only three images remaining *in situ*.[110] The images from this set (B) of Bodhisattvas are now preserved in the site museum, erected near the top of Laṇḍā hill, with Maitreya (fig. 150b) and Ākāśagarbha (fig. 153b) being headless while only the lower portion of Lokeśvara is intact (fig. 151b). In this set the upper corners of the back-slab each have a *vidyādhara* while an attendant figure is at each lower corner. These attendant figures frequently help to identify the Bodhisattva when other attributes are missing, as in the case of the fragmented Lokeśvara image where the attendants are Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī or in the case of Ākāśagarbha where they each hold a jewel. On top of the hill there is a stone platform which, according to tradition, was the court of a legendary king Vāsukalpa-keśarī. Three circular layers of stones forming the base of a *stūpa* existed here and were visible as late as the third quarter of the 19th century.[111] Among the images scattered in the village of Kesraipur, near the base of the hill, was an image of Tārā seated in *lalitāsana* and one of Vairocana in *dhyāna-mudrā* which R.P. Chanda identified as a "curious image of Jina Ṛṣabha with the Buddhist creed engraved on the back."[112] Although loose curls spread onto the shoulders as on images of Ṛṣabhanātha, there are no specific markings or attributes to identify the image as Jain and it appears that he is robed (fig. 103).

Laṇḍā hill, covered with extensive ruins of ancient brick buildings and scattered sculptures, had become in the past an ideal site for brick quarry by the local people so that despoliation and plundering have robbed the hill of many of its treasures. At the beginning of the 20th century a *sādhu* belonging to the sect of Arakṣita Dāsa set up a *maṭha* near the top of the hill. A colossal Buddha image was exhumed from a brick mound in the area and placed within the *maṭha* (fig. 67). Adjacent to the *maṭha* was an unfinished modern temple which incorporated numerous early images, such as Ākāśagarbha (fig. 157), a four-armed Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī (fig. 357), Maitreya (fig. 150a), Aparājitā (fig. 346), Samantabhadra (fig. 149a), Jambhala (fig. 393) and a doorframe (fig. 20).[113]

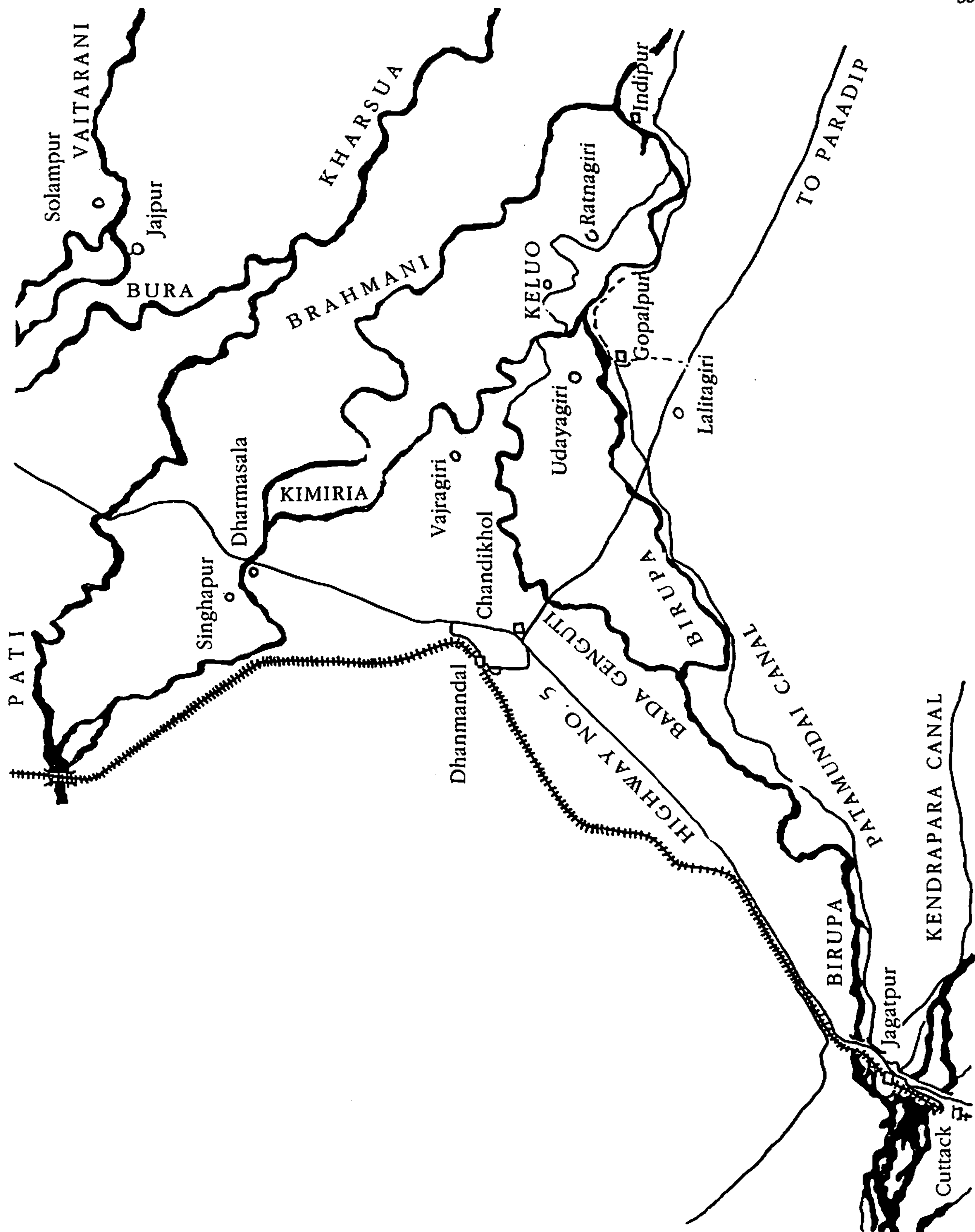
Midway up the hill is a temple dedicated to the Hindu goddess Bāsulī, built on the ruins of an older Buddhist shrine, which also contained numerous Buddhist images attached to its wall when visited by R.P. Chanda. Four of the images were of standing Bodhisattvas belonging to an original set (C) of eight, i.e., Maitreya (fig. 150c), Lokeśvara (fig. 151c), Kṣitigarbha (fig. 152c) and Mañjuśrī (fig. 155c). The image of Maitreya has the Buddhist creed inscribed on the back in characters assignable to the 8th century. In contrast to sets A and B, the back-slab is rather plain, there being no accompanying attendants except for Mañjuśrī who is accompanied by Yamāri. There is a Tathāgata on each upper corner though on the Kṣitigarbha image they were not completed.

In 1985 the Archaeological Survey of India, Bhubaneswar Circle, excavated the mound at the top of Laṇḍā hill, behind the site museum, and exposed the vestiges of a ruined *stūpa*. Three small relic caskets were discovered within the core, facing east, north and west respectively, with four containers forming one set. The outer container, made of kondalite, is carved as a miniature *stūpa* consisting of a lower drum portion and a hemispherical cover or dome. A socket is cut into the drum portion to accommodate a second container, a conventional casket of light grey soapstone. The third container is made of silver while the fourth, containing the *dhātu* or relic in the form of a bone, is of gold. Whereas the second set contained a bone without gold foil, the inner caskets of the third set are missing.[114]

In subsequent excavations in the following years an apsidal *caitya* was discovered near the earlier trial excavation carried out by K.S. Behera (fig. 47). The large apsidal shrine encircles an earlier *stūpa* which itself yielded two cultural phases whereby the inner core of the earlier *stūpa* was later enlarged by a second encircling drum. An apsidal entrance pathway from the early *stūpa* continued throughout the subsequent periods. Near the left side of the entrance was discovered a stone platform with a *Brāhmī* inscription of Kuṣāna characters. Scattered about were railing pillars with lenticular sockets while other discoveries include a series of shell inscriptions carved in a highly stylistic way in bold-relief which have been tentatively dated to the 5th century A.D., and a window grille ornamented with a serpent similar in style to examples framing the *toraṇa* of cave no. 3 at Khandagiri hill outside of Bhubaneswar, the grille possibly dating to the 2nd-3rd century A.D. (fig. 461).

Numerous monolithic votive *stūpas* were also unearthed, some with *Brāhmī* inscriptions of Gupta character, and a plethora of Buddha images, including fifty-six alternating with monolithic *stūpas* to form an outer circle around the apsidal shrine.[115] Many of the images, as well as some unearthed behind the shrine, depict him in a standing pose with his right hand in *abhaya-* or *varada-mudrā* (figs. 62-66), while seated images invariably display *dharmacakra-mudrā* (figs. 97-99) or represent him as Mucilinda Buddha with his hands in *dhyāna mudrā* (figs. 104-105), early themes rather rare elsewhere in Orissa. Stylistically many of these images bear late Gupta characteristics and can be dated to the 6th and early 7th century.

Four monasteries have been excavated with the smallest, Monastery No. 2, appearing on the northeast corner of the hill where it faces east. It consists of a sanctum and five cells. The monastery was ravaged at an early date and sometime later was converted into a Hindu temple. Monastery No. 1, midway up the hill and near the Bāsulī Thākurāṇī temple, also faces east. The sanctum is fronted by a large courtyard which is framed by four cells at the front, two on either side of the entrance, and five cells aligned on both the north and the south sides. Monastery No. 3 is just west of Monastery No. 1 but faces south towards the area of the apsidal shrine (fig. 19). Its 18 cells are aligned in the same manner as for Monastery No. 1. Numerous pillars unearthed in this area are stylistically similar to niche and door jambs on late 6th-early 7th century Brahmanical temples at Bhubaneswar, such as



Map of Asia Hills Buddhist Sites
(adapted from Archaeological Survey of India)

the Lakṣmaṇeśvara and Śatrughneśvara (fig. 460). Many sculptures of the same approximate date were also discovered. When excavated in early 1992, Monastery No. 4, southeast of the apsidal shrine and facing northwest (figs. 17a-b), still retained its colossal Buddha in its sanctum, though its head was missing and its right shoulder and part of the left arm were damaged. He is seated on a *siṁhāsana* with his right hand displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. Two empty secret chambers were also discovered on either side of the main entrance while other finds included numerous clay seals, unbaked clay tablets and inscribed potsherds. One of the seals, bearing the Saranātha sign of a *cakra* flanked by deer at the top, was inscribed with the inscription "*Śrī Candrāditya vihāra samagra ārya bhikṣu saṅgha*", suggesting not only that the name of the establishment was Śrī Candrāditya-vihāra but that it was for the entire Buddhist community, irrespective of sectarian affiliation.

These latest excavations push back the nucleus of the site to at least the 2nd-3rd century A.D. to indicate that Lalitagiri is the earliest of these three major Buddhist sites in the Asia hills. In that the site was thus in existence by the third century and apparently was the most developed site during the visit of Hiuen Tsang, it had been postulated that it might have been Puphagiri/Puṣpagiri-*vihāra* mentioned earlier, though the above-mentioned legend inscribed on one of the seals seemingly discredits this theory.

Only a few sculptures suggesting a 2nd-3rd century date have survived and the overwhelming majority of the sculptural finds suggest that artistic activity, though continuous, can be grouped into two primary phases. In the earliest (I) phase, characterized by late Gupta features, activity extends into the 7th century and the imagery is primarily of the Buddha himself. When standing he generally shows *abhaya-* or *varada-mudrā* with his right hand while when seated he usually displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* or, as Mucilinda Buddha, he shows *dhyāna-mudrā*. At the end of this phase, in the transition to the next phase, attendant Bodhisattvas may be added, one on either side of the Buddha, usually Padmapāṇi and either Maitreya or Mañjuśrī. In phase II, which extends into the 9th century, standing images of Buddha virtually disappear and when seated he usually displays *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. This second phase is dominated by large images of standing Bodhisattvas originally aligned in sets forming *maṇḍalas*. Three such sets are easily identifiable with the largest (Set A), most likely situated near Monastery No. 3 and the apsidal shrine on the terrace of Laṇḍā hill, being complete and well-preserved. The second (Set B) was arranged in a long gallery on the northern slope of Pārābhāḍi hill while the third set (Set C), examples of which were later fixed to the walls of the Bāsulī Thākurāṇī temple, may have been set up by either Monastery No. 1 or No. 3. Two other images, similar but smaller, may have formed part of a fourth set (Set D) or they may have served a different function in the *maṇḍala* plan. Only the lower half survives of a sculptural *maṇḍala* carved on a single slab, a popular format at Udayagiri and Ratnagiri, with the centre deity being Akṣobhya. There are in addition a few images of Buddha flanked by Bodhisattvas which possibly represent Tathāgatas from destroyed *stūpas* that may have incorporated the cult of eight Bodhisattvas similar to the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri (figs. 75, 99).

Only a few examples of a seated Mañjuśrī have survived and they are in a conventional form (fig. 167). Conspicuously absent at Lalitagiri are later seated forms, such as Mañjuvara/ Mañjughoṣa, or examples of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, forms popular elsewhere in Orissa. There are no surviving images of Amoghapāśa or Jaṭā-mukuṭa-Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa. Only two major images of four-armed deities have as yet been discovered or attributed to this site, Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī (fig. 357), still at the site, and Durgottāriṇī Tārā (fig. 315) now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Except for the image of Aparājitā (fig. 346), there are no terrifying or wrathful manifestations as even Mārīcī assumes a benign form. For the most part, then, the imagery is quite conservative with little or no evidence of esoteric or Vajrayāna Buddhist activity.

9. Ratnagiri (Śrī Ratnagiri-mahāvihāra)

The hillock known as Ratnagiri is situated on the bank of the stream Keluo midway between the Birupā and Brāhmaṇī rivers, approximately twenty-one kilometres south of Jājpur through the air. The first published notice of the site, visited by Monmohan Chakravarti, the Sub-Divisional Officer of Jājpur, appears in his report contained in the *Cuttack District Gazetteer* of A.D. 1906.[116] Although numerous other scholars visited the site over the next fifty years, it was not until 1958-61 that excavations were carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India, the results of which were published by Debala Mitra some twenty years later.[117] The excavations yielded an impressive Stūpa on top of the hillock surrounded by an overwhelming number of smaller *stūpas*, a single-winged monastery, two quadrangular monasteries, the remains of eight temples with small *stūpas* around some of them, and innumerable sculptures of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna pantheons, some in bronze but most in stone. As indicated by Mitra, the excavations revealed an establishment that could be compared with that of Nālandā. "In the overwhelming number of portable monolithic *stūpas* Ratnagiri can compete even with Bodh Gaya...The number of these antiquities is an adequate index of the profound popularity and sanctity of this centre in the Buddhist world."[118] In respect to the walls of the front porch of Monastery 1, though similar front porches exist elsewhere as at Nālandā, at Ratnagiri the surface treatment of its back wall is far more lavish than anywhere else as noted by Mitra: "indeed, this wall, with an admirable exuberance of sculptural figures and decorative patterns, presents a rare texture which is yet unparalleled in the structural monasteries of India. The exquisitely-carved chlorite doorframe...is the most splendid of its kind."[119]

The nucleus of Ratnagiri, according to D. Mitra, dates to at least the 5th century A.D., or even earlier. Monastery No. 2, in her chronology, evinces three distinct periods of structural activity with period I dating to about the 5th century, period II to the 7th century, and period III to the 11th century. The larger Monastery No. 1 also has three periods of structural activity with period I commencing in the 8th century and period II in the 11th century. In the 16th century (period III) there was a modest revival of structural activity which also included the last restoration of the main Stūpa, possibly under the patronage of Mukundadeva as mentioned in chapter I.[120] Archaeologically Ratnagiri thus has the longest sustained activity of any Buddhist site in Orissa and must have been one of the foremost Buddhist establishments in India. That it cannot be identified with the Puṣpagiri-*vihāra* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, as proposed by some scholars, is borne out by numerous seals bearing the legend "*Śrī-Ratnagiri-mahāvihārīyārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya*" while in late Tibetan sources, as indicated earlier, it is still known as Ratnagiri. For the most part, however, its name completely slipped from the memory of the people of India. That the Buddhist association of the hill was even forgotten, as pointed out by D. Mitra, is evident in the fact that the mounds were considered to have contained the palace complex of a mythical king, the mound covering the two major monasteries being referred to as "Rāṇīpukhuri".[121]

Whereas the Buddha in the sanctum of Monastery 2 is depicted descending from Trāyastriṁśa heaven (fig. 54), the Buddha in the sanctum of Monastery 1 is in the more popular seated pose displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 68) as at Baudh, Khaḍipadā, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri. The sanctum doorframes were ornately carved, similar to the entrance portal of the front porch of Monastery 1. During period II of structural activity of Monastery 1, which I would date to the 10th rather than the 11th century, the partly open front porch fronting the sanctum was converted into a completely closed one with a stone wall being erected in front while the front wall of the shrine was widened, the antechamber and a portion of the verandah being blocked in by khondalite masonry, to create a long, narrow passage leading to the sanctum. Except for the doorframe, the original facade was covered up and a new facade was erected in front of the shrine. This new facade, with a centre doorframe flanked on each side by three deep, cell-like niches originally filled with images

of Tārā, has been reassembled from dislodged stones and is now set up along the western side of the courtyard (fig. 429).[122] The motifs of the walls of this new facade can be dated on stylistic analysis to the 10th century and are discussed in more detail in chapter XI. Due to the changes made during period II, and the shifting of images from the antechamber of period I to a newly formed antechamber, the original iconographic programme is lost. In the newly created brick western wall of this later antechamber are six niches, three large ones below and three small ones above, with five having a corbelled ceiling to suggest the walls were erected primarily to house images already in existence. Two of the larger images represent Akṣobhya-*maṇḍalas,* though this most likely was not their original placement. Two images associated with the changes of period II in front of the sanctum which can be dated to the 10th-11th century represent the Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā,* one being a Crowned Buddha, and were probably placed on opposite sides. One is still *in situ* while the other is in the Patna Museum (figs. 94-95). At present we are not cognizant of the underlying reasons for the spacial changes made in front of the doorframe, whether they were related to changes in religious practices, to aesthetic taste or to structural necessities.

The overwhelming majority of the sculptures at Ratnagiri can be grouped into two phases, an early phase dating to the 8th-9th centuries, dominated primarily by images of the Mahāyāna pantheon, and a later phase dating to the 10th-11th centuries in which Vajrayāna imagery is more dominant, though both forms of Buddhism co-existed with the latter evincing early and late aspects. Aside from images of Buddha, included among the large stone sculptures at the site are various forms of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśri and Tārā along with examples of Ārya-Sarasvatī, Cundā, Hāritī, Heruka, Jambhala, Maitreya, Mārīcī, Sambara, Vajradharma, Vajrapāṇi, Vajrasattva, Vasudhārā and Yamāntaka. Of the numerous Avalokiteśvara forms, particularly popular in the early phase are images of Amoghapāśa and Jaṭā-mukuṭa/ Mahākaruṇa, suggesting the extreme importance of the cult of "Bodhisattva-as-saviour" during this period in Orissa[123] while his form of Khasarpaṇa is more popular in the later phase. The Aṣṭamahābhaya form of Tārā depicting her as a saviour, in contrast, appears in both phases. One of the most unique juxtaposition of images in the late phase occurs in the sanctum of Temple No. 4 located in the area fronting Monastery 2. On the west or back wall is an image identified as Vairocana or Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī (fig. 184) while on the north and south walls respectively are images of Vajradharma (fig. 225) and Vajrasattva (fig. 117).[124]

The Mahākāla temple, now transformed into the Mahākālī temple, consists of a *deul* and a *jagamohana* with the upper portions of the latter missing and replaced by a modern thatched roof. Within the sanctum is a two-armed bust of Mahākāla, worshipped as Mahākālī (C-13), while within the *jagamohana* are small Buddhist images carved on the shaft of pillars placed at the four corners. Included among the deities in the shallow niches of these pillars are images of Buddha, Tārā, Vajrasattva and Ārya-Sarasvatī. Near the door is also a *mithuna* image. The temple can be dated to the late 11th century.

Particularly important in respect to iconography are the more than seven-hundred portable monolithic *stūpas,* an overwhelming number of which present the images of deities of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna pantheons, including "not ony varied forms of many deities but some unique representations of divinities not encountered on sculptures so far recovered from Ratnagiri."[125] Whereas deities other than Buddha/Tathāgatas and Tārā on monolithic *stūpas* elsewhere in India are very rare, at Ratnagiri there are as many as twenty-two Bodhisattvas and goddesses without even counting their different forms.[126] The conventional four Tathāgatas appear on several stone-masonry *stūpas,* including no. 30 from the group in front of Monastery 2 and *stūpa* no. 227 from the area around the main Stūpa, while on *stūpa* no. 37 from the group in front of Monastery 2 the four Prajñās appear in *caityas* above the niches housing the Tathāgatas (fig. 123). Still other *stūpas* have a curious medley of images, including *stūpa* no. 226 from the area around the main Stūpa which has images of Buddha, Lokeśvara,

Jambhala and Cundā (fig. 124) while the three remaining images of *stūpa* no. 16 of the same area are Tārā, Aparājitā and Ārya-Sarasvatī. The majority of these *stūpas*, however, have only one image. Included among the images not represented on a large scale are examples of Caṇḍaroṣaṇa, Tarodbhava-Kurukullā, Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī, Kanaka-Prajñāpāramitā, Parṇaśavarī and Uṣṇīṣavijayā.

The largest number of these monolithic *stūpas*, as many as 535, were found on the southwestern side of the main Stūpa-area, immediately outside the compound-wall of Stūpa No. 1 of Period II (fig. 23), with 269 having a single niche while one has two niches, each niche housing an image. Among the deities represented in this group, Tārā is the most popular, followed by the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Mārīcī and Vajrasattva. In respect to the Buddha, as in the case of large images, the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* is by far the most popular mode of representation. Among forty-six *stūpas* with the image of Buddha or a Tathāgata, twenty-seven depict this *mudrā* while six display *dhyāna-mudrā*, four show *varada-mudrā*, and only one exhibits *abhaya-mudrā*. In five other cases a Buddha/Bodhisattva displays *dharmacakra-mudrā*. There are nine *stūpas* with Vajrasattva, twenty-nine with Mañjuśrī in five different forms, forty-two with Avalokiteśvara in four/five different forms, twenty-nine of Tārā, sixteen of Mārīcī, nine of two forms of Cundā, three with Jambhala, two with Maitreya, two with Heruka, two with Vasudhārā, and one each of numerous other deities.[127]

The majority of the monolithic *stūpas* can be dated between the 9th and the 13th centuries. That these *stūpas* were made locally is evident not only by the discovery of a few unfinished examples, but equally by several *stūpas* which have a projection on one side of the drum and dome. Presumably, as indicated by D. Mitra, "the intention was to carve the figures of the deities into these projections according to the inclinations of devotees, which again tends to indicate the maintenance of permanent ateliers and sculptors." In a few cases *āyaka*-pillars are carved on the *stūpas*, a characteristic of the Kṛṣṇa valley in Andhra Pradesh, to suggest that the local craftsmen were including esoteric features under the direction of visiting clients. For the most part, however, the visiting pilgrims dedicating *stūpas* did not affect local traditions.[128] Whereas some of these *stūpas* obviously were intended as reliquaries for deceased monks, others may have been dedicated only as votive *stūpas*.

Of particular iconographic interest are the numerous sculptural-*maṇḍalas* at the site which include groups of eight and sixteen Bodhisattvas, the latter seemingly based on the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*. Of the three inscribed texts at the site, the first text, the *Pratīyasamutpāda-sūtra*, a Mahāyāna text of interdependent causation, is carved on several khondalite slabs dating to the 6th century as indicated earlier. The second text, the *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa-dhāraṇī*, excerpted from the *Bodhimaṇḍalalakṣalaṁkāra-dhāraṇī*, is imprinted on terracotta plaques while the third, the *Vimaloṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī*, extracted from the *Sarvaprajñāntapāramitā-siddhacaitya-nāma-dhāraṇī* is inscribed on the back of an image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 240). Both of these *dhāraṇīs* extol the virtues of those erecting *stūpas* and promise that the deceased, whose remains are buried within the *stūpa*, will be reborn in Tuṣita heaven.

As at Lalitagiri, over the years numerous sculptures have been removed from the site with examples now housed in various museums, including the Indian Museum at Calcutta, the Patna Museum, the National Museum at New Delhi (fig. 274), the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, and the Brooklyn Museum (fig. 286). Other examples are scattered in neighbouring villages while three are in the Sub-Divisional Officer's compound at Jājpur. Twenty-seven metal images were also excavated at Ratnagiri, the most interesting from an iconographical viewpoint being the image of Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri (fig. 277).

10. Tārāpur/Paradipgarh/Tīrthamaṭha

Recent discoveries of numerous Buddhist sculptures at Tārāpur, situated on the Cuttack-Paradip road on the south bank of the Mahānadī river, indicate that there was a Buddhist establishment in the immediate vicinity. The sculptures were discovered by local people while renovating a portion of the Taladanda canal, the images being retrieved from an area between the canal and the river.[129] At present the images have been assembled under a *kendu* tree where they are under worship as Hindu deities. Ruins of brick structures are still visible on the embankment of the canal. Included among the images is a Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, a four-armed Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa, a Mañjuvara-Mañjuśrī seated on a lion (fig. 178), a broken Tārā seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada*, a beautiful eight-armed Mārīcī (fig. 375) and an equally beautiful two-armed Prajñāpāramitā (fig. 327). The last two are particularly venerated by the women of the area and thus are invariably covered with garments.

Mārīcī is depicted in her conventional *pratyālīḍha* pose riding in a chariot pulled by seven sows. She holds the eight prescribed weapons though her upper two right arms are broken off. She has three heads with the left one being that of a sow. Her conical crowns are mostly obscured by accretions of paste. She resides within the womb of a *caitya* and is surrounded by three companion goddesses while the fourth serves as her charioteer. The seven sows are aligned frontally as at Astaraṅga. The Prajñāpāramitā image is well preserved and is exquisitely carved. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her hands displaying *vyākhyāna-mudrā*. A lotus issues from under her left arm and blossoms opposite her head, the blossom partially obscured by paste. She is framed by a *makara-toraṇa*. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while at the top centre are aligned the five Tathāgatas. Stylistically both of these images can be ascribed to the 11th century.

Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa is seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus. His lower right hand is in *varada* while the upper hand holds a rosary. The left hands hold a *kamaṇḍalu* and a lotus. The Buddhist *dhāraṇī* is inscribed at the top of the back-slab. The figures on the pedestal are badly worn. Stylistically the image can be assigned to the late 9th century. Both arms of Mañjuśrī are broken off at the elbow. Originally the hands were in *vyākhyāna-mudrā*. A *nīlotpala* issues from under his left arm and supports a book to suggest the image represents the Mañjuvara form of Mañjuśrī. He is seated in *lalitāsana* on the back of a lion. The image can be dated to the 9th-10th century. Archaeological evidence thus suggests that activity at the site extended from the 9th through the 11th century. The name of the village most likely derives from its Buddhist affiliations.

Included among the hoard of relics of Tīrthamaṭha, situated in the village of Turanga in the Erasama area, best known for its two large images of Paraśurāma dating to the 9th century, are several Buddhist images including a monolithic *stūpa*. An image of Avalokiteśvara appears on the *stūpa*. He is being worshipped by a kneeling devotee. Nearby is a fragment of a door jamb which contains an image of Tārā. Most likely these images were brought to the *maṭha* from a site such as Tārāpur in the immediate vicinity. The majority of the images of Tīrthamaṭha are Brahmanical. At Dihasāhi, near Ebirisingh, an image of six-armed Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri is inserted into a niche of the Champeśvara temple.

Paradipgarh, situated about five miles from the modern port complex, also contains a few Buddhist images. Although the few remaining shrines, including a dome-shaped temple and an apsidal temple, are of recent construction, they all include materials from earlier shrines. The apsidal Lokanātha temple, fashioned in the shape of an elephant, quite likely was built over the ruins of an early Buddhist apsidal temple (fig. 46). Housed within the sanctum is an exquisite Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa presently being worshipped as Viṣṇu (fig. 238). He is seated in *lalitāsana* with the lower part of the pedestal anchored below the level

of the present floor. His right hands display *varada* and hold a rosary while the left hands carry a *kamaṇḍalu* and lotus. The effigy of Amitābha appears above his tiara while a larger effigy of Akṣobhya is at the top of the back-slab. The image, larger than any of the seated Bodhisattva images at the Asia hills sites, can be dated to the 8th century.[130] There are also small Buddha images placed within wall niches on either side of Lokeśvara which are partially obfuscated by accretions of whitewash.

Placed within the sanctum next to Lokeśvara is a small image of Tārā (fig. 300). She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with the pedestal partially broken. She is richly adorned and her head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa*. Part of her back-slab is cut away behind her body. Stylistically the image can be ascribed to the early 11th century. Also dating to the 11th century is the image of a standing Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa now inserted into an exterior niche on the Pareśvara temple (fig. 237). He displays *varada* and holds a *kamaṇḍalu* with his lower hands while his uplifted hands have a rosary and a full-blown lotus. He is richly ornamented and has a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. A pot-bellied Hayagrīva resting his arms on a staff is at the right. Devotees appear on the right corner of the pedestal while Vajrasattva is on the left corner.

11. Udayagiri (Śrī Mādhavapura-mahāvihāra)

Udayagiri, which forms the easternmost peak of the Asia range, is situated about three miles northwest of Gopalpur on the Birupā river. Two arms of the hill, one extending to the northeast and the other to the southeast, form a bay opening to the east. In the middle of the plain enclosed by this bay, on a low mound of debris, Chanda noticed a standing, two-armed image of Avalokiteśvara with the name of the donor inscribed on the back-slab in characters of the 7th-8th century, the inscription reading, "this is the pious gift of the monk Śubhagupta."[131] He stands in a slightly flexed *tribhaṅga* pose with his right hand, now missing, in *varada* while the left, also broken off, held a lotus which blossoms above the shoulder. He is richly ornamented and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his coiffure. He is flanked at the base by a standing figure with uplifted arms and a kneeling Sudhanakumāra on the right and a four-armed Hayagrīva on the left. Two additional kneeling devotees appear on the right, beneath Sudhanakumāra. The pedestal is broken off. The image is now broken into two pieces and is badly weathered.

Some two hundred yards above this image, at the base of the terrace of the hill, is a rock-cut well surrounded by a stone terrace with two monolithic pillars at its entrance. A flight of thirty-one steps leads down the rock as an approach to the water. The well contains an inscription incised twice, on the right wall while entering into it and on the arch above the lowest step, in characters of the 10th-11th century, recording "this well (is dedicated by) Rāṇaka Vajranāga."[132]

Not far from the well a natural terrace rises up towards the peak and numerous broken images and sculptural ruins were noticed here by Chanda. It was from this area that a magnificent doorframe was removed to Cuttack by John Beams along with various surface sculptures (figs. 456-57).[133] The doorframe, along with an image of Gaṅgā and a twelve-armed goddess, is now in the Patna Museum while two Bodhisattva images are presently in the compound of the modern Solapuamā temple at Cuttack (figs. 236, 254), described earlier. Whereas the Gaṅgā image is well preserved, the Yamunā image, shifted to the Mahākālī temple on the southern part of the hill, is badly worn (figs. 509-10). Also in the sanctum of this temple, originally dedicated to Mahākāla, is a badly-worn six-armed deity seated in *lalitāsana*. The twelve-armed goddess from the Beams' collection, identified as Prajñāpāramitā by Chanda, may be the twelve-armed Cundā in the Patna Museum though the measurements given by Chanda are different (fig. 334).[134] Cundā is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her

principal set of hands, on her lap in *dhyāna-mudrā,* holding a small bowl. One of her left hands holds a lotus which supports a manuscript. An image of Akṣobhya is at the top of the back-slab, in the centre, while on each side is a standing Bodhisattva. On stylistic evidence the image can be dated to the 9th century.

On the southern side of the terrace, beyond the Mahākālī temple, was found an image of Vaiśravana which was presented to the Indian Museum at Calcutta.[135] He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and his left on his thigh. Surface sculpture still *in situ* include a four-armed Avalokiteśvara, an Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala*, the lower portion of a standing Bodhisattva flanked by a pot-bellied Hayagrīva, a headless image of Buddha descending from Trāyastriṁśa heaven (fig. 52), and a half-buried image of a colossal Buddha seated in the sanctum (fig. 70).[136] The four-armed Avalokiteśvara stands in a slightly flexed pose with his hands displaying *varada* and holding a rosary, *kamaṇḍalu* and a lotus as in examples of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 229). The back-slab is carved as a mountain landscape with images of Sudhanakumāra and Bhṛkuṭī housed in caves opposite Lokeśvara's head while he is flanked at the base by Tārā and Hayagrīva, aspects and companions associated with Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. An effigy of the Tathāgata Amitābha appears in his coiffure while a row of seven Mānuṣī Buddhas are aligned at the top of the back-slab. On the back of the image is a long inscription of twenty-five lines in nail-headed characters of *circa* late 8th century. The inscription, after invoking Tārā, Padmasaṁbhava and other deities, states that a "*Tathāgatādhiṣṭhita dhātugarbha stūpa*" (a *stūpa* with a relic inside and dwelt in by the Tathāgata or Buddha) was set up on that very spot.[137] N.K. Sahu believed that this *stūpa*, possibly the one recently excavated on the western side of the terrace, contains the relics of Padmasaṁbhava.[138]

In the Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* the image of the Tathāgata is missing his head and both arms (fig. 138). He is flanked by eight Bodhisattvas, four on either side with the lowest set appearing on the pedestal, that are arranged to form a *maṇḍala*. A similar image, better preserved except for the upper left half of the back-slab, is now in the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto (fig. 137). There seems little doubt that a monastery complex lies buried beneath these surface images (C-2).

The western side of the semi-circular terrace, as described by various scholars prior to recent excavations, was covered with extensive ruins of brick mounds, many of which had been destroyed by the villagers who carted away numerous images. One large mound, containing a brick *stūpa,* escaped being plundered due to the popular belief that it was cursed (fig. 28). The local people called it "Dhana Khandi" or "granary of paddy".[139] Images of Akṣobhya on the east and Amitābha (fig. 30) on the west were partially visible. Other scattered surface sculptures at the site included a four-armed Amoghapāśa which was broken off below the knees. He stands in a slightly flexed pose and has a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* (fig. 248). A row of seven Mānuṣī Buddhas, flanked by a Bodhisattva on either end, is carved at the top of the back-slab.

Excavation of this western side of the terrace by the Archaeological Survey of India, beginning in the 1985-86 season, unearthed the remains of a large monastic complex consisting of cells for the monks, an open courtyard, a verandah and a central shrine chamber housing a colossal image of a seated Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (figs. 26-27). The doorframe of the sanctum is richly carved and helps to date the complex to the mid-8th century (fig. 459). Approaching from the Birupā river on the east, one has to pass through an ascending passage leading to the monastery with its huge compound wall. In the course of the excavations some fifty sculptures were unearthed along with numerous seals inscribed with "*Śrī-*

Mādhavapura-mahāvihāraya-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya",[140] indicating the site was known as Mādhavapura-mahāvihāra (C-1).

Among the sculptures still at the site are images of Aparājitā trampling Gaṇeśa (fig. 347), a headless image of seated Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa, an image of Buddha descending from Trāyastriṁśa heaven (fig. 53), a seated Jambhala (fig. 394), a Ratnasaṁbhava flanked by Bodhisattvas (fig. 131a), a seated Vajrapāṇi (fig. 262) and a Vairocana-*maṇḍala* (fig. 136), all dating to the 8th century. Placed in front of the sanctum doorframe, on the south, is an image of Mahāvairocana flanked by female emanations of the *pāramitā* of the four Tathāgatas of the four cardinal points, dating to the 10th century (fig. 144).

Approximately thirty sculptures have been removed from the site to a storehouse and thus are not available for scholarly research, including (as related to me by various sources) images of Tārā, Vajrapāṇi, four-armed Cundā or Prajñāpāramitā, etc. These images are extremely important for the study of Buddhist iconography in Orissa and it is hoped that the excavation report will be published in the near future.

The *stūpa* at the southeast corner of the monastic complex, with a square base, has also been excavated and partially restored so that all four Tathāgata Buddhas are now visible (fig. 29). On the east the Tathāgata is Akṣobhya (fig. 127), on the south it is Ratnasaṁbhava (fig. 128), on the west it is Amitābha (fig. 129), while the image on the north, dressed in monastic garb but with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure, displays *dhyāna-mudrā* and represents Vairocana, either in descent to form the *maṇḍala* or as Abhisambodhi-Vairocana (fig. 130). Each Tathāgata is flanked by a pair of Bodhisattvas, the latter thus forming a second circle in the *maṇḍala*. The images date to the mid-8th century.

In addition to the images collected by John Beams, other surface sculptures removed from the site have found their way into various museums and private collections, including an image of Mārīcī removed by Ramgovinda Jagdeva to Kendrapara which R.P. Chanda acquired for the Indian Museum at Calcutta (fig. 370). Among the images in the Patna Museum, aside from those previously mentioned, is an image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī (fig. 76);[141] a Tathāgata Amitābha flanked by Lokeśvara and Mañjuśrī (fig. 131b);[142] a colossal four-armed standing image of Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva at the base while seven Mānuṣī Buddhas flanked at either end by a Bodhisattva are aligned at the top (fig. 253); and a headless, four-armed standing Avalokiteśvara (fig. 230).[143]

Included among the stone images formerly in the Ajit Ghosh collection at Calcutta which were illustrated by R.D. Banerji is an Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* similar to examples still at Udayagiri or the one in the Royal Ontario Museum;[144] a colossal four-armed Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara now in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (fig. 247); and three images now in the Musee Guimet in Paris—a standing Buddha (fig. 51); the upper half of an image of Vajrapāṇi (fig. 258); and a fragment with the head of a four-armed Avalokiteśvara with Bhṛkuṭī and an alignment of Mānuṣī Buddhas on the back-slab (fig. 494). Two *maṇḍala* images of eight Bodhisattvas, one with Mañjuśrī in *lalitāsana* and one with Akṣobhya (fig. 32) in the centre, have been inserted into the *beki* of the Vinode Behari temple at Kendrapara, a modern temple constructed with slabs and images from earlier shrines.

One of the earliest images at the site is an image of Mañjuśrī, now set up under a tree on the side of the road in the village by the local populace. He stands with his right hand in front of his chest, probably holding a *caurī* or a sword, while his left hand rests on the flower of a *nīlotpala* with a second flower above his shoulder supporting a manuscript

(fig. 162). He wears a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure and a tiger-claw necklace. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab, the left one now missing, while a single attendant, Yamāri, is at the lower right. The manner in which the *caurī* hangs diagonally down the front of the body suggests that this image of Mañjuśrī originally served as an attendant on one side of a large Buddha image. The image can be dated to the late 6th or early 7th century. Placed next to the image is the upper half of an Avalokiteśvara image which is badly damaged.

Near the top of the western spur, overlooking the Birupā river, is a ledge, by the side of a cave, with a gallery of Buddhist images carved out of the rock (fig. 31). In front of the rock-cut images is a votive *stūpa*. The series begins on the right with an image of Avalokiteśvara bearing two inscriptions, the first of which is a popular Buddhist *dhāraṇī* while the second states that this image was the gift of one Simyaka (fig. 190).[145] He stands in a strongly flexed pose with his right hand in *varada* and the raised left hand holding the stalk of a flower, its blossom obscured by fungus. He wears a minimal amount of jewelry and a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The next figure is a standing Buddha with his right hand in *varada* (fig. 58). His pose is equally flexed and his right arm is quite long. Next is a *stūpa* carved in low-relief and invariably whitewashed as is the votive *stūpa*. The third figure, smaller than the standing images, is a seated four-armed Kurukullā with her *dhāraṇī* inscribed just below her seat (fig. 349).[146] The fourth figure is another standing Bodhisattva with his right hand in *varada*. He holds a *nīlotpala* in his left hand, the attribute indistinct, to suggest he may be Vajrapāṇi or Mañjuśrī (fig. 191). The last image, again smaller than the standing images, is a seated Mañjuśrī, identified by Mukherjee as Vajrapāṇi and locally called "Solapuamā" or mother of sixteen children due to the surrounding images which are smaller in size (fig. 140).[147] The centre figure of Mañjuśrī is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada*. His left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* which probably supported a book. The book and the face of Mañjuśrī are mostly obliterated. Portions of his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure and his circular *pātra-kuṇḍalas* are intact. There are actually only thirteen figures surrounding Mañjuśrī, not sixteen, and these represent the five Tathāgata Buddhas at the top edge of the back-slab and the eight Bodhisattvas forming the *maṇḍala*, four on either side of Mañjuśrī.

There is thus substantial evidence that at one time Udayagiri/Mādhavapura-*mahāvihāra* must have been an impressive Buddhist establishment, consisting of *stūpas*, multi-cell monastery complexes, temples, free-standing sculptures and rock-cut images, though votive *stūpas* are conspicuously few in number. In contrast to Lalitagiri, where four-armed images are almost non-existent, there are many examples at Udayagiri. A feature peculiar to many large images is the alignment of the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas on the top edge of the back-slab, usually flanked by a Bodhisattva on each end. Also peculiar to Udayagiri is the manner in which the eight Bodhisattvas forming a *maṇḍala* around the centre figure are aligned. Invariably there are only six images on the back-slab, three on each side, with the remaining two appearing on the pedestal, an exception appearing on the rock-cut example where the last pair are placed inside, and horizontally aligned with, the top pair. In either case there is not a vertical alignment of four Bodhisattvas on either side of the back-slab as on the examples from Ratnagiri, suggesting that the development of a *maṇḍala* of eight Bodhisattvas on a single slab was not as yet fully evolved. The vast majority of the images date to the 8th-9th centuries. The style is fairly consistent except for the three standing rock-cut images with their swaying *tribhaṅga* pose which seems more typical of Southeast Asia. A total picture of the site cannot be gleaned until further excavations are carried out and the present discoveries are made accessible to scholars.

The discovery of three smaller Tathāgata images flanked by Bodhisattvas, one of Ratnasaṁbhava at the site (fig. 131a), one of Akṣobhya formerly in the Ghosh collection,

and one of Amitābha (fig. 131b) in the Patna Museum (acc. no. 6491), indicates that there may have been another *stūpa-maṇḍala* at the site, either destroyed or still buried, which likewise incorporated the cult of eight Bodhisattvas with the Tathāgatas or directional Buddhas to form a double circle of deities. Unfortunately the important image from the north side is missing so we don't know if it represented Vairocana or Amoghasiddhi. In that the Tathāgata in the north niche of the excavated *stūpa* represents Abhisambodhi-Vairocana in *dhyāna-mudrā*, based essentially on his description in the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, in the tradition of Śubhākarasiṁha's commentary in Chinese (*Taizō zuzō*), and there are two Vairocana sculptural *maṇḍalas* still at the site in the adjacent monastery complex, in which he shows *dharmacakra-mudrā* in one example and *bodhyaṅgī-mudrā* in the other, the latter as prescribed in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and in the *Pañcākāra* section of the *Advayavajrasaṁgraha*, it is quite apparent that this must have been an important centre for the concept of *Yoga-maṇḍala* which espouses the total integration of the two *maṇḍalas* manifesting the nature of *karuṇā* and *prajñā* respectively.

D. DHENKANAL DISTRICT

The district of Dhenkanal is bounded on the south by portions of Cuttack, Puri and Phulbani districts, on the west by sections of Bolangir and Sambalpur districts, on the north by Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts, and on the east by Keonjhar district. For the most part the district is covered with dense jungle and a long range of hills. The valley of the Brāhmaṇī river, which virtually divides the district into two halves, bisects the district in a semi-circular manner with the hilly tracts to its north and south. The Mahānadī river marks the southern border in the Athmallik and Angul sub-divisions.[148] Although the early history of the district is obscure, the discovery of numerous copper-plate grants of the Śulkīs, Tuṅgas and Nandobhavas, as well as the Bhauma-karas, suggests that various small ruling dynasties held sway over portions of the area, probably as feudatories to the Bhauma-karas. The only Buddhist remains so far discovered are near Talcher and probably are associated with the Jayāśrama-*vihāra*. As indicated earlier it was from this *vihāra* that Śivakaradeva II issued a copper-plate grant donating the revenue of the village Kallani for Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka. The plate was discovered in a small village named Jagati near Talcher and B. Misra suggests that this may be the location of the *vihāra*.[149] Some badly ruined images and broken slabs were recently unearthed by villagers next to the Praṇeśvara Śiva temple at Jhadiamba, near the Nalco water intake pump house outside of Talcher. They may date to as early as the 1st-2nd century A.D.

Several Buddhist images are now placed in the compound of the Paścimeśvara temple at Gopīnāthpur just outside of Talcher, including two of Buddha and one each of Vajrapāṇi or Mañjuśrī (?) and Tārā (?). Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī is seated in *mahārājalīlā* with his raised right knee supporting his right arm. His left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holds the stalk of an *utpala* upon which rests either a *vajra* or a book (fig. 7). Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and her left hand holding the stalk of a lotus. Both images are badly worn so that positive identification is difficult. The first Buddha image depicts him displaying *varada-mudrā* (fig. 111). A *makara* decorates the top of his throne on either side while the *bodhi* tree is etched on the halo framing his head. The second and larger image is broken off at the waist while the back-slab behind his head is missing (fig. 49). There is also an image of Bhṛkuṭī inserted into a niche (fig. 336). She is four-armed and is in a rigid standing pose. Surface details are badly weathered. These images can be ascribed to the 7th through the 10th century and possibly originated from the Jayāśrama-*vihāra* which was flouishing at this time as evident in the previously mentioned plate (A.D. 885) of Śivakaradeva III.[150]

E. GANJAM DISTRICT

Ganjam, one of the southernmost districts of Orissa, is bounded on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the south by the district of Vijayanagaram of Andhra Pradesh, on the southwest by Koraput district, on the northwest by Phulbani district, and on the northeast by Puri district. The eastern *ghats* dominate the landscape along the coast and most of the district is formed of undulating hills and wooded valleys. The most important rivers are the Ṛṣikulyā and the Vaṁśadhara, both of which are relatively small. During the reign of Aśoka a duplicate of the Major Rock Edicts at Dhaulī was engraved on the surface of a low rock in the village of Somapa (Jaugaḍa), which is now represented by a ruined fort about eighteen miles northwest of Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the Ṛṣikulyā river.[151] Throughout the early centuries of the Christian era the Satavāhanas, the Eastern Gaṅgas, the Māṭharas and the Śailodbhavas brought portions of the district under their administrative control while religious activities became centred around Mahendra mountain, famous in the Purāṇas as the hermitage of Paraśurāma. During the visit of Hiuen Tsang, Ganjam formed part of Koṅgoda in which, as the pilgrim states, it was Hindus and Jains who predominated. This appears to be at least partially supported by archaeological evidence, as the only sites where Buddhist images have been found are centred near Buguda and Ganjam town.

The first site is Buddhakol, a hilly area about three miles from Buguda. Several badly-worn Buddhist images have been placed along with some Brahmanical images on a terrace near the top of the hill, adjacent to a small waterfall, with one of the images representing Buddha in *dhyāna-mudrā*.[152] The images can be dated to the 9th-10th century. Supposedly there are numerous small caves in the area which were used by Buddhist mendicants.[153]

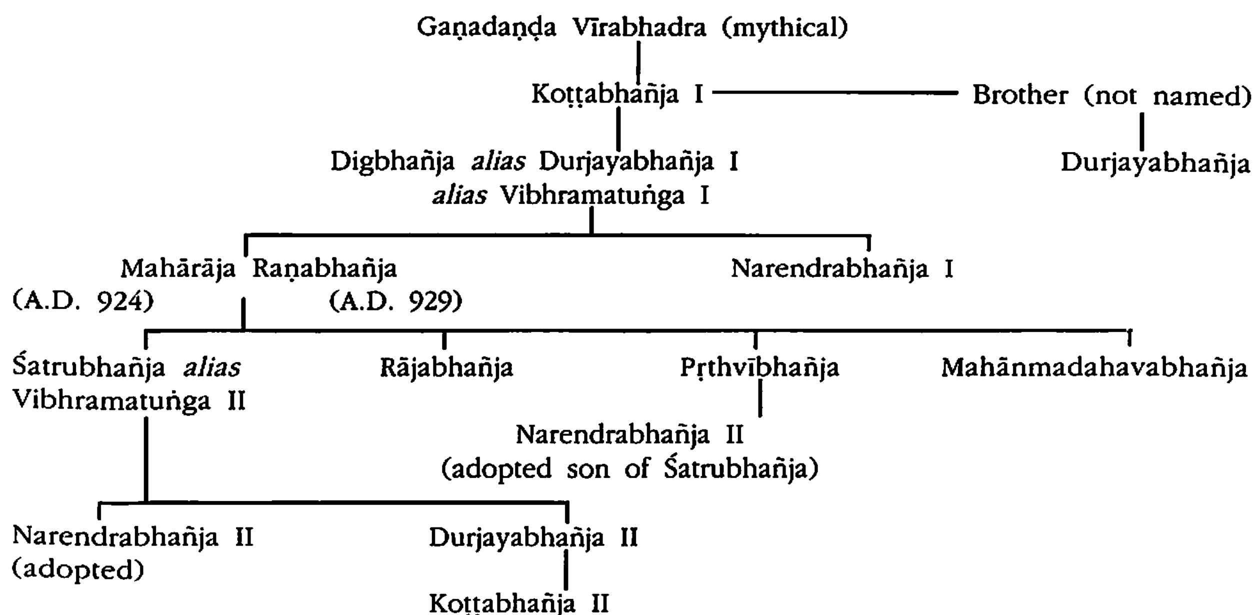
In the compound of the Kubereśvara Śiva temple at Kayima, on the bank of the Baugunyā river some three miles on the other side of Buguda, is an image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa placed in front of the *jagamohana* along with numerous detached Brahmanical images. He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his front right hand in *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds a rosary. His front left hand, placed on his seat, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus while the raised back hand has a *kamaṇḍalu*. He wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and two devotees are kneeling on the left corner of the pedestal. Stylistically the image, crudely conceived with its head overly large for the body, can be dated to the late 10th century and probably originated from the same site as the images at Buddhakol.

In the compound of the Khandeśvara Mahādeva temple at Ganjam are numerous Brahmanical and Buddhist images collected from nearby sites and affixed to the temple walls. Of the Buddhist images one is of the Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, datable to the late 9th-early 10th century. He is seated on a throne with the branches of the *bodhi* tree spreading above his halo. The second image, badly weathered, depicts a standing four-armed Avalokiteśvara (?) flanked by Hayagrīva on his left and by five seated goddesses, tentatively identified as Tārā and Mahāmāyūrī on the right and as Bhṛkuṭī (badly damaged), Ekajaṭā and Ārya-Sarasvatī on the left (fig. 192). Mahāmāyūrī is seated on her peacock-mount. The image can be assigned to the 9th century.

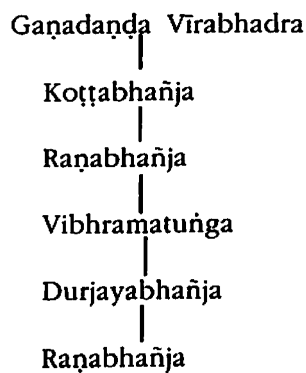
F. KEONJHAR DISTRICT

Keonjhar, one of the northernmost districts, is bounded on the southwest by Dhenkanal district, on the southeast by Cuttack and Balasore districts, on the east by Mayurbhañja district, on the north by Bihar, and on the northwest by Sundargarh district. The landscape consists mainly of high hills and thick forests. The major river, the Vaitaraṇī, passes through the centre of the district. In its early history it invariably was under the suzerainty of the Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa Bhañjas, feudatories of the Bhauma-karas and later the Somavaṁśīs. The most important early discoveries are at Sītābhiñji. They consist of inscriptions

KHIJJIÑGA-BHAÑJAS



DEOGAM COPPER-PLATE GENEALOGY



Adopted from Śrīmatī Snigdha Tripathy, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. VI (Bhubaneswar, 1974), p. ix.

and paintings on huge boulders in addition to temple ruins and brick mounds dating to the 5th-6th century. At Asanapat an inscribed image of Śiva was discovered on which it is recorded that Śatrubhañja, a devout worshipper of Śiva, also patronized and built dwellings and *vihāras* for Buddhist and Jain mendicants.[154] The only surviving Buddhist images discovered so far, however, are later in date and appear in the southern part of the district near Anandapur on the Vaitaraṇī river. Two images, along with numerous Brahmanical sculptures, are presently gathered in a group in the centre of the village of Bañchua, approximately three miles from Anandapur, which is best known for its impressive Vārāhī image. The first image depicts Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (fig. 217). He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his right hand in *varada* and the left, broken off, holding the stalk of a lotus. He is flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva while Tārā, Sūcīmukha and Bhṛkuṭī are on the pedestal. His head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* while the back-slab is decorated as a mountain landscape on which the five Tathāgatas are dispersed in *caityas*. The second image is a standing Bodhisattva with his right hand in *varada*, possibly holding a small object, while the left hand holds a flower, perhaps the *nāgakeśara* which would identify him as Maitreya (fig. 122). He wears a *yajñopavīta* and a truncated crown decorated with a *caitya* design. He is flanked by two seated figures on each side, one at the base and the other at the top of the back-slab. The figures at the base are each four-armed with the one on the proper left having a serpent canopy. The top left figure is probably Tārā.

At Deogaon, located seven miles from Anandapur, an image of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara is presently housed in the southern *pārśva-devatā* shrine of the Kosaleśvara temple, placed adjacent to the image of Gaṇeśa (fig. 218). He is seated in *lalitāsana* and is well-preserved except for the right hand which may have been clumsily restored at a later date. He is flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva while Tārā, Sūcīmukha and Bhṛkuṭī are on the pedestal. The five Tathāgatas are dispersed in caves in the mountain landscape decorating the upper part of the back-slab. Stylistically the image is nearly identical with the example at Bañchua and probably originated from the same site. All three of these Buddhist images can be ascribed to the late 11th or early 12th century.

Included among the detached images in the village of Sadha, also in the Anandapur sub-division, is a lone Buddhist image depicting the Buddha showing *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. A similar image, completely whitewashed, is placed under a tree in front of the Brāhmaṇīdevī temple at Talagarh in the same sub-division.

G. MAYURBHAÑJA DISTRICT

The northern district of Mayurbhañja is bounded by Balasore district on the southeast, by the Midnapore district of Bengal on the northeast, by the Singhbhum district of Bihar on the northwest, and by Keonjhar district on the southwest. The central portion of the district is covered by the Similipal hills. The district is watered mainly by the Budhabalaṅga, the Kharkai and the Sālandī rivers along with numerous tributaries rising from the Similipal hills which empty into the Subarnarekhā and Vaitaraṇī rivers.[155] Numismatic discoveries suggest that in its early history the area was ruled successively by the Kuṣānas, the Murundas and possibly the Guptas, or that an ancient route to the southeast passed through this area. During the post-Gupta period the Mana royal family rose to prominence and extended their sway over Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa territory which formed part of Uttara Toṣalī at this time. In the 7th century the area came under the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka and then Harṣa, after which followed a period of anarchy.[156] With the emergence of the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa the territory came under their sway and remained so for more than a thousand years.

The genealogy of the Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa Bhañjas is not worked out to any degree of certainty as their chronology depends upon a limited amount of inscriptions and the dates

provided have been interpreted differently. The most generally accepted era in which the inscriptions were issued, and the one which most closely corresponds to archaeological evidence, is the Bhauma-kara, suggesting that they were feudatories of the Bhauma-karas. From the Bāmanghāṭi copper-plate grant of Raṇabhañja, issued in the year 199 (A.D. 924),[157] it appears that the dynasty was founded by Koṭṭabhañja sometime in the 9th century. Koṭṭabhañja was succeeded by his son Digbhañja (Durjayabhañja). Digbhañja was succeeded by his eldest son, Narendrabhañja, who apparently died prematurely and without an heir as he was succeeded by his younger brother, Raṇabhañja. Raṇabhañja also recorded donations in the two Ādipur copper-plate grants issued by Narendrabhañja, one of which was recorded in the year 193 (A.D. 929).[158] Raṇabhañja thus appears to have been ruling over Khijjiṅga-maṇḍala during the period A.D. 924-29. He had two sons who followed him in succession. The eldest son, Rājabhañja, is probably the Rāyabhañja referred to on the pedestal belonging to an image of Avalokiteśvara preserved in the museum at Khiching. The younger son, Pṛthvībhañja *alias* Śatrubhañja, was succeeded by his son, Durjayabhañja who, in his Ādipur copper-plate grant, assumes the title "Mahārājadhirāja". His chief queen was Chihipadevī and his heir-apparent was Koṭṭabhañja II. This Ādipur grant is the last available copper-plate record of the family and little is known of the kings after Durjayabhañja.[159]

Although Śiva is invoked at the beginning of all of their records, Buddhism was also patronised by the Bhañja kings as evident in Rājabhañja's inscription on the pedestal of a broken Avalokiteśvara as mentioned above. The inscription, as translated by R.P. Chanda, reads: "This (image) of the Lord Lokeśa of Rāja Śrī Rāyabhañja is made with distinction by Śrī Dharaṇīvarāha."[160] Other scholars have suggested that it means the image was donated by Śrī Dharaṇī Varāha along with Kirttī who was probably his wife.[161]

1. Khiching

Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhañjas, is most likely a corruption of Khijjiṅga. The ruins of the ancient site extend far beyond the limits of the present village, situated near the border with Bihar, from the bank of the Khairabhandan on the north to that of the Kantakhair on the south, two hill streams which meet below the site and discharge into the Vaitaraṇī river. Though mainly a Śaivite and Śākta centre, there are numerous images and ruins suggesting a flourishing Buddhist settlement. A haphazard small-scale digging in a mound, known as Virāṭgarh, has partially exposed the remains of a brick quadrangular monastery with cells on four sides of a central courtyard. Six terracotta plaques discovered in the immediate area are decorated with the relief of a *stūpa* and the Buddhist creed in characters of the 10th century A.D.[162] There are also several isolated sanctuaries, of varied plans, though none of them preserve their superstructures. One, known locally as Chaṇḍiāsāl, is a brick structure with a central sanctuary, four cells at the corners with four open chambers between the cells, all built on a moulded plinth with inconspicuous offsets at intervals. The sanctuary, with a narrow *pradakṣiṇā* path around it, is barely sufficient for the stone pedestal of the missing image. A fragmentary image of Vajrasattva, now exhibited in the site museum, was retrieved from this structure.[163]

The brick structure known as Iṭāmuṇḍia was partially excavated in 1908 A.D. by N.K. Bose. It revealed a brick building consisting of three small rooms and a verandah. In the middle room, longer than the side ones, was discovered an image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 87). Other images retrieved by Bose include inscribed images of Avalokiteśvara and Mārīcī.[164] The Mārīcī image is now in the Baripada Museum (fig. 366). She is eight-armed and stands in her conventional *pratyālīḍha* pose in a chariot drawn by seven sows. The latter are all depicted in profile rearing up on their hind legs. Square plinths of several votive *stūpas* together with a circular one, all of bricks, exist in front of the structure.[165] The remains

of Saṅkhurajārgarh consist of a small brick sanctuary and an oblong brick *maṇḍapa* with stone pillars. The sill of the stone doorframe is fashioned in the shape of a moonstone flanked by a conch.[166] In A.D. 1908 Nagendranath Vasu dug out from this mound the pedestal of Avalokiteśvara with the inscription of Rājabhañja mentioned above (fig. 209).[167] The structure known as Kukudagarh is a plain square temple of granite which stands now only to a height of three feet or so. Inside it was found a small stone image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* which has been shifted to the Khiching Museum.[168]

About twenty years ago several sculptures were retrieved from a tank on the outskirts of the village, including an image of Tārā, badly worn (fig. 298), and an image of Mañjuvara Mañjuśrī (fig. 177). Mañjuśrī is seated *in lalitāsana* on the back of a crouching lion. His hands display the *dharmacakra-mudrā* while a *nīlotpala* issues from under his left arm to support a manuscript. The back-slab is partially cut out from behind his body and an effigy of Akṣobhya is at the top of his framing *toraṇa*. The images have recently been shifted to the Khiching Museum. Other images in the Museum include Jambhala and Vasudhārā (fig. 402) while other images from Khiching in the Baripada Museum include a Buddha, a seated Tārā and Arapacana Mañjuśrī (fig. 182). Mañjuśrī is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his raised right hand holding a sword over his head. His left arm is broken at the elbow, the hand originally placed in front of his chest. A *nīlotpala* issues from under his left arm. He wears the *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada*. Her left hand, mostly missing, held a lotus while another lotus rises up on her right. An image of Buddha from Khiching has also been shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar.

The Buddhist images at Khiching, as in the case of Brahmanical images, are made of a hard chloritic (*muguni*) stone quarried in the neighbouring villages of Kesra and Ādipur. In respect to facial features, body ornamentation and coiffure, this peculiar style of Khiching is a blend of Orissan and Pāla characteristics. The majority of the images can be dated to the 10th and 11th centuries, i.e., to the height of Bhañja supremacy in the area.

2. Rāṇibandh/Udalā/Baḍasāhi

A second centre of Buddhist activity in Mayurbhañja appears in the eastern part of the district, between the Soṇa and the Budhabalaṅga rivers, near the border with Balasore district and the Buddhist site of Ayodhyā discussed earlier. At Köisārīgarh, the ancient abode of the Virāṭa kings, there was originally an image of Mārīcī which was shifted to Sujanāgarh where it is now worshipped as Budhār-Caṇḍī. An image of Mārīcī was also discovered at Udalā, near Peḍāgaḍi, which has been shifted to the Baripada Museum (fig. 365). Mārīcī is six-armed and stands in *pratyālīḍha* in her chariot drawn by seven sows. Her major right hand brandishes a *vajra* above her head while the left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. According to N.K. Sahu a four-armed image of Mārīcī was also shifted to the Baripada Museum.[169]

Two Buddhist images have been discovered at Rāṇibandh, situated three miles west of Baḍasāhi, representing Tārā and Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. Formerly the images were kept in the adjacent village of Megha but the deaths of some women of the village frightened the superstitious villagers who attributed the evil to their influence. They were thereupon moved to the southern outskirts of Rāṇibandh. The image of Tārā, carved in low relief, is housed within the niche of a *pīḍhamuṇḍi*.[170] She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada*. Her left arm, broken off at the elbow, originally held a lotus. The image of Khasarpaṇa is now preserved in the Baripada Museum (fig. 214). Khasarpaṇa is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand, partially broken, in *varada* and the left, missing below the elbow, holding the stalk of a lotus. He is richly adorned and bears an effigy of Amitābha. He is flanked by Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva while Sūcīmukha kneels near his right foot. The *sapta-ratnas* and devotees are on the pedestal.

N.N. Vasu illustrates a four-armed seated goddess which possibly repesents Mahāmāyūrī though he identifies her as Dharma-devī.[171] Her major right hand, on the knee, displays *varada* while the left hand rests on the other knee. Her back hands hold a rosary and an indistinct object, possibly the peacock-feather. A peacock is visible beneath her seat.

In a bamboo grove on the outskirts of Badapada, near Hariharapur and about ten miles southeast of Baripada, is a small, badly worn image of Tārā (?) being worshipped as Koṭāsanī. She is seated in *lalitāsana* but is too damaged to identify with certainty though some scholars have suggested that she represents Jāṅgulī.[172] At Baripada, within the compound of the Jagannātha temple, an image of Jambhala is attached to the wall of the inner gate.[173] He holds a citron and a mongoose, has a pot-belly, and is richly adorned. A miniature *stūpa* is on either side of his back-slab and *aṣṭa-nidhis* are on the pedestal.

These images scattered in the eastern corner of Mayurbhañja district can be ascribed to the 10th-11th centuries and stylistically are related to the images at Ayodhyā and elsewhere in northern Balasore district, with whom they form an homogeneous group, and likewise were probably created under the patronage of the Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa-Bhañjas.

H. PHULBANI DISTRICT

The centrally located district of Phulbani, formed from the ex-feudatory state of Baudh and the Khondmal area, is bounded on the northeast by Dhenkanal district, on the southeast by Ganjam district and on the northeast by Puri district. The northern boundary of the district is formed by the Mahānadī river. The landscape consists of a long strip of level land running parallel to the river with gradual undulating rises to the hill ranges in the south which form the Khondmals. The Tel river forms part of the northwestern boundary while tributaries or smaller rivers include the Bagh, the Saluki, the Ṛṣikulyā and the Loṇarkhaṇḍi. Little is known of the early history of the area prior to the emergence of the Khiñjali-Bhañjas, feudatories of the Bhauma-karas, who incorporated it into their kingdom of Khiñjali-maṇḍala. Later it came under the rule of the Somavaṁśīs, the Telugu-Coḍas, the Kalacuris and the Gaṅgas.[174]

The early capital of the Khiñjali-Bhañjas was Dhṛtipura which has not as yet been identified. Another important early city was Gandharāḍī, named after the 9th century king Gandhaṭa Śatrubhañja, identified with Gandhamardana in the Baudh copper-plates of Raṇabhañja I, his successor, which were issued at Dhṛtipura.[175] Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa and his son Raṇabhañja, up to his 26th regnal year, are described as "Ubhaya Khiñjalyadhipati" and had the title of "Rāṇaka" in their copper-plate grants indicating their feudatory status. In Baudh copper-plates of his 54th regnal year, however, Raṇabhañja is described only as the lord of Khiñjali-maṇḍala and as "mahārāja", suggesting he had lost control of his territory, probably the western portions (Sonepur area), to the emerging Somavaṁśī kings, most likely Janamejaya, the first holder of the epithet "Trikalingādhipati". Another Baudh grant of Raṇabhañja, recorded in his 58th regnal year, records that Oḍra-*viṣaya* was included in his kingdom, suggesting that, after losing a portion of his kingdom in the west, he wrested a portion of the Oḍra country in the east, probably from either Śubhākaradeva IV or Śivakaradeva III, and no longer payed allegiance to the Bhauma-karas. In retaliation, Śivakaradeva III drove the Bhañjas out of Khiñjali-maṇḍala to the hilly regions of Ganjam district (Ghumsar area). This is evident from copper-plate inscriptions as after Raṇabhañja no king of the family seems to have issued their charters from Dhṛtipura. Most of the later charters were issued at Vajayavañjulvaka and the kings invariably use the inferior title of "Rāṇaka" suggesting their feudatory status.[176] The ouster of the Bhauma-karas from the south Tosalī region after Daṇḍī-mahādevī, in about A.D. 929 by Yayāti I, led the last two members of the Bhauma-kara dynasty to shift their sphere of activities to north Tosalī. It is probable that the Bhañjas at this time played a role in supporting the last two female rulers of the Bhauma-kara dynasty who, as

indicated earlier, were proteges of the Bhañja kings. The intervention of the Bhañjas in the internal affairs of the Bhauma-karas led Yayāti I to defeat Śatrubhañja III sometime around A.D. 940-45. When the Bhauma-kara rule ended in north Toṣalī he annexed it into the Somavaṁśī kingdom and this newly acquired territory came to be known as Utkala.[177]

1. Baudh

One of the most important Buddhist centres in Phulbani must have been Baudh, its Buddhist affiliation implied in its name, situated on the confluence of the Saluki and Mahānadī rivers. The most impressive surviving image is the colossal Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 72). The image, presently found near the palace of the ruling family, is built in sections of stone. A masonary pavilion has been erected to protect it. Remains of a stone pavement of an ancient temple are visible in front of the image. The image plays an important role in the religious life of the people of Baudh even now and on all auspicious occasions it is worshipped by them as "Budharāja".[178] According to a tradition recorded by R.D. Banerji, when there is drought in Baudh the local people cover the entire image with earth. "The brāhmāṇas were nervous about the destruction of this image for fear of offending the common people and therefore they persuaded the local people to believe that want of rain was caused by the evil influence of this image and that rain would be forthcoming as soon as its evil eyes were covered up." To facilitate the covering, the image was always kept buried up to its waist[179] though this practice is now abandoned. Banerji also mentions seeing several other small Buddhist images near the colossal Buddha, including a standing figure of Lokanātha. There is also a small votive *stūpa*.

There are also numerous Buddhist images contained within the compound of the Rāmeśvara temple, all being worshipped as Hindu deities. Banerji mentions an image of Mahattarī Tārā being worshiped as Ugra Tārā, with the Buddhist creed inscribed on the back, and a broken image of Lokeśvara lying in the sanctum.[180] The best preserved image in the compound is of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 80). A *vajra* is placed on the front edge of his seat. His facial features are badly worn. Nearby are two fragments of a standing Avalokiteśvara with one containing his head (fig. 496) while the other has his pedestal, feet and four flanking companions (fig. 419). The latter, also standing, are Sudhanakumāra, Tārā Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva, usually associated with the Khasarpaṇa form of Lokeśvara, while Sūcīmukha (?) kneels on the right corner of the pedestal and Vajrasattva is seated on the left corner. These images at Baudh can be dated to the 9th-10th centuries.

Two small bronze images were also discovered at Baudh.[181] One is a two-armed Maitreya seated in *lalitāsana*. He holds a small vessel in his right hand and the *nāgakeśara* flower in his left hand. He is surrounded by a circular flaming nimbus which is crowned by an *amalaka* simulating a miniature *pīḍha-muṇḍi*. The second image is four-armed and represents a form of Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara.[182] He is seated in *lalitāsana*. He extends his lower right hand in *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds a *śaṅkha*. The lower left hand is on the seat while the uplifted back hand carries a lotus. These bronze images can likewise be dated to the 9th-10th century.

2. Paragalapur/Śyāmāsasundarpur/G. Udayagiri

In the village of Paragalapur, near Bausani, three badly-worn Buddhist images are presently housed in a small shrine. The largest is a broken image of Buddha built in sections (fig. 41). The lower section of the image is missing, as is the upper portion of the back-slab, and, due to the poor quality of stone, most surface details are badly worn. The second image possibly represents Tārā but again surface details are mostly eroded (fig. 42). She is seated in *lalitāsana* with the right hand in *varada* and the left hand holding a lotus. The

third image, likewise badly worn, probably represents the serpent goddess, either Manasā or Jāṅgulī. She is seated in *lalitāsana* with a canopy of serpent hoods framing her head. The right hand appears to be in *varada* while the left arm is broken off. The images can be dated to the 9th-10th century.

In a wooded area in the adjacent village of Śyāmāsasundarpur is a large image of seated Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa*, the pedestal missing or buried (fig. 40). Surface details are badly eroded though *virāla* motifs are visible on the sides of his throne and a tree spreads its branches above his halo. The back-slab tapers inward towards the top. The image probably came from the same site as those at Paragalapur, only two miles away. The image likewise can be dated to the 9th-10th century.

At G. Udayagiri, the *tahsil* headquarters of the Baliguda sub-division, an image of a Buddha displaying *dhyāna-mudrā* was discovered which has been shifted to the Orissa State Museum (fig. 107). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a lotus supported by a crouching lion at either side of the broken pedestal. In the centre of the pedestal is a Saranātha device of a wheel flanked by a deer on each side. Part of the head of Buddha, including all facial features, is broken off. A serpent coils behind his body while over his head is a canopy of seven serpent hoods. Panigrahi identifies the image as the Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi due to his association with the snake.[183] Although Amoghasiddhi is usually depicted showing *abhaya-mudrā*, there are scattered examples throughout India which represent him in *dhyāna-mudrā* so that his identification cannot be established only by his *mudrā*. He may frequently be represented with a serpent canopy, especially in Nepal,[184] but his symbol is a *viśvavajra* and not the Saranātha device depicted in this imjage, the motif of the wheel flanked by deer being more appropriate for the historic Buddha. More likely this image represents Mucilinda Buddha, of which numerous early examples have been discovered, who invariably is depicted with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā*, this episode in the life of the Buddha taking place while he was meditating. The image can be ascribed to the 7th-8th century.

I. PURI DISTRICT

Puri district is bounded by the Bay of Bengal on its south and southeast, by the district of Ganjam on the southwest, by the district of Phulbani on the west, by the district of Dhenkanal for a small stretch on the northwest, and by the district of Cuttack on the north. The three broad physical divisions of the district are the littoral tract, a level alluvial tract and the hilly tract. The Khurda sub-division marks the transition from the peaceful, thickly populated deltaic region to the jungles and mountain passes of the Nayagarh sub-division with the Dayā river being the boundary between the plains and the inland hilly tract. The major river running through the district is the Mahānadī though numerous tributaries branch out to form a huge delta which spreads even into Cuttack district. Among the major estuaries in respect to archaeological remains are the Dayā, the Devī, the Kuṣabhadrā and the Prācī while another important river in the southern part of the district is the Sāliā which empties into Chilka lake.[185]

In pre-Christian centuries various parts of the district were under the authority of imperial powers such as the Mahāmeghavāhanas, the Mauryas and the Nandas, during which period the rock-cut monuments of Dhaulī and Udayagiri/Khandagiri were excavated, along with numerous inscriptions. The great Kalinga war of Aśoka was fought in the vicinity of Dhaulī hill and a great fort was erected at Śiśupālgarh outside of Bhubaneswar. Little is known of its history from the fall of the Mahāmeghavāhanas till the rise of the Śailodbhavas though several hoards of punch-marked coins and Puri-Kuṣāna coins belonging to this period have been collected by the Orissa State Museum from different parts of the district. Dynastic rule over portions of the district commenced when the Śailodbhavas occupied this tract. They

established their capital at Bañkāḍa and constructed monuments around Banpur. It is during their hegemony that the earliest surviving Brahmanical temples were constructed at Bhubaneswar. They were primarily Śaivas and worshipped him on Mahendra mountain which they regarded as a Kulagiri. The early Bhauma-kara rulers, as indicated in chapter I, were Buddhists and in addition to patronising the Buddhist establishments in the Asia hills they had caves excavated on Dhaulī hill for resident monks. Śaktism also became widespread during their rule and throughout the following Somavaṁśī period. Though the Somavaṁśīs were ardent followers of Śaivism, they likewise were tolerant in their religious outlook and patronised Buddhists as well as other religious sects. With the emergence of the Gaṅgas in this area, however, Buddhism was in decline though occasional revivals took place, as in the reign of Mukundadeva, though this revival appears confined primarily to Ratnagiri in Cuttack district.

Although best known for its sacred Brahmanical *kṣetras*, Buddhist remains are abundant throughout the district, particularly in the coastal areas, but nothing has yet been discovered that can compare with the Buddhist sites in the Asia hills of Cuttack district.

1. Acutrajpur/Banpur/Gopalpur

Acutrajpur, a mauza about one mile west of the police station of Banpur in Khurda sub-division, came into prominence in A.D. 1963 with the discovery of a hoard of metal images and objects during removal of debris of a mound near the Bālukeśvara temple for construction of an educational institution. The locality has a picturesque setting with the hill of Ghaṇṭaśilā about a kilometre north of the site and the Sāliā river flowing by its side. The entire area between this stream and the road to the south of the Banpur High School (Godavaris Vidyapitha) was formerly in the form of a mound containing the ancient ruins of religious structures, primarily Buddhist. The antiquity of the area is attested to by the discovery of two sets of copper-plates pertaining to the Śailodbhava dynasty of Koṅgoda.[186] Other copper-plates found in the area attest to its continued prosperity during the Bhauma-kara and Somavaṁśī periods while in the Gaṅga period a temple dedicated to Dakṣaprajāpati Śiva was built at Banpur. From available evidence the area not only nourished Buddhism and Brahmanical cults but, to a limited extent, Jainism as well.[187]

Of particular interest is a set of three copper-plates issued in the sixth regnal year of Indraratha (early 11th century), mentioned earlier, which records the grant of a village for the provisions of *bali, charu* and *naivaidya* to be offered to Khadiravarṇī-bhaṭṭārikā,[188] i.e., Khadiravaṇī Tārā. Most likely this, as well as the illustration labelled "Koṅgo(da)maṇḍale Khadiravaṇī Tārāh" in the manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (A.D. 1015) in the Cambridge University Library,[189] refers to the large image of Khadiravaṇī Tārā now housed in the porch of the Tikirai temple situated near the Banpur *tahsil* office (fig. 305), currently being worshipped as Tāriṇī and/or Ugra-Tārā. She is seated in *lalitāsana*, is ornately decorated and is flanked by diminutive images of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. Her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* and the five Tathāgatas are arranged along the top of the back-slab. The *makara-toraṇa* is supported at the sides by a *virāla* motif. The upper register of the pedestal contains the *sapta-ratnas* while the lower register has kneeling devotees, a small Sucīmukha and a large standing, emaciated female *preta* (fig. 423). The image can be dated to the 10th century.

There are three stone images of Tārā at Acutrajpur, including a seated, two-armed image, locally called Uttarāyaṇī, enshrined in a late temple on the north bank of the Sāliā river which can be placed in the 11th century.[190] A more impressive image is in the possession of the Godavaris Vidyapitha which was found at the time of the denudation of the brick mound (fig. 306).[191] She is in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and the left holding the stalk of an *utpala*. She is richly ornamented and an effigy of a Tathāgata, partially defaced,

appears on her *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. She is flanked by Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī (?) and Ekajaṭā. On the pedestal are two kneeling devotees and, by her pendent foot, a diminutive Bodhisattva (?). The lower part of the pedestal is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the 11th-12th century. The third image is now in the northern niche of the Bālukeśvara temple (fig. 294). Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and the left, on the seat behind her thigh, holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala*.

The Bālukeśvara temple itself stands on a mound, retained by walls of ancient bricks, which probably contains the remains of a Buddhist edifice. It is built of material from existing ruins and includes, in addition to Tārā, an image of Buddha in the niche on the back wall (fig. 56). He stands on a lotus and displays *varada* with his right hand while the left arm is broken at the elbow. He is flanked by Brahmā and Indra, the latter holding the staff of an umbrella which unfolds above the head of Buddha, to suggest the motif represents the Buddha's descent from Trāyastriṁśa heaven.[192] Kneeling devotees appear on the pedestal. Stylistically these two images incorporated into the Bālukeśvara temple can be dated to the 10th century. Near the base of the stairs leading to the top of the mound are four monolithic votive *stūpas* while two more are situated by the side of the well on the north side of the temple and three others are located by the gate of the compound wall of the school.[193]

There are also two Buddhist images attached to a Śiva temple at Acutrajpur while another is affixed within a niche of a stepped well within the compound of the Dakṣaprajāpati temple at Banpur. The first image is a seated Avalokiteśvara (fig. 210). His right hand is in *varada* while the left hand holds the stalk of a lotus. He is flanked on his right by Tārā and Hayagrīva (?) while on his left is a seated figure with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā*. On the pedestal are images of Sūcīmukha, Sudhanakumāra (?), two kneeling devotees, and Bhṛkuṭī to suggest that the image probably represents Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. The five Tathāgatas appear on the back-slab. The second image represents Mārīcī (fig. 367). She is eight-armed and stands in *pratyālīḍha* in her chariot drawn by seven sows. She has three faces, the left being that of a sow, and she holds the conventional weapons. The third image, in the compound of the Dakṣaprajāpati temple, is of Lokeśvara (fig. 204). He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the left holding the stalk of a full-blown lotus. He is richly ornamented and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. He is flanked on either side by a vertical row of miniature *stūpas*. The image can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

Other stone images at Acutrajpur include a small Buddha, seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his right hand displaying *abhaya*, now in the possession of the school authorities.[194] Also discovered with the bronze hoard are two small stone images, one a fragmentary chlorite slab decorated with the relief of a *stūpa* and the other the lower portion of a khondalite image of a goddess seated on the thigh of a male deity, the latter being identified by D. Mitra as representing the Hālāhala Lokeśvara form of Avalokiteśvara.[195] The goddess holds a lotus in her left hand while on the right side of their *viśvapadma* seat is an erect trident entwined by a serpent.

Of the ninety-five metal images from the hoard, at least seventy-five icons are Buddhist with seventeen being of Tārā. The other images include sixteen of Buddha, ten of Avalokiteśvara, five of Cundā, five of Vajrasattva, four of Mañjuśrī, three (?) of Maitreya, two of Bhṛkuṭī, and one each of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī, Heruka, Jambhala, Kurukullā, Pāṇḍarā and Vajrahūṅkāra (?). There are additionally five unidentified Bodhisattvas and four unidentified female icons. Two of the latter are six-armed with one possibly representing Tārā.[196] Of the sixteen Buddha images, thirteen display the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (figs. 83-84), two exhibit *abhaya-mudrā* and one shows *dhyāna-mudrā*. Fifteen of the images are seated while one is standing. None are accompanied by Bodhisattvas, attendants or devotees (C-7).

Fifteen of the seventeen images of Tārā depict her seated while only two represent her in a standing pose. Of the seated images, fourteen show her in *lalitāsana* while one depicts her in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 308). In sixteen of the images she holds the stalk of an *utpala* in her left hand and displays *varada* with her right hand. The only exception is a standing image where she is blossoming forth an *utpala* with both hands, a form generally represented when she serves as a companion to Avalokiteśvara (fig. 417). For the most part, then, there is little in the way of variety in respect to iconography. When seated the only noticeable variety appears in the manner in which she holds the lotus in her left hand. The hand may either be placed on the seat (mode A), where it is partially obscured by her thigh (fig. 291), or it may be raised chest-high (mode B, fig. 299). The back-slab may be solid or partially carved away and it may be horseshoe-shaped or circular (C-15) in design, though a single example has a trefoil shape (C-16). In the latter image it is possible that the partially damaged lotus supported a book, in which case the image could represent Ārya-Sarasvatī. In the standing image where she causes an *utpala* to blossom, she is in a graceful contrapposto pose. She is richly adorned and wears a crown with triangular projections. In the second standing image, where she displays *varada* and holds the wavy stalk of a lotus, the back of her semi-circular halo is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the 11th-12th century (C-15).[197]

In a six-armed seated image, which D. Mitra associates with a form of Tārā as the Prajñā of Amoghasiddhi in the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, she has three heads and holds in her right hands a *vajra* and an arrow while the remaining hand displays *abhaya-mudrā*. Her left hands show *tarjanī-pāśa* and hold a bow and *utpala* (fig. 318).[198] The other six-armed goddess, with a single head, remains unidentified (fig. 341). She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. In her right hands are a *vajra*, sword and bell (or hammer) while the objects in the left hands are a small circular pellet, a *vajra* (?) and a noose.[199]

The five Vajrasattva images are all similar in respect to iconography with each seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* or in *vajraparyaṅka* while holding a *vajra* in front of the chest with the right hand while the left hand, placed near the hip, holds a bell. The only noticeable difference is the manner in which the *vajra* is held. In two examples Vairocana appears on the crown while in a third example four Tathāgatas are visible, though the back side of the crown may have the fifth Tathāgata (C-8).[200] In the largest image, where he is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka,* all five Tathāgatas are present (fig. 115).

Nine of the icons of Avalokiteśvara are two-armed while one is four-armed. Eight of the nine display *varada* with the right hand and hold the lotus in the left. Seven of these eight are in *lalitāsana* while one is in *vajraparyaṅka* (C-11). The remaining two-armed image is in the act of opening the petals of a lotus and thus can be identified as Rakta-Lokeśvara (fig. 224).[201] As with Tārā, the left hand holding the lotus may either be on the seat behind his thigh (fig. 201) or it may be slightly raised (fig. 202). In all cases he is richly adorned and in eight examples the effigy of Amitābha is visible in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The four-armed image corresponds to the iconography of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 243). He is seated in *lalitāsana* and holds a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu* in his back uplifted hands while his principal hands display *varada* and hold a lotus. An effigy of Amitābha is in his coiffure. The pedestal is decorated with a kneeling devotee and a serpent on the front face and a second kneeling devotee on the right corner. As suggested by D. Mitra, it is likely that the icon is a thanksgiving of a man who had an escape from a snake. The snake, in one role or the other, is mentioned in the *sādhanas* of some forms of Avalokiteśvara and it is one of the Aṣṭamahābhayas or Eight Great Perils in earlier icons where Avalokiteśvara is conceived as a saviour rescuing men from these perils.[202]

Each of the three images identified as Maitreya depicts him in a different seated pose—*lalitāsana*, *vajraparyaṅka*, and a modified *ardhaparyaṅka*—and in each example his *nāgakeśara* flower, his most distinguishing iconographic feature, is treated differently. In the image where he is in *vajraparyaṅka*, the right hand displays *varada* while the flower in his left hand supports a *kamaṇḍalu*.[203] In the image where he is in *lalitāsana*, his right hand is in *vyākhyāna-mudrā* while the left hand, resting on his knee, holds the stalk of a luxuriant *nāgakeśara* flower containing a small *kamaṇḍalu* among its foliage (fig. 120). A similar flowering branch rises up on the right. He wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* ornamented with a miniature *stūpa*. In the image where he is seated in a modified *ardhaparyaṅka* pose, he wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* but is mostly devoid of body ornamentation. His right hand, resting on his raised knee, holds a small circular object while his left hand, resting on the opposite knee, holds the stalk of a flower (fig. 160). The flower appears more like a *kalpadruma* than a *nāgakeśara*, however, and the image probably represents Kṣitigarbha.

Of the four Mañjuśrī images, three depict him in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the left holding the stalk of the *nīlotpala* which supports a manuscript. In the fourth example he is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and raises a sword over his head with his right hand (fig. 180). His left hand, held at the chest, holds a book. Iconographically the image conforms to that of Arapacana Mañjuśrī, though there are numerous other forms of Mañjuśrī which also conform to this iconography.[204] In all four images, Mañjuśrī is easily identified by his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure and his *vyāghranakha* necklace.

Of the unidentified Bodhisattva images, one of the most impressive is the example where the lotus in his left hand supports a *makara* (fig. 161). He is seated in *mahārājalīlā* on a *viśvapadma* with his right hand, resting on the knee, holding a small globular object, possibly a jewel. He is richly ornamented and his horseshoe-shaped back-slab, cut-out behind his body, is edged with flames. In the absence of textual descriptions with a *makara*, positive identification cannot be made.[205] In another icon, where the lotus supports a small *stūpa*-shaped object, the Bodhisattva can be identified as Ākāśagarbha on the basis of similar images at Lalitagiri (fig. 159). He is seated in *mahārājalīlā* with his right arm resting on his knee, the hand holding a small indistinct roundel. The image is badly worn and the flower held in the left hand is mostly obliterated. D. Mitra suggests the object on the lotus may be a *kalaśa* (water-pot) or a *kalpadruma* (wish-granting tree) and, since it resembles the object held by one of the *maṇḍala*-Bodhisattvas in Cave 12 at Ellora, she tentatively associates him with Kṣitigarbha.[206] The object more likely represents the *cintāmaṇi* jewel, invariably identified with Ākāśagarbha, which may be represented as a miniature *stūpa* or *caitya*. Ākāśagarbha is one of the eight Bodhisattvas forming part of a *maṇḍala* popular in Orissan art.

The image of Jambhala is characterized by a pot-belly in conformity with textual accounts and stone images (fig. 392). He is seated in *lalitāsana* and holds a citron in his right hand while his left hand squeezes jewels from a mongoose-purse. He is richly adorned and wears a jewelled tiara. The sides of his throne are ornamented with *virāla* motifs which support a lintel decorated with a *makara* at each end. On the back of his oval halo is a small disc with the Buddhist creed inscribed in indistinct characters. A lion appears at each side of the pedestal while in the centre are three *ratna-kumbhas*.

The image of Heruka is badly corroded so that surface details are mostly obfuscated (fig. 265). He is dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* with the toes of his left foot on the chest of a prostrate corpse. His raised right hand holds a *vajra* while his left hand holds a *kapāla*, the arm cradling a *khaṭvāṅga* against his shoulder. Three skulls hang from the *vajra*-tipped *khaṭvāṅga*. He wears a garland of skulls and his hair, tied by a cord, rises up like flames.

The image tentatively identified as Vajrahūṅkāra by D. Mitra,[207] and as Trailokyavijaya by S.S. Pattnaik,[208] is one of the largest and most interesting of the entire hoard (fig. 276). The deity assumes the *pratyālīḍha* pose with his right foot planted on the belly of Kālarātrī and his left heel on the forehead of a nude, ten-armed Bhairava. His hands are crossed in front of his chest in *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā* with the right fist holding a *vajra* and the left holding a *vajra-ghaṇṭā*. He is richly adorned and four Tathāgata images are visible in his tall conical coiffure. The large circular halo behind the deity is edged by a closely aligned series of flames.

There are five images of Cundā with four of them having four arms while the fifth has six arms. Each is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with their major hands on the lap in *dhyāna-mudrā* while holding a bowl. The upper right hand holds a rosary while the left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu* (fig. 331). In the six-armed image the additional right hand displays *varada* while the left hand holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus (fig. 332). The absence of a book, prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā*, precluded D. Mitra from being positive in identification,[209] though there is little doubt that these images represent Cundā. There are no Tathāgatas with any of the images (C-19).

Of the two images of Bhṛkuṭī, one is standing while the other is seated. Both are four-armed. In the standing image her lower right hand is in *varada*, the palm marked with a circular pellet, while the raised back hand holds a rosary. The corresponding left hands hold a *kamaṇḍalu* and a *tridaṇḍa*. She wears a diaphanous undergarment, fastened with two cords neatly knotted, and an *uttarīya* of *ajina* with the head of the deer near the shoulder. She has a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, decorated with a *stūpa*, with coiled locks schematically cascading down to her shoulders on either side of her head. Her *viśvapadma* seat rests on a rectangular footed pedestal. In the second image Bhṛkuṭī is supported by an image of an *alasā-kanyā* (indolent female) leaning against a tree while removing an anklet from her raised right foot (fig. 336). Bhṛkuṭī is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on the pericarp of a lotus with her principal hands in *añjali*. Her uplifted back right hand holds a rosary while the left holds the *tridaṇḍa*. A *stūpa* is visible in her *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. Her circular halo is edged with stylized flames.

In the image identified by D. Mitra as Pāṇḍarā, the two-armed goddess is in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and the left hand holding the stalk of a lotus (fig. 322). She wears a short tiara and her hair is gathered at the back of the head in a large chignon. Her head is framed by an oval-shaped halo edged with flames.[210] The image of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī is somewhat crudely carved and is badly worn (fig. 356). She is two-armed and stands on the pericarp of a lotus. She displays *varada* and holds the *aśoka*. Her mount is on the pedestal.[211]

The most interesting of the female deities from an iconographic viewpoint is Uḍḍiyāna Kurukullā (fig. 350). She is dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* with the toes of her left foot on the chest of a corpse. She wears a long garland of skulls and her hair rises up like flames. Her lower right hand holds a goad while her raised back hand dispenses an arrow from the bow held in her uplifted left hand. Her lower left hand holds an *utpala*. This terrifying form is quite rare.

Perhaps the best of the unidentified female deities is the standing two-armed goddess with her right hand in *varada* and her raised left hand holding the stalk of a flower. The missing flower precludes us from making a positive identification, though it may be Tārā. She assumes a gracefully relaxed pose and has soft, sensuous features. She is clothed in a *śāṭī*, fastened by a broad girdle, and has a long *uttarīya* which falls across the arms on each side. Her hair is gathered in a bun at the back of her head (C-17).

Of the twenty *stūpas* contained within the hoard, four of them have images of deities, including one with Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and another with a Bodhisattva, possibly Maitreya. Two of them have four images with the first having four Tathāgatas, the image of Ratnasaṁbhava being replaced by Vairocana (fig. 100). The most interesting *stūpa* is also the largest (fig. 126). In its niches, facing the cardinal directions, are four goddesses, identified as Tārā (fig. 126a), Bhṛkuṭī (fig. 126b), Pāṇḍarā (fig. 126c) and possibly Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī or Yaśodhara (fig. 126d).[212] A similar group of four goddesses appears on stone sculptures of Lokeśvara at Ratnagiri and Udayagiri.

In view of the paucity of Buddhist bronzes in Orissa, the discovery of the hoard at Acutrajpur, as mentioned by Mitra, is of great importance and they form the largest group of such Buddhist metal objects found so far in Orissa. For the most part they are small and easily portable cult icons and *stūpas*:

> Their small size and the advantage of their easy portability as well as their find in a hoard would point out that at least some of them form the pious offerings of the devotees and itinerant monks, nuns and pilgrims, desirous of earning religious merits, to the existing temples and shrines forming part of the monasteries of this Buddhist centre. Once they were offered, they were not necessarily kept in the temples and shrines for long. From the evidence of the finds from the monasteries at Ratnagiri, it is certain that these offerings used to be stored either in a secret cell or in the strongroom of the monasteries.[213]

The bronzes vary in date from the 8th through the 12th century. With only a few exceptions they belong, in respect to form and style, to the regional schools of the art of Eastern India and Bangladesh. In that the site has not been excavated it cannot be determined if there was a metal-casting workshop at Acutrajpur or in the immediate neighbourhood. In that some of the images belonging to the same period exhibit variation in the nature and character of art form and style which cannot be due to the variant degree of the skill of different artists, as noted by Mitra, it seems probable that many of these images hailed from distant metal-casting centres and, though originally serving as personal or family deties, "were brought with them by converted monks who made a gift of them in the shrine of Buddha." Many of them, in fact, bear traces of prolonged ritualistic use[214] and it is possible that some were arranged in *maṇḍalas*.

At Gopalpur, situated on the Ranpur-Chandpur road and likewise included within the boundaries of ancient Koṅgoda, an image of Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī, heavily garmented, is worshipped as the presiding deity of the Baghei Thākurāṇī shrine (fig. 374). She is in *pratyālīḍha* and is surrounded by four companions.

2. Dayā River (Bhubaneswar/Dhaulī/Aragarh/Kurkimuṇḍiā Area)

Although Bhubaneswar, bounded by the Kuakhai on the north and the Dayā on the south, both tributaries of the Mahānadī river, is best known as a centre for the worship of Śiva, being referred to as Ekāmra-*kṣetra* in various texts, numerous Buddhist relics and images have been found within the city to suggest the existence of Buddhist establishments in its ancient past. According to various orthodox texts such as the *Svarṇādri-mahodaya* and the *Kapila-saṁhitā*, as quoted in the *Ekāmra-caṇḍrikā*, the entire area between Khandagiri and Dhaulī hill constituted the extent of the sacred town.[215] This area, much larger than the present city of Bhubaneswar, also comprised the ancient metropolis called Tosalī, the chief city of the Mauryan province of Tosalī, though scholars are divided as to its exact location, some opting for the area around Dhaulī hill while others identify it with Śiśupālgarh. Although the Kaliṅga Edict mentions the name of the hill in three letters where this edict was engraved,

the name of the hill is lost due to the mutilated condition of the inscription.[216] The *Gaṇḍavyūha*, as indicated, mentions the name of the hill as Surabhaparvata. When it was changed to Dhaulī is not known though popular opinion now is that the name Toṣalī in course of time came to be pronounced as Dhaulī (i.e., Toṣalī = Dohli = Dhaulī).[217] Excavations at Śiśupālgarh, a mile east of the present city of Bhubaneswar and four miles north of Dhaulī hill, originally a fortified capital, revealed that the site had been in occupation from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. to the middle of the 4th century A.D. The history of Bhubaneswar following Khāravela of the Cedi dynasty, who was responsible for the Jain caves on the Udayagiri/Khandagiri hills, and preceding the rise of the Śailodbhavas in the 7th century, is bridged by excavated materials, such as Kuṣāna and imitation Kuṣāna coins, clay bullae imitating Roman coins, punch-marked coins and iron implements from Śiśupaḷgarh, various early *nāga* and *yakṣa* figures, as well as the group of laterite caves locally known as Pāṇḍava-gumphā in the close vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple.[218] Bhubaneswar itself appears to have been ringed with *stūpas* with remnants being uncovered at Śiśupaḷgarh, Dhaulī, Kapilaprasād (Sundarapada), Kurkimuṇḍiā, Aragarh, etc.

The earliest surviving Buddhist relics, as indicated in chapter I, include the colossal *liṅga* in the Bhāskareśvara temple, believed to have been an Aśoka pillar, a badly-worn fragment of a lion found nearby, and portions of a bell capital found in a tank known as Aśoka-Jhara just behind the Rāmeśvara temple.[219] Somewhat later in date are four *yakṣa* figures, one found near the Brahmeśvara temple and three in a field near Khandagiri hill, which probably functioned as capitals of pillars in a *toraṇa* or gateway from a Buddhist complex. Two other similar examples have been found in nearby villages, including one at Pañcagaon.[220] That there was a *stūpa* complex in the vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple is substantiated by the discovery of railing posts at the site which have been shifted to the Asutosh Museum in Calcutta and to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 1). Stylistically these railing fragments can be dated to the 2nd-lst century B.C.[221]

That this Buddhist establishment in the vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara and Brahmeśvara temples was still in existence as late as the 8th-11th centuries is evident by the discovery of several Buddhist images, including examples of Lokanātha, Tārā and Hālāhala Lokeśvara, in this area. The Lokanātha image, now headless, is quite impressive and represents an incipient form of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara (fig. 197). He is flanked by standing images of Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. On the pedestal is a group of *pretas*, beneath Tārā, and kneeling devotees, beneath Bhṛkuṭī. The image can be ascribed to the 10th century. Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* and her left holding a *nīlotpala*. The image of Hālāhala Lokeśvara, which I originally identified as Umāmaheśvaramūrti, is presently placed inside the *jagamohana* of the Megheśvara temple (fig. 257). Lokeśvara, seated in *lalitāsana* with his consort on his left thigh, has six arms and three heads. It can be dated to the 11th-12th century.

Included among other late images shifted to the Orissa State Museum is a broken Avalokiteśvara, a Crowned Buddha, an eight-armed Cundā and Siṁhanāda Tārā. The image of Avalokiteśvara was found at Jharapada in the northern suburb of Bhubaneswar (fig. 462). He is in a standing pose with both legs broken off just below the hips. He is richly ornamented and his face is illumined by a pleasant smile. The image can be placed in the late 10th or early 11th century. Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with lotus rosettes etched on the bottom of his feet. He displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* and wears an ornate necklace (fig. 101). He is housed in a niche framed at the sides by a baluster on which is perched a *haṁsa*. His head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* while the top of the back-slab is ornamented with a *kīrtimukha* and garbled scrollwork. The image can be dated to the 11th century. Cundā is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with her principal set of hands on her lap in *dhyāna-mudrā* where they hold a small *pātra* (fig. 333). Her other right hands display *varada*, an indistinct object and a rosary while her other left hands hold a manuscript, indistinct

object (lotus?) and presumably a *kamaṇḍalu* (broken away). Kneeling devotees and a seated Ekajaṭā are on the pedestal. The image can be ascribed to the 9th century. Siṁhanāda Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* with a lion carved at the centre of her pedestal (fig. 302). Both hands are broken off and identification remains tentative.

Dhaulī hill is situated on the left bank of the Dayā river. Although there are numerous Brahmanical temple ruins scattered on and around the hillocks, there are no surviving Buddhist images except for modern ones associated with the *stūpa* recently constructed by the Japanese. In addition the Rock Edicts of Aśoka, testimony to the early importance of the hill appears in the form of numerous rock-cut caves, probably dug out for the occasional resting of Buddhist recluses. As many as twenty-two are carved in the southern face of the middle range of hillocks, one of which contains an inscription of Bhīmaṭa, son of Nannaṭa, the physician during the reign of Śāntikaradeva of the Bhauma dynasty. According to this inscription a monastery, named Arghyakā Varāṭikā, was constructed in the Bhauma year 93 (A.D. 829) during the reign of Śāntikara.[222]

The Dayā river springs from the Kuakhai at Sardeipur. It runs due south for eight miles and then makes a sharp turn westward for four miles, then continues southward to empty into Chilka lake, its total length being about thirty-seven miles. The major areas through which it flows are Jatni, Pipli, Delāṅga, Kaṇāsa and Brahmagiri. Dignāga and his followers supposedly resided at Bhoraśaila monastery which N.K. Sahu locates at Delāṅga, the village itself having been named after this famous dialectician.[223] Numerous small rock-cut caves are found throughout the surrounding hills, as at Gaṅgapahar, though as yet no Buddhist images have been discovered.[224]

That there is a *stūpa* complex buried beneath the mound at Aragarh, on the Dayā river in the Haripur Gram Pañcayata area, is evident by the discovery of Buddhist images, railing fragments and votive *stūpas*. Included among the images are examples of Avalokiteśvara, a multiple-armed Tārā (?)[225] and the lower half of a four-armed Avalokiteśvara with images of Mahāvairocana (or Vajradharma), Vajrasattva and Hayagrīva on the pedestal (fig. 5). On top of the hill is a flat-roofed, pillared chamber with openings on four sides, the back opening now walled up while the side openings are fitted with stone window grilles (fig. 4). The openings are framed on each side by a *nāgī-stambha*. A lower chamber has a door opening on the front. Several monolithic *stūpas* are scattered in front of the structure while the huge size of the mound suggests the existence of a large Buddhist complex still buried. The exposed structure and surface images can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

The most interesting surface sculptures, discovered a few years ago, have been shifted to the Bhāgavata-ghara at Haripur where they are now anchored to a masonry dais. The first of the four images depicts Buddha/Akṣobhya displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 88). The other three images, all identical in size with the Buddha, are of multi-armed Bodhisattvas, each with three (visible) heads with jewelled coiffures. Their number of arms vary from four to eight. The four-armed image, with a *caitya* in his coiffure, displays *dhyāna-mudrā* with his major set of hands. The six-armed image, with an effigy of Amitābha in his coiffure, opens the petals of a lotus while the eight-armed image, bearing an effigy of Akṣobhya, holds a *vajra* and a bell. These images possibly represent esoteric forms of Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī or Vairocana (fig. 185), Vajradharma (fig. 226) and Vajrasattva (fig. 118) respectively.

Other images scattered within the same general vicinity include a Buddha housed with Brahmanical images in a small shrine at Rengala and a seated image of Avalokiteśvara placed in a small pavilion on the river bank at Manitri. On the other side of the river, in the compound of the Amṛteśvara Śiva temple at Gada Beguniāpada, is a small votive *stūpa* (fig. 14).

At Kapilaprasād, near Sundarapadā, is a large extensive mound of circular shape which probably marks the site of an early *stūpa*. The mound has been denuded by the local populace. A trial excavation undertaken by the Orissa State Archaeology revealed stone structures within the mound though no antiquity of importance was discovered.[226] An image of Dhanada Tārā (?) now inserted into an exterior niche of the nearby Kapileśvara temple on the outskirts of Bhubaneswar quite possibly originated from this site (fig. 313). At Sundarapadā, about two miles from Bhubaneswar, were found three large *nāga-nāgī* images which presently are aligned within a small hut, a *nāgarāja* flanked on either side by a *nāgī* or female. They are in human form with a canopy of five serpent hoods above their head. They are in a standing pose and have serpent coils carved on their back. They are presently worshipped as village deities and are garmented with modern clothes. They probably date to the 1st-2nd century A.D. Two similar images in the Orissa State Museum are badly worn, one also originating from Sundarapadā while the other was found near the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar.

Another *stūpa* was located on the top of Kurkimuṇḍiā hillock on the right bank of the Dayā river near the village of Kakudiā. Numerous fragments of *stūpa* railings are scattered around the hillock (fig. 2). The posts are undecorated except for sockets to receive the cross-bars. The foundation of the original shrine, built of burnt bricks, is visible in places among the debris. Grey and red ware sherds have been found within the complex. A modern shrine dedicated to Kurkeśvara Śiva has been erected on top of the Buddhist ruins.[227]

3. Gareḍipañcana/Bhillideuli

Within the *jagamohana* of the Buddhanātha Śiva temple at Gareḍipañcana, a small village in Balipatna Police Station on the left side of the road from Balakati to Banamalipur, is a small detached image of Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī (fig. 369). She assumes her conventional *pratyālīḍha* pose in a chariot drawn by seven sows and holds the standard attributes in her eight arms. She has three heads with that on the sinister side being that of a sow. She emerges from the womb of a *caitya* and is accompanied by four goddesses. Within the sanctum of the small Thākurāṇī shrine on the north side of the compound are two images of three-headed female divinities, one with four arms and the other with eight arms. The smaller four-armed image is worshipped as Amṛta Locanā to suggest, along with the Mārīcī image and the name of the temple itself, a Buddhist affiliation at the site. Locanā is the Prajñā of Vairocana and in the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where the four Tathāgatas and their Prajñās are dispersed in the first circle surrounding the central deity, the Prajñās are prescribed three heads and multiple arms. Locanā occupies the Agni (southeast) corner.[228] Iconographically, however, the Gareḍipañcana image appears more like a Hindu goddess except for her *vajraparyaṅka* pose and her three heads. In her hands she holds a sword, *kapāla*, shield and severed-head. The second image, much larger, is worshipped as Durgā, probably due to the lion on her pedestal (fig. 343). She is also seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. All eight arms are broken off and the only intact attribute is a noose held in one of her left hands. It is not possible to determine if she is a Buddhist or a Brahmanical divinity. Both of these multi-headed images can be dated to the 11th century.

In the compound of the Pūrṇeśvara Śiva temple at Bhillideuli, a village several miles east of Nimapara and off the road leading to Kakatpur, is an image of Buddha cemented to the face of the *pīṭha* in front of the *jagamohana* (fig. 90). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his right hand in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. A lion is at each corner of the pedestal while in the centre is a kneeling devotee. The image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century but the place of origin remains unknown.

There is also a small, broken image of Buddha displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* in the compound of the Pingalakṣī temple at Denua, a small village on the right bank of the Kuṣabhadrā river approximately four miles from Nimapara. The image most likely originated from the same site as the example at Bhillideuli.

4. Kuruma/Rāmacaṇḍī/Baḍa-Tārā

At Kuruma, about eight kilometres northeast of Koṇārak, villagers collected a large number of antiquities from a mound, including terracotta ornaments, beads, small terracotta images, pottery of red-ware, black-ware and a terracotta seal inscribed with an inscription in characters of the 9th-10th century. In a temporary shed erected over the mound are collected images of Buddha, Yamāntaka, Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa and Trivikrama and worshipped by the populace as Yama-dharma with the site being known as the Yamadharma-*pīṭha*. In A.D. 1974-75 the Orissa State Archaeology undertook a trial excavation which was followed in the next two years by more extensive digging that uncovered the foundation of a brick monastery complex (figs. 44-45).[229] As indicated previously, the name Kuruma may be the "kurmma-stūpa" of Oḍra-deśa illustrated in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* of the Cambridge University Library dating to A.D. 1015.[230] Some four kilometres from Kuruma, at the confluence of the Kadua, a tributary of the Prācī river, and the Bay of Bengal, is an ancient site called Citeśvara which has a light post and the dilapidated temples of Utpaleśvara and Citreśvarī that P.K. Ray correlates with the "Che-li-tā-lo" of Hiuen Tsang.[231] As mentioned earlier, the name Citrotpalā was sometimes given to a small branch of the Prācī, as in the Oriya *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dāsa or in the epic *Mahābhārata* (Bhismaparva, IX) where the name is applied to a sanctifying stream flowing between Utpalesa and Citra Maheśvarī,[232] suggesting that at that time the Citrotpalā may be the same as the Candrabhāgā river of today. Various scholars, as mentioned, have identified "Che-li-tā-lo" with the Citrotpalā. The present site of Citeśvara, however, does not appear to be very large and its identification with Che-li-tā-lo is highly speculative even though a large number of Puri-Kuṣāna coins have been discovered along the Candrabhāgā to testify to its antiquity. At Kuruma there appears to have been two periods of activity, the earlier phase perhaps dating to the 7th-8th century and subsequent reconstruction taking place in the 9th-11th century.[233]

Of the three Buddhist images housed in the shed, the largest is a Crowned Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 93). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* seat. He is richly ornamented and wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. A *kīrtimukha* appears in the centre at the apex of the back-slab. Yamāntaka stands flat-footed on his buffalo-mount and has three heads and either six or eight hands (fig. 279). Surface details are partially obfuscated so that identification of hands and weapons is difficult. The smallest of the images is a seated Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 241). He holds the prescribed attributes in his four hands and is richly adorned. He wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and his head is framed by a pointed halo. Stylistically these images can be ascribed to the 10th-11th centuries.

An image of Saṁkṣipta Mārīcī, possibly from Kuruma, has been affixed to an exterior wall of the Rāmacaṇḍī temple, about five miles from Koṇārak on the seashore (fig. 372). Mārīcī assumes her conventional *pratyālīḍha* pose in a chariot drawn by seven sows. She emerges from the womb of a *caitya* and is accompanied by four goddesses. The image can be ascribed to the second-half of the 11th century.

The discovery of three Buddhist images at Baḍa-Tārā, a small village northwest of Puri, suggests the existence of a Buddhist establishment in this vicinity though it is possible that the images may have been shifted from nearby sites such as Kuruma. The images, now housed in a small shrine, are of a four-armed goddess worshipped as Baḍa-Tārā, a four-armed Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa and a two-armed Jambhala. The four-armed goddess is

seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. The image is badly worn and the face is completely covered with accretions of paste from *pūjā* rituals. The only intact attribute is an *utpala* held in her lowered left hand which is placed on her seat behind her thigh. It is possible that her major set of hands were dispensing an arrow from a bow to suggest that this could be an image of Tārodbhava Kurukullā. Tārā and Ekajaṭā are on the pedestal (fig. 345). The four-armed Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his major right hand, now broken off, in *varada* while his left hand, on the seat behind his leg, holds the stalk of a lotus (fig. 242). His uplifted right hand, partially broken, probably held a rosary while the left hand, also broken, held a *kamaṇḍalu*. He wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and is richly ornamented. The upper part of the back-slab is broken off. On the right side of the pedestal is a kneeling Tārā while on the left side is a seated, pot-bellied Hayagrīva and a kneeling devotee. The third image depicts the pot-bellied Jambhala seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 395). His right hand holds a citron while the left hand holds a mongoose disgorging jewels from its mouth. He is richly ornamented and wears a jewelled crown. *Aṣṭa-nidhis* appear on his pedestal. Stylistically these images at Baḍa-Tārā can be ascribed to the 10th century.

Within the precincts of the Somanatha temple at Vīrabalabhadrapur, also situated near Chandanpur and close to Baḍa-Tārā, is an image of Buddha along with numerous detached Brahmanical images. The Buddha image quite likely came from Baḍa-Tārā or Kuruma.

5. Prācī River (Amaraprasādgarh/Amareśvara/Astarañga/Kenduli)

The Prācī is a small tributary of the Mahānadī river, originating near Naraj, and is known by various names, such as the Gambhariganda and Sola, as it winds its way to the Bay of Bengal, being connected with other rivers including the Devī and the Kuṣabhadrā by numerous streamlets. Though small in size and virtually unmentioned by historians of Orissa, the Prācī valley contains the hidden treasure of a magnificent past. Recent surveys, explorations and excavations in the area, conducted by the Orissa State Archaeology, have uncovered the existence of more than a hundred temples varying in date from the Bhauma period through the 14th century, as well as numerous forts, *maṭhas* and *tīrthas*. Especially interesting is the co-existence of so many religious sects, as revealed by a myriad of sculpture finds, with Śaktism and Tantrism being particularly popular along with the Vaiṣṇava Mādhava cult. Buddhist relics have also been found scattered throughout the valley with some of the more important images being discovered at Amaraprasādgarh (Guhya-Mañjuvajra), Amareśvara (Avalokiteśvara), Arkavaṭa (Jambhala), Astarañga (Mārīcī), Bagalpur in Govindpur Police Station of Cuttack district (Buddha), Bairoi (Mārīcī), Bāṭeśvara/Tulasipur (Avalokiteśvara), Jiunti (Tārā), Kenduli (Avalokiteśvara), Lataharaṇa (Avalokiteśvara), Nivaraṇa (Buddha), Phiriphira (Tārā), and Sundaragram (Tārā). There was also a Buddha image in the compound of the renovated Vaṇivakreśvara temple at Bhingarpur, a small village in the Kuṣabhadrā valley near Balianta, though it is now missing. Invariably these dislodged images are either placed under a tree or are situated in the compound of a Brahmanical temple where they are frequently worshipped as Hindu deities. At Bairoi, for example, an image of Mārīcī, worshipped as Kendusunī, is placed under a *kendu* tree while in a small shrine at Sundaragram an image of Tārā is worshipped as Vilāsunī (fig. 304). In both cases the image is badly worn from *pūjā* rituals and facial features are obfuscated by accretions of paste. Although no Buddhist structures have survived, P.K. Ray is of the opinion that the present temples of Īśvaradeva at Jiunti and the Aṅgeśvara at Pitapara are constructed on the ruins of Buddhist *stūpas*,[234] though there are at present no Buddhist images to verify this belief. There may have been a Buddhist establishment at Astarañga, however, as an image of Mārīcī is lying on a mound amidst scattered bricks along with an image of Mahiṣamardinī.

One of the most interesting images was retrieved from the river near the village of

Amaraprasādgarh and is now set in a thickly wooded area outside the village (fig. 186). Although identified as Vajraghaṇṭā by P.K. Ray[235] and as Trailokyavijaya by N.K. Sahu,[236] iconographically the image corresponds closely with descriptions of Guhya-Mañjuvajra. Although his *Prajñā* is not present, his union with her is implied by the *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā* displayed by his principal set of hands. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and is three-headed with six hands. His remaining right hands hold a pair of arrows and a sword while the left hands carry a bow and an *utpala*. His centre head wears a conical crown with a lotus finial while the coiffure of the side heads merge into it, the hair of the left head appearing matted. The faces are too badly worn to identify individual expressions.[237] The image can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

The image of Mārīcī at Astaraṅga is eight-armed and in attributes and pose conforms to the conventional iconography of Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī (fig. 371). She assumes a *pratyālīḍha* pose in her chariot drawn by seven sows. She emerges from the womb of a *caitya* and is accompanied by four companion goddesses. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

At Bāṭeśvara (Tulasipur), the small image of Avalokiteśvara is placed on a platform in a wooded area along with several Brahmanical images. He is seated in *lalitāsana* within an arched niche. His facial features, arms and the pedestal are broken off. He wears a tall conical crown. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

The image of Avalokiteśvara from the Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha temple at Amareśvara, as indicated, has been shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. He is seated in *lalitāsana* and an inscription of a popular Buddhist *dhāraṇī* is etched in two lines in characters of the 9th-10th century below his lotus seat. The image of Avalokiteśvara at Lataharaṇa is similarly inscribed with a Buddhist *dhāraṇī* in characters of the 10th century.[238] The four-armed standing image at Mudgala, worshipped locally as the *ṛṣi* Mudgala and identified by N.K. Sahu as a Śaṅkhapāṇi variety of Lokeśvara,[239] actually represents Viṣṇu (fig. 502).[240]

At Adasapur, a prominent village on the left bank of the Prācī river in Cuttack district, is a detached image of Tārā leaning against the *jagamohana* of the Svapneśvara Mahādeva temple (fig. 290). She is standing under a *kalpavṛkṣa* which is dripping gems to *pretas* below. As a goddess of wealth her iconography is thus based on the Cintāmaṇi form of Lokeśvara. Surface details are partially obfuscated by accretions of whitewash and fungus. The image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century. In the compound of the Dakṣiṇeśvara Śiva temple at Bagalpur, fixed to a niche of the temple, is an image of a Crowned Buddha with his right hand in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 48). He is richly adorned and has a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

J. SAMBALPUR DISTRICT

Sambalpur, one of the westernmost districts, is bounded on the north by the district of Sundargarh, on the east by the district of Dhenkanal, on the south by the district of Bolangir, on the southwest by the district of Kalahandi and on the west by the Raipur and Raigarh districts of Madhya Pradesh. The district forms a part of the central basin of the Mahānadī and its landscape is dominated by thick forests. The only other important river is the Brāhmaṇī which flows from north to south in the Deogarh sub-division. In its early history it was ruled over by various tribes such as the Gonds and the Binjhals. Later it came under the suzerainty of the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. Still later it was invariably under the rule of different dynasties such as the Somavaṁśīs, the Telugu-Coḍas, the Kalacuris, the Gaṅgas and eventually the Chauhans until the arrival of the British.[241]

The largest Buddhist establishment so far discovered is at Gaṇiāpāli, a small village

about six miles from Melchamuṇḍā in the Bargarh sub-division. The ruins, partially excavated by the Post-Graduate Department of History of Sambalpur University in A.D. 1978, consist of a monastery complex constructed of burnt bricks. In the northern area of the monastery a portion of the floor and a massive wall, two feet ten inches in breadth, were discovered. In the southern side of the *caitya* hall were excavated structural walls of a monastery. Another massive wall, running north to south, was uncovered and consisted of twelve layers of burnt-bricks. A number of side walls branched out from this massive wall and in many cases formed small cells with stone boulders serving as their foundation. Portions of a brick-floor extending from the main walls of the hall were also discovered. The massive and strongly constructed walls of the main hall have led N.K. Sahu to conclude that the monastery was multi-storeyed:

> The excavations reveal that the monastery had structural buildings on northern and southern sides of the main caitya hall. The northern area showed evidence of the same dormitory-like buildings and the southern sector gave clear evidence of the number of chambers clustered together. Whatever evidences are in the 1st phase of the digging suggest that the northern sector had the establishments for teaching at the ground floor and probably the residential accommodations for the learners in the upper floors.[242]

The excavated areas have been filled back up with dirt for preservation and a modern shrine has been erected in brick to house two Buddhist images discovered at the site quite some time ago. Numerous broken pillars and ancient bricks are still to be seen. The two Buddha images, worshipped as Siddhārthamuni and Nāgamuni, depict the Mucilinda form of the Buddha (figs. 43, 106).[243] In both images the Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* above the coiling tail of a serpent while its hoods form a canopy over his head. His hands are in *dhyāna-mudrā* though portions have been clumsily restored with cement. Both are badly worn so that surface details are mostly obliterated. The images and the brick complex may tentatively be dated to the 6th-7th century.

Remains of another Buddhist *vihāra* of the same approximate date have been discovered at Nāgarāja on the left bank of the Ang river about 18 kms. from Gaṇiāpāli. Bricks and brick-fragments are spread out almost continuously from the monastery at Gaṇiāpāli to this mound. The mound covers about an acre and strewn around it are large-sized ancient bricks, a stone *maṇḍapa* with broken pillars, and numerous fragmented figures, both seated and standing.[244]

Melchamuṇḍā is identified by Orissan scholars with Mucalinda, a site where a great Buddhist *vihāra* is said to have developed during the medieval period. Supposedly this Mucalinda was a famous centre of learning where Buddhist and Hindu philosophies were being taught. Only a few scattered ruins are visible today.[245]

Various Orissan scholars also associate the hill known as the Gandhagiri *alias* Parimalagiri, situated on the western border of modern Orissa but often forming part of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, with the mountain called "Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li" in the records of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang and restored to "Paramalagiri" by Julien.[246] As stated by Hiuen Tsang:

> To the South West of this country (Dakṣiṇa Kośala) above 300 li from the capital was a mountain called Po lo mo lo ki li, which rose lofty and compact like a single rock. Here king Yin-Cheng had quarried for Nāgārjuna a monastery in the mountain, and had cut in the rock a path communicating with the monastery for above ten li. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls; these halls are in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing gold life size images of the Buddha, of perfect

artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and the chambers were lighted by windows cut in the rocks.[247]

Gandhagiri (Parimalagiri) hill resembles to a great extent the description left by Hiuen Tsang, as noted by N.K. Sahu, "and it also presents the traces of a huge monastic establishment of the past, but the problem remains unsolved till the territorial extent, as well as the site of the capital city of South Kośala at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit in A.D. 639 is satisfactorily ascertained."[248] At present the only major sculptural images are those associated with the Hindu Nṛsiṁhanātha temple constructed on the northern flank of the hill.

References

[1]D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 224.

[2]R.P. Chanda, "Exploration: Mayurbhanj", *ASIAR* (1922-23), p. 128.

[3]*Koraput District Gazetteer*, eds. Nilamani Senapati and N.K. Sahu (Cuttack, 1966), p. 425.

[4]K.N. Mahapatra, "Gaganaśivāchārya and the Date of the Monuments at Rāṇipur-Jhariāl," *OHRJ*, Vol. III, No. 2 (1954), pp. 70-71.

[5]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I. p. 244.

[6]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 28.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 2.

[8]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 92.

[9]There are several *ācāryas* with this name. See S.C. Das, "Life and Legend of Nagarjuna," *JASB*, Vol. LI (1882), pp. 115-20..

[10]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 111.

[11]*Ibid.*, p. 112. See also *Tāranātha*, pp. 181-85.

[12]*Tāranātha*, p. 237.

[13]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 165.

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 168.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 170.

[16]Arjun Joshi, *History & Culture of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa* (Delhi, 1983), pp. 24-27.

[17]H.C. Das, "Religious History of Balasore", *OHRJ*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1 & 2 (1982), p. 51.

[18]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[19]R.P. Mohapatra, *Archaeology in Orissa*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1986), II, p. 101.

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 101.

[21]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[22]*Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

[23]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 66.

[24]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[25]*Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

[26]*Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

[27]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 56.

[28]*Ibid.*, II, p. 103.

[29]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII (1937-38), pp. 193ff.

[30]S.C. De, "A Śiva Liṅga Inscribed with Buddhist Dhāraṇī from Soro", *OHRJ*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1953), pp. 272-73.

[31]H.C. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

[32]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 78.

[33]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[34]S.N. Rajaguru, *OHRJ*, XI, No. 4, pp. 206-33.

[35]H.C. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[36]*Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

[37]*JASB*, Vol. XL (1871), p. 247.

[38]Rajendralala Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1963 reprint of 1880 edition), II, p. 261.

[39]B. Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

[40]Charles Louis Fabri, *History of the Art of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1974), p. 40. He relates the pillared hall to Śiśupālgarh and dates it to the 3rd century A.D.

[41]See Thomas Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1985-87), I, figs. 441-42.

[42]Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "The Gaṇḍhibeḍha Copper Coins of Śrī Nanda", *OHRJ*, Vol. V, No. 3 (1956), pp. 157-59.

[43]A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.

[44]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 121.

[45]H.C. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[46]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 87.

[47]B. Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3. Saloṇapura is given as the name of two combined villages, Dandanki and Yoka.

[48]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 14.

[49]D. Mitra, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, pp. 263-68. Rāṇī Karpuraśrī, a professional dancer, was formerly attached to the Solaṇapura-*vihāra*.

[50]K.N. Mahapatra, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

[51]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1892), pp. 260-68.

[52]K.N. Mahapatra, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

[53]*Ibid.*, pp. 70-73.

[54]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 227.

[55]Pabitra Mohan Nayak, "A Study on the Contribution of Sonepur Durbar to Literature, 1837-1937", Ph.D. Dissertation, Sambalpur University (Sambalpur, 1984), pp. 51-62.

[56]Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images* (Delhi, 1980), fig. 26; and *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, ed. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta (Patna, 1956), p. 66, acc. no. 3330.

[57]*Bolangir District Gazetteer*, eds. Nilamani Senapati and Babin Kumar Sahu (Cuttack, 1968), p. 478

[58]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 208, fig. 62.

[59]*Ibid.*, pp. 208-09, fig. 63.

[60]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.

[61]Mohapatra, in fact, identifies him as a Buddhist deity (*Ibid.*, p. 67).

[62]Cf. T. Donaldson, *Oriental Art*, XXXIV, No. 3, pp. 213-17.

[63]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 205. The image is apparently situated in the village of Purukutia though I have not seen it so that its identification as this form of Avalokiteśvara has to remain tentative.

[64]The addition of these Hindu deities led Sahu to suggest that the image is an incarnation of Viṣṇu rather than Sammā Saṁbuddha. See *Ibid.*, p. 204, fig. 55.

[65]*Ibid.*, p. 205.

[66]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 21.

[67]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20.

[68]R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, II, pl. between pp. 428-29.

[69]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 22; and N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 208.

[70]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 58; and R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, pl. VIII.3.

[71]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 22.

[72]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 206-07.

[73]*Ibid.*, fig. 60.

[74]*Ibid.*, fig. 61; and R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 22 and pl. VIII.2.

[75]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 208.

[76]See Prasanta Kumar Ray, "Archaeological Remains of the Chitrotpala Valley", *OHRJ*, XXXII, No. 1-2 (1986), pp. 1-6.

[77]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.

[78]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 13.

[79]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 56.

[80]K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, p. 156.

[81]M.A. Haque, "Route of Firuz Shah's Invasion of Orissa in 1360 A.D.", *OHRJ*, Vol. XV, No. 3 & 4 (1967), p. 65; and P. Mukherjee, "History of the Bārabāṭī Fort", *OHRJ*, Vol. V, No. 3 (1956), p. 127.

[82]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII (1949-50), pp. 244-45.

[83]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44. p. 11.

[84]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 189.

[85]*Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

[86]*Ibid.*, fig. 77.

[87]*Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 83, acc. no. 1357.

[88]See *Tāranātha*, pp. 144, 148-49.

[89]B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 141. For Amoghapāśa see Janice Leoshko, "The Appearance of Amoghapāśa in Pāla Period Art", *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*, ed. A.K. Narain (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 127-35.

[90]K.C. Panigrahi, *Arts Asiatiques*, IV, p. 278.

[91]The *pātra-kuṇḍalas* suggest the image may represent Mañjuśrī though one scholar identifies this figure as Tārā. See H.C. Prusty, "A Unique Buddhist Site in Cuttack District, Orissa", *OHRJ*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1-4 (1993), pp. 156-57.

[92]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 56.

[93]*Mahabharata*, trans. J.A.B. van Buitenen, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1975), II, p. 393.

[94]Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. 1, part II (Berhampur, 1958), p. 54.

[95]K.S. Behera, "The Evolution of Śakti Cult at Jājpur, Bhubaneswar and Puri", *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. D.C. Sircar (Calcutta, 1967), p. 76.

[96]Gorachand Patnaik, "Development of Śaktism at Jājpur", *Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa*, ed. Manmath Nath Das (Cuttack, 1977), p. 364. For a different interpretation of "Guha" see K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, p. 68.

[97]K.S. Behera, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[98]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 44.

[99]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 13.

[100]*Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, pp. 17-25.

[101]Cf. Adrian Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, 2 vols., Śata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 354-355 (New Delhi, 1988), II, pp. 602-19.

[102]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 423-25.

[103]*Brahma Purāṇa*, translated and annotated by "A Board of Scholars", ed. J.L. Shastri, 4 vols. (Delhi, 1985-86), I, p. 237.

[104]Chandrasekhara Banerjee, "Notes on the Antiquities of the Nalti, the Assia and the Mahābinayaka hills of Cuttack", *JASB*, Vol. 39 (1870), part I, pp. 158-71.

[105]John Beams, "The Alti hills in Cuttack", *JASB*, Vol. 44 (1875), pp. 19-23.

[106]Prabhat Mukherjee, *The Buddhist Remains of Orissa* (Cuttack, 1964), p. 13.

[107]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, pp. 9, 13.

[108]A similar image of Tārā but with a Tathāgata added at each upper corner of the back-slab is reproduced in N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 28.

[109]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 9.

[110]P. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, fig. 11. Unfortunately the illustration is not very clear, as well as being upside down.

[111]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 61.

[112]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 9.

[113]*Ibid.*, p. 9, pl. 11.

[114]G.C. Chauley, "New Light on Buddhism in Orissa", *Dr. Ramesh Prasad Mahapatra Memorial Lecture* (Bhubaneswar, 1990), pp. 11-12. Based on similar finds at Sañcī, Chauley suggests the relics may also be of Buddha and Śāriputta or Mahāmoggallāna.

[115]At Site 78 at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa there are numerous bases of various shapes surrounding two adjacent apsidal shrines which may have been for votive *stūpas*. See H. Sarkar, "Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa", *Ancient India*, No. 16 (1960), p. 75.

[116] *Bengal District Gazetteers: Cuttack*, ed. L.S.S. O'Malley (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 222-23.

[117] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, with Vol. I published in 1981 and Vol. II in 1983. A brief analysis of her findings is included in the *Buddhist Monuments* of 1971.

[118] D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 227.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[120] See D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 155, and II, pp. 266-67.

[121] D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 226.

[122] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 165, 179.

[123] See N. Hock, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-92.

[124] N. Hock (*Ibid.*, pp. 134-50) identifies the images as the three yogins described in the *nidāna* of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, representing yogic stages related to Body, Speech and Mind and to the Vajra, Padma and Tathāgata families. The image on the west wall she thus identifies as the unnamed yogin of Vairocana, the trinity consisting of Vairocana, Akṣobhya and Amitābha.

Yoritomi identifies the figure on the west wall as Vairocana, based on the *Taizō Kyū zuyō*, while the flanking figures are Avalokiteśvara (Vajradharma) and Vajrapāṇi (Vajrasattva). See Motohiro Yoritomi, "Indo Mikkyō chōsa chūkan hōkoku (1)", *Mikkyōgaku*, No. 18 (1982), pp. 51-81. See also A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, pp. 13, 37.

D. Mitra (*Ratnagiri*, II, p. 290) identifies him as Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi Mañjuśrī.

[125] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 31-32.

[126] *Ibid.*, I, p. 32.

[127] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 110-39.

[128] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 32, 110. See also N. Hock, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-13.

[129] P.K. Ray, "Buddhist Antiquities of Tārāpur", *OHRJ*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (1983), p. 49 and accompanying plate.

[130] R.P. Mohapatra (*op. cit.*, II, p. 70) mentions an Avalokiteśvara worshipped as Vāsudeva, which has five Tathāgatas and the Buddhist creed carved over the head. According to local tradition, the image was installed by the legendary Parāśara, after whom the village may have received its name. I assume this is the same image as reproduced here though there is only Akṣobhya and Amitābha along with two *vidyādharas*.

[131] R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 10 and pl. III.1. See also R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 4 between pp. 400-01. According to Sahu there is also an inscription of the popular Buddhist *dhāraṇī* incised on the proper right side of the head. See N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 188.

[132] R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 10. He includes the earlier description of the well given by Chandrasekhara Banerjee.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11, and pl. III.3.

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 11. According to Chanda the image measured 32 by 17 inches whereas the image of Cundā in the Patna Museum measures 56 1/2 inches in height. See *Patna Museum Catalogue*, pp. 85-86, acc. no. 6500.

[135] See N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 16.

[136] *Ibid.*, fig. 19.

[137] Haran Chanda Chakladar, "A Great Site of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Orissa", *Modern Review* (1928), p. 220.

[138] N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 146.

[139] P. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

[140] The seals are decorated with the traditional Saranātha device of a *cakra* flanked on either side by a deer on the upper portion with the legend appearing on the lower part. See G.C. Chauley, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

[141] *Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 83, acc. no. 6499.

[142] *Ibid.*, p. 83, acc. no. 6491.

[143] *Ibid.*, p. 84, acc. no. 6490.

[144] See R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, II, pls. between 396-97, 400-01, and 408-09.

[145] N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 191.

[146] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[147] P. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[148]*Dhenkanal District Gazetteer*, eds. Nilamani Senapati and Premanananda Tripathy (Cuttack, 1972), pp. 3-7.

[149]B. Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-39.

[150]B. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[151]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 27.

[152]See P. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, fig. 50; and R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 77.

[153]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 221.

[154]A. Das, *OHRJ*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, p. 5.

[155]*Mayurbhañj District Gazetteer*, eds. Nilamani Senapati and N.K. Sahu (Cuttack, 1967), pp. 2-8.

[156]A. Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-39.

[157]*JASB*, Vol. XL (1871), pp. 165-68.

[158]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV (1939-40), pp. 147-61.

[159]*Ibid.*, p. 172.

[160]R.P. Chanda, *ASIAR* (1922-23), p. 128.

[161]A. Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 58. The inscription reads: "*Oṁ rājnyaḥ śrī Rāya bhañjasya Lokeso Bhagavān ayam. Śrī Dharaṇivarāheṇa saha kīrttyā vinirmitaḥ.*"

[162]D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, pp. 232-33.

[163]*Ibid.*, p. 233.

[164]R.P. Chanda, *ASIAR* (1922-23), p. 127.

[165]D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 233.

[166]*Ibid.*, p. 233.

[167]R.P. Chanda, *ASIAR* (1922-23), p. 128.

[168]D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 233.

[169]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 222.

[170]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48, fig. 44.

[171]*Ibid.*, p. 43, fig. 52.

[172]*Ibid.*, p. 26 and fig. 47. See also N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 221.

[173]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 80. The image worshipped as Ananta-Deva and identified by various scholars as Lokeśvara of the Śaṅkhapāṇi variety, discussed below in chapter XI, is probably a form of Viṣṇu.

[174]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 206.

[175]Krishna C. Panigrahi and Mahesh P. Das, "Orissa Plates of Raṇabhañjadeva", OHRJ, Vol. XI, No. 3 (1962), pp. 155-59; and R.D. Banerji, "Antiquities of the Baudh State", *JBORS*, Vol. XV (1929), pp. 64-68.

[176]B.K. Rath, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59. For a slightly different chronology see K.C. Panigrahi, *OHRJ*, XI, No. 1, pp. 9-16.

[177]B.K. Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[178]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 203.

[179]R.D. Banerji, *JBORS*, XV, p. 70.

[180]*Ibid.*, p. 69.

[181]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, figs. 52-53.

[182]*Ibid.*, p. 204.

[183]K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 38-39. The find spot of the image is open to question. Panigrahi originally believed the image was from Khaḍipadā but then adds that subsequent enquiries indicate that no record exists about the exact provenance of the image. N.K. Sahu (*Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 215) assigns it to G. Udayagiri (Ganjam district).

[184]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 55-56; and A. Getty *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[185]*Puri District Gazetteer*, eds. Nilamani Senapati and Durga Charan Kuanr (Cuttack, 1977), pp. 7-15.

[186]Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "Two Copper Plate Charters of the Śailodbhava Rulers of Koṅgada", *JKHRS*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1947), pp. 59-65; and D.C Sircar, "Two Śailodbhava Grants from Banpur", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX (1951-52), pp. 32-43.

[187]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 24.

[188]K.B. Tripathy, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-76.

[189]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 27-28.

[190]*Ibid.*, fig. 14.
[191]*Ibid.*, fig. 9.
[192]*Ibid.*, p. 32.
[193]*Ibid.*, p. 32.
[194]*Ibid.*, fig. 11.
[195]*Ibid.*, fig. 8.
[196]*Ibid.*, p. 53.
[197]*Ibid.*, p. 110.
[198]*Ibid.*, pp. 123-24, acc. no. 282.
[199]*Ibid.*, p. 124, acc. no. 284.
[200]*Ibid.*, p. 66, acc. no. 268.
[201]*Ibid.*, p. 72, acc. no. 250.
[202]*Ibid.*, pp. 73-74, acc. no. 283.
[203]*Ibid.*, fig. 74, acc. no. 332.
[204]*Ibid.*, pp. 77-80.
[205]*Ibid.*, pp. 93-97.
[206]*Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.
[207]*Ibid.*, pp. 86-91.
[208]Shyam Sundar Pattnaik, "Trailokya Vijaya Image from the Banpur Bronzes", *OHRJ*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 & 2 (1967), pp. 82-87.
[209]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 117.
[210]*Ibid.*, pp. 113-14, acc. no. 307.
[211]*Ibid.*, pp. 114-16, acc. no. 275.
[212]*Ibid.*, p. 128. The flower held by the fourth one is indistinct.
[213]*Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.
[214]*Ibid.*, pp. 145-50.
[215]R.L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 105.
[216]Snigdha Tripathy, "Ekāmra-Bhubaneswar", *OHRJ*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 & 2 (1987), p. 135.
[217]*Ibid.*, p. 135. See also R.L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 83-93. He refers to Dhaulī Dhavalagiri ("white mountain") while in the first ordinance added to the Edict is the name Dubalabi.
[218]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 47.
[219]K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 183-88.
[220]*Ibid.*, p. 208, figs. 1, 4-5.
[221]*Ibid.*, p. 209, fig. 3. Most of these images have a socket on the head obviously intended for the insertion of another structural part.
[222]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX (1927-28), pp. 263-64. The name Dhaulī (from Dubalabi = Durbala = Duala/Dualī) translates "shrine of the feeble" to suggest that it may have contained a hospital. See R.L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 93.
[223]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 83.
[224]Amarendra Nath and B.K. Rath, "Archaeological Exploration in Orissa", *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*, Vol. 3 (October, 1985), p. 50.
[225]A. Nath and B.K. Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 49. I did not see the image though I did notice a badly-damaged image of Durgā.
[226]B.K. Rath, "Archaeological Remains of Dayā Valley", *Proceedings of Orissa History Congress* (Bhubaneswar, 1979), p. 11.
[227]A. Nath and B.K. Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[228]*Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta, ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (Baroda, 1972), p. 34.
[229]P.K. Ray, "Kuruma, An Ancient Buddhist Site", *OHRJ*, Vol. XXIV, XXV & XXVI (1980), p. 23.
[230]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 21, n. 2.
[231]P.K. Ray, *OHRJ*, Vol. XXIV, XXV & XXVI, pp. 94-96.
[232]*Mahābhārata*, trans. Pratap Chandra Roy, 12 vols. (Calcutta, 1973-74 reprint), V, p. 21.
[233]P.K. Ray, *OHRJ*, Vol. XXIV, XXV and XXVI, p. 95.

[234] P.K Ray, *Prachi Valley: Archaeological Report* (Bhubaneswar, 1975), pp. 51-52.

[235] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[236] N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 217.

[237] See *Ibid.*, p. 217, where Sahu distinguishes three different sentiments.

[238] *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

[239] *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

[240] A nearly identical image, identified as Lokeśvara by N.N. Vasu, is placed in a small room within the compound of the Budha-Jagannātha temple at Baripada and worshipped as Anantadeva. See N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. 4, fig. 42.

[241] *Sambalpur District Gazetteer*, eds. Nilamani Senapati and Bhabakrushna Mahanti (Cuttack, 1971), pp. 1-3.

[242] N.K. Sahu, *Interim Excavation Report* (Sambalpur University, 1979), p. 74. See also Gouri Shankar Patel, "Early History of Orissa: from *circa* 350 A.D. to *circa* 550 A.D.", Ph.D. Dissertation, Sambalpur University (Sambalpur, 1990), pp. 212-15.

[243] C. Fabri, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, identifies one as representing Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā*.

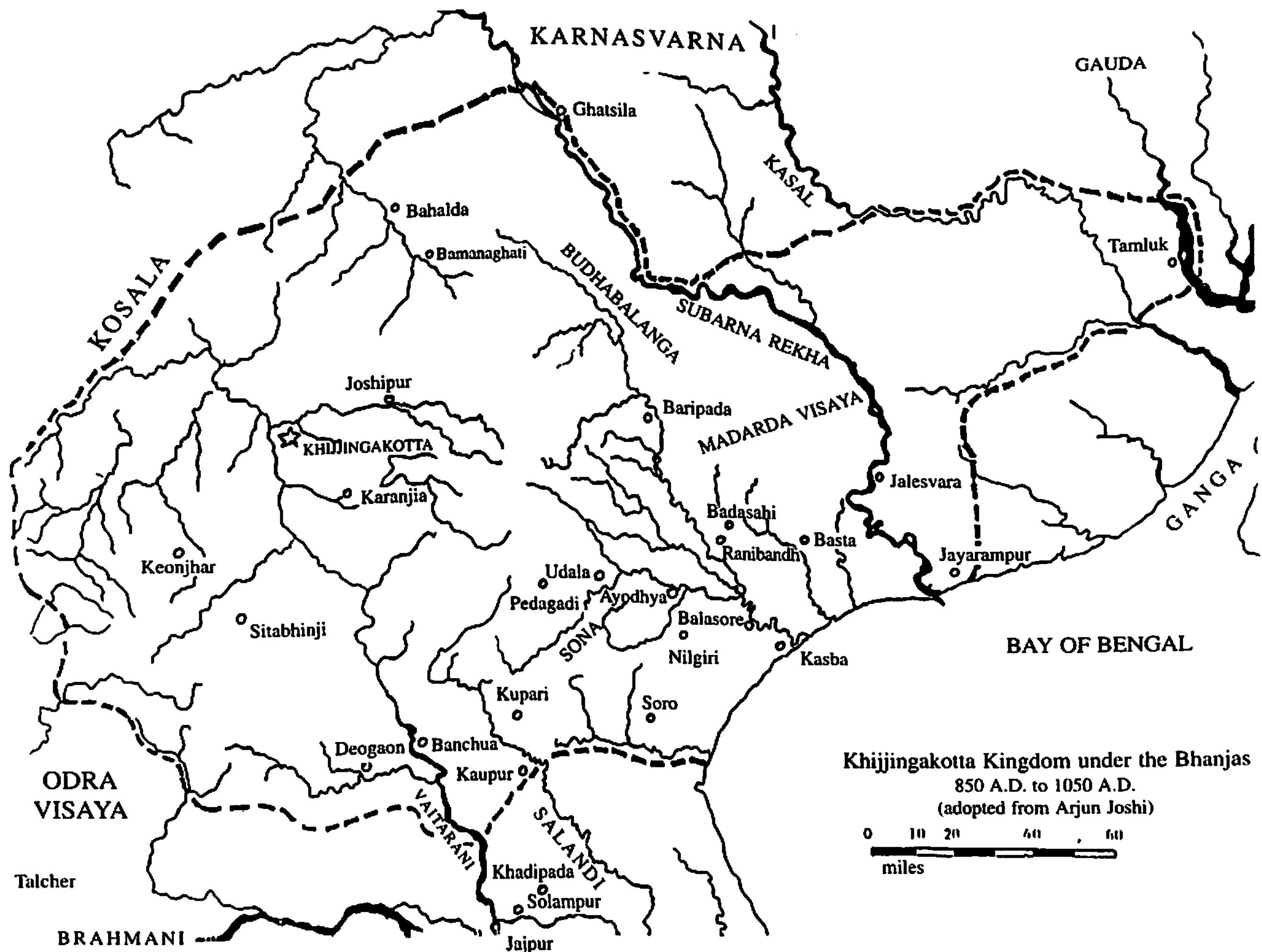
[244] H.C. Das, *Cultural Development in Orissa* (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 152-54.

[245] *Sambalpur District Gazetteer*, p. 446.

[246] N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 99-101.

[247] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 201; see also *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. Samuel Beal, 2 vols. in 1 (Delhi, 1969 reprint), II, pp. 214-17.

[248] N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 100-01.



BUDDHA/TATHĀGATA IMAGES

There are very few examples in Orissan sculpture of narrative scenes of the life of the Buddha, a rare exception being the slab inserted into a niche of the Raghunātha temple at Solampur which depicts the *aṣṭamahāprātihārya* or eight major events (fig. 50). The main image depicts Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* symbolizing his 1) Enlightenment. Starting at the lower left the other events are: 2) his birth from Māyādevī; 3) his first sermon at Deer Park; and 4) his descent at Saṅkisā, accompanied by Brahmā and Indra. On the right side, from the bottom, the events are: 5) Buddha receiving a bowl of honey from the monkey at Vaisālī; 6) his miracle at Śrāvastī; and 7) his subduing the ferocious Nalagiri at Rājagṛha. At the top, placed within a miniature *pīḍha-muṇḍi*, is: 8) his *mahāparinirvāṇa* at Kusīnārā. On either side of the *nirvāṇa* scene is a seated Bodhisattva while six others, forming the popular eight in *maṇḍalas*, are aligned horizontally immediately below. The image can be dated to the late 10th century.

For the most part the Buddha is depicted in a hieratic frontal pose, either seated or standing, with symmetry frequently enhanced by an attendant figure on either side or multiple Bodhisattvas, evenly placed, who may number from four to eight to form a *maṇḍala* or magic diagram. The only major iconographical variances in the depiction of Buddha are his *mudrās* which correspond to those associated with the five Tathāgatas or directional Buddhas. The images are thus arranged in this study according to the pose, standing or seated, and the *mudrā*, whether or not the image depicts Śākyamuni or the corresponding Tathāgata. Indeed, except for the rare examples where a *vāhana* is included, it is often impossible with detached seated images to determine if it represents Śākyamuni or a Tathāgata.

Due to the conservative nature of Buddha images and the lack of body ornamentation, aside from a few late Crowned Buddhas, dating has to be based primarily on stylistic analysis, particularly with secondary figures or pedestal details. As in the case of Brahmanical images in Orissa, donative inscriptions are very rare, though paleographic evidence, generally in the form of a *dhāraṇī* or the Buddhist creed, is frequently helpful in assigning a tentative date. In contrast to Brahmanical sclupture, which often can be dated by temple remains, few Buddhist sculptures remain *in situ* so that architectural evidence is seldom helpful, exceptions being the recent excavations in the Asia hills with their exquisitely carved doorframes. Some of the earliest surviving sculpture images are at Lalitagiri while other early examples may be the Mucilinda Buddha images at Gaṇiāpāli, an iconographic form that soon disappears from Orissa but which was popular in the early period. In respect to the images at Gaṇiāpāli, C. Fabri dates them to the 4th-5th century while R. Mohapatra assigns them to the 5th-6th

century.[1] Unfortunately, due to the soft stone often utilized in western Orissa, surface details are badly weathered and broken parts have been replaced with plaster so that precise dating is difficult, though the 6th-7th century would seem to be more appropriate (figs. 43, 106). Except for the early phase at Lalitagiri, the overwhelming majority of the images date from the 8th through the 10th century. Dating will be discussed in more detail in chapter XI.

The coiffure of the Buddha, of course, remains fairly consistent, being very short (*sunīca-keśa*) and formed of tightly-coiled snail-shell curls turning from left to right (*dakṣiṇāvartamūrdhaja*) which are neatly aligned in horizontal rows following the shape of the head, with only minor changes appearing in the shape and size of the curls and the shape of the *uṣṇīṣa* or cranial protuberance. Exceptions to this conventional coiffure appear with Abhisambodhi Vairocana who has his hair matted with loose curls spreading onto his shoulders in the manner of a Bodhisattva (figs. 103, 130, 141, 183-84).

The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* on which the Buddha stands or sits is invariably decorated with a lotus rhizome forming a stalk in the centre while the corners contain kneeling devotees, lions, or ritual paraphernalia such as vessels, lamps and censers. Other motifs include the Saranātha device of a *cakra* flanked by deer,[2] and flanking *nāgas*, though the latter appear in only a few images,[3] including the Tathāgatas of the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri and the sanctum images of Monastery 1 and Temple No. 5 at Ratnagiri. There are also a few examples of deities, including Vajrasattva and Acala, and the Māravijaya motif. The most ornate pedestal is the one on the image at Fakirpatana (Buhalo) which is divided into two tiers with the lower one containing the assault and temptation of Māra. With most of the largest images, as in the case of the largest Bodhisattvas, the pedestal was carved out of a separate slab of stone and, unfortunately, few have survived.

The halo framing the head of the Buddha is generally unembellished on most early images while on later images it is frequently decorated with beaded borders or is edged with flames. An umbrella appears above Buddha on many of the standing images, only rarely on seated images, while a tree often branches out above the halo on seated images. The upper corners of the back-slab may be decorated with flying *vidyādharas*, with seated Tathāgatas, or with Bodhisattvas. At Fakirpatana, as indicated, Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as the four *māras* are depicted twice, as on an image from Bāṇeśwarnāsi. On the upper right corner they are arriving to distract Buddha while on the upper left corner they are paying homage to his victory. Whereas the back-slab behind Buddha is plain on early images, on later images it may be designed as a throne or *toraṇa* as on Hindu images. Occasionally a *stūpa* is placed above the throne-back on either side of Buddha. In one case the back-slab is designed as the womb of a *caitya* or cave ornately decorated with bands of floral motifs (fig. 102), though most likely this is symbolically the Sukhāvatī heaven of Amitābha which also appears behind Amitābha on the west side of the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri (fig. 129).

The Buddha may, as indicated, be flanked by two or more Bodhisattvas, or by Brahmā and Indra in standing images, or by kneeling devotees. The flanking Bodhisattvas are generally Avalokiteśvara and either Vajrapāṇi or Maitreya, or in a few cases Mañjuśrī, when there are only two. When there are four flanking Bodhisattvas there appear to be two different iconographic programmes. The first consists of Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī, the four most popular companions of Buddha (fig. 133), while in the second programme, where the Buddha is a Tathāgata or directional Buddha in a *stūpa-maṇḍala*, the four Bodhisattvas for each Tathāgata form a group of sixteen which appear to be based on the list from the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (no. 19). Four such images, two with Amitābha and two with Akṣobhya, have been uncovered at Ratnagiri with two being shifted to the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur (figs. 132a-b). When there are eight figures flanking the centre Buddha/Tathāgata or Mañjuśrī image, the Bodhisattvas conform to the popular list mentioned in various texts. These *maṇḍala* compositions are discussed in chapter IV

Chart 1 STANDING BUDDHA FLANKED BY TWO ATTENDANTS

Site	Fig. no.	Mudrā	Right Attendant	Left Attendant
Acutrajpur	(fig. 56)	varada	Brahmā	Indra holding umbrella
Dondua-maṭha	(fig. 55)	varada	Utpalavarṇā (nun)	Indra holding umbrella
Lalitagiri	(fig. 57)	abhaya	Brahmā	Indra holding umbrella
Ratnagiri	(fig. 54)	varada	Brahmā	Indra holding umbrella
Udayagiri	(fig. 52)	varada	Brahmā	Indra holding umbrella
Udayagiri	(fig. 53)	varada	Brahmā	Indra holding umbrella
Udayagiri	(fig. 51)	varada	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
Ratnagiri	(fig. 61)	dharmacakra	Maitreya	Avalokiteśvara
*Lalitagiri	(figs. 64-66)	abhaya	kneeling devotee	kneeling devotee
Ratnagiri	CLXIX.c[1]	abhaya	standing monk	kneeling devotee
Lalitagiri	(fig. 60)	varada?	kneeling devotee	figure in vandanābhinayī

Chart 2 SEATED BUDDHA FLANKED BY TWO ATTENDANTS

Khangara	(fig. 78)	bhūmisparśa	Maitreya?	Avalokiteśvara?
Lalitagiri	(fig. 77)	bhūmisparśa	Maitreya?	Avalokiteśvara?
Fakirpatana	(fig. 91)	bhūmisparśa	Maitreya?	Avalokiteśvara?
Lalitagiri	(fig. 74)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Maitreya
Ratnagiri	plaques	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Maitreya
Khadipada	(fig. 71)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
Ratnagiri	(fig. 25)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
Ratnagiri	(fig. 84)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
Ratnagiri	(fig. 85)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
Udayagiri	(broken)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
Udayagiri	(Bombay)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
#Udayagiri	(fig. 451)	?	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
Udayagiri	(Ghosh)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	?
Udayagiri	(fig. 76)	bhūmisparśa	Avalokiteśvara	Mañjuśrī
†Lalitagiri	(fig. 75)	bhūmisparśa	Mañjuśrī	Avalokiteśvara
Ratnagiri	(fig. 89)	bhūmisparśa	Mañjuvara	Avalokiteśvara
@Udayagiri	(fig. 127)	bhūmisparśa	Maitreya	Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin
Lalitagiri	(Mahāṅga)	dharmacakra	Bodhisattva	Bodhisattva
Lalitagiri	(fig. 98)	dharmacakra	Bodhisattva	Bodhisattva
Ratnagiri	CLXXXIII[1]	dharmacakra	Mañjuvara	Mañjuśrī
†Lalitagiri	(fig. 99)	dharmacakra?	Bodhisattva	Bodhisattva
†Udayagiri	(fig. 131b)	dhyāna	Avalokiteśvara	Mañjuśrī
@Udayagiri	(fig. 129)	dhyāna	Avalokiteśvara	Vajrapāṇi
@Udayagiri	(fig. 130)	dhyāna[2]	Mañjuśrī	Kṣitigarbha
Jājpur		dhyāna	Mañjuśrī?	Avalokiteśvara
@Udayagiri	(fig. 128)	varada	Samantabhadra	Ākāśagarbha
†Udayagiri	(fig. 131a)	varada	Bodhisattva	Bodhisattva

*These small figures appear opposite the *viśvapadma* seat of Buddha.
#On lintel.
†Tathāgata Buddhas from destroyed *stūpas.*
@Tathāgata Buddhas from excavated *stūpas.*
[1]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I.
[2]Abhisambodhi-Vairocana.

A. IMAGES OF STANDING BUDDHA

The majority of standing Buddha images are those recently excavated at Lalitagiri, most of which were found near the apsidal shrine and monasteries 3 and 4. The most popular *mudrā* displayed by the right hand is *abhaya*. The left hand, generally raised, holds the edge of his *uttarāsaṅga*. The back-slab is usually plain though rounded at top (figs. 62-66). He invariably stands on a *viśvapadma* which forms his pedestal. A kneeling devotee is frequently carved on either corner of the pedestal, often encased in a shallow niche, where he faces the *viśvapadma*. Many of the images are badly worn or broken. In respect to body proportions and soft plasticity of modelling, the images show strong affinity with Gupta traditions of North India and probably can be dated to the 6th century, if not slightly earlier. There are also a few examples where the right hand displays *varada*, including one image where his left knee is bent to suggest he is walking (fig. 59). By the 7th century the *varada-mudrā* replaces *abhaya* as the most popular hand pose. In a fragment at Lalitagiri, with only the lower half surviving, the lotus petals of the *viśvapadma* are smaller in size and more evenly aligned (fig. 60). Whereas the figure on the right corner is still kneeling, the figure on the left corner is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with his right hand in *vandanābhinayī*. Both have a small *viśvapadma* as a seat to suggest that they are more than just devotees. Iconographically this change represents a transitional stage leading to the incorporation of companion Bodhisattvas.

The rock-cut image at Udayagiri stands in a pronounced contrapposto pose with his right arm, the hand displaying *varada*, extremely long, as in the case of the standing Bodhisattvas in this gallery (fig. 58). His raised left hand holds the edge of his *uttarāsaṅga*. The edge of his garment and his facial features are partially obfuscated by fungus growing on the rock. R.D. Banerji illustrates two large standing Buddha images from the Ajit Ghosh collection who display *varada* with their right hand though individual details are indistinct.[4] Both are colossal in size though the first one is not as well proportioned, the head appearing overly large. A *vidyādhara* is at each corner of the back-slab while a kneeling devotee appears near the right foot of Buddha. The second image, now in the Musee Guimet, most likely comes from Udayagiri (fig. 51). The right hand, in *varada*, also holds a rosary. The back-slab behind the Buddha is designed as a throne with a *virāla* motif on either side. A Bodhisattva stands on each side at the top of the throne, Avalokiteśvara on the right and Vajrapāṇi on the left. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner. The halo is edged with a beaded band and floral motifs. The lower portion of the back-slab and the pedestal appear not to have been completed. The image can be placed in the 9th century.

From Ratnagiri is a rare example of a standing Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā* (fig. 61). The image, now headless, is rather stiff in pose with overly large shoulders. He is flanked by Maitreya on his right and by Avalokiteśvara on his left. The image, rather clumsily executed, probably dates to the 9th century and appears to be the work of an apprentice rather than a master-carver. There are also two small 11th century images in which Buddha displays *abhaya-mudrā*, including one in bronze, and a badly damaged example where he shows *varada-mudrā*.[5]

1. Descent from Trāyastriṁśa Heaven

A particularly popular motif incorporating a standing Buddha is the story of his descent from Trāyastriṁśa heaven, one of the *aṣṭamahāprātihārya* or eight major events in the life of Buddha which often appear in art. According to various accounts, six heretical teachers, failing to find any support in the realm of Bimbisara, journeyed to Śrāvastī where they hoped to secure greater influence with king Prasenajit. Śrāvastī was the place where all former Buddhas had exhibited their greatest miracle. Buddha, remembering this, also proceeded to Śrāvastī with the intention of confounding his opponents He took up residence in the Jetavana monastery and soon after exhibited to the six heretical teachers, to king Prasenajit and to

the people a series of miracles. After having performed the great miracle at Śrāvastī, the fourth major event, the Buddha, reflecting that the Buddhas of the past had gone to the Trāyastriṁśa heaven after performing this miracle, also ascended to this residence of the thirty-three Hindu gods. He spent three months there teaching the *Abhidharma* to his mother and the gods. While sojourning there he was visited by Moggallāna, sent by the multitude to learn the exact day of his descent so that they could witness this miraculous event. When Buddha learned that Moggallāna's elder brother Śāriputta was keeping residence at the gate of the city of Sānkāśya (Saṅkisā), he informed Moggallāna that he would descend in seven days (for the great Terminal Festival) at the gate of Sānkāśya, some thirty leagues from Śrāvastī, and that those who desired to see his descent must go there. As recorded in the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, when he was ready to return to earth, Buddha informed Indra who then commanded Viśvakarma, the divine architect, to create a triple ladder for his descent with its feet resting against the gate of Sānkāśya. The central ladder, for the Buddha, was constructed of jewels while the flanking ones, to be used by his attendants, were of precious metals, the left one (of silver) for Brahmā and the right one (of gold) for other deities. In some accounts Buddha is accompanied on his descent by Pañcasikha, playing sweet notes on his yellow lute, on his right and by his charioteer Mātali on his left, the latter scattering celestial scents, garlands and flowers.[6]

Multitudes of people gathered at Saṅkisā to greet the Buddha upon his return. The elder Śāriputta approached Buddha and paid obeisance to him. Later textual sources, such as narrated by Hiuen Tsang and Fa-hsien, include reference to a nun (Utpala or Utpalavarṇā) who had vowed to be the first to see Buddha on his return. As a woman it was unlikely that she would be able to secure a place close to the ladders but the Buddha, knowing of her vow and of her previously accumulated religious merit, transformed her into a Cakravartin so that she could take her rightful position at the site of his descent. When she reached this place, she was returned to her original appearance and thus became the first to greet the Buddha upon his arrival back to earth, whereupon the Buddha predicted her future enlightenment. In some accounts the Buddha informs her that she is not the first to see him, that Subhūti, comprehending the emptiness of all things, beheld his spiritual body while seated in his stone cell.[7]

In the earliest example of the motif of Buddha's descent in Orissan art the Buddha has his right hand in *abhaya-mudrā*, in keeping with the most popular *mudrā* of other standing images, while in all other examples it is in *varada-mudrā*. This earliest image, from Lalitagiri, is also the only example where the three ladders are rendered (fig. 57). Buddha stands at the base of the centre ladder. He is flanked by an attendant on either side, presumably Brahmā on his right and Indra on his left though identifying features are indistinct. The right attendant has his hair arranged similar to the coiffure of Buddha with a large *uṣṇīṣa* (or bun) while the left attendant, holding the umbrella, wears a jewelled crown. A kneeling devotee paying obeisance is encased in a shallow niche on each corner of the pedestal, possibly representing Śāriputta and Moggallāna, while the pedestal beneath Buddha is lightly etched with floral motifs. The image can be dated to the 6th century.

There are two examples of Buddha's descent at Udayagiri. The first, lying on the ground on the southern side of the terrace just above the Mahākālī temple, is headless and badly weathered (fig. 52). Buddha stands in a slightly flexed pose with his right hand in *varada-mudrā*. He is flanked by Brahmā on his right and by Indra holding the umbrella on the left. Brahmā, possibly with three (visible) heads, holds a small water-jar in his right hand while his left hand is on his hip. A small figure, probably Śāriputta or Utpalavarṇā, kneels near the right foot of Buddha. Surface details are partially obfuscated by fungus and accretions of grime. The second example, now lying on the ground near the northern edge of the recently excavated monastery, is badly worn and the head of Buddha is mostly missing (fig.

53). He stands in a rather stiff pose with his right hand in *varada-mudrā*. The three (visible)-headed Brahmā stands on his right, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in his left hand and bearing a *caurī* in his right hand, while the umbrella-holding Indra stands on his left. *Vidyādharas* may have been planned for the upper corners of the back-slab but appear not to have been completed. Both images can be dated to the 8th century.

The largest example of Buddha's descent is the sanctum image of Monastery 2 at Ratnagiri (fig. 54). Buddha stands in a slightly flexed yet rigid pose with his right hand lowered in *varada-mudrā*. He is flanked by Brahmā on his right and by the umbrella-holding Indra on his left. The three-faced, four-armed Brahmā holds a rosary, *caurī*, *śruk* and *kamaṇḍalu*. He is extremely small due to the restricted space available beneath the lowered hand of Buddha. Both Brahmanical deities wear a tall conical crown. The halo of Buddha is edged with flames and is supported by two mouldings suggesting an incipient *toraṇa* design. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while a kneeling devotee is on each corner of the slightly rounded pedestal, facing the rhizome stalk of the *viśvapadma*, the one on the right (female) probably representing Utpalavarṇā. The image can be dated to the late 9th-early 10th century.

Slightly later in date is the example inserted into the west *rāhā* niche of the Bālukeśvara temple at Acutrajpur (fig. 56). Buddha is similarly dressed in an *antarvāsa* and an *uttarāsaṅga* with his right shoulder bare. His right hand is in *varada-mudrā* while his left hand is broken off. Brahmā and Indra are of equal size, extending up to the middle of Buddha's chest, with Brahmā being partially obfuscated by the right arm of Buddha. Brahmā has only one face and two hands which hold a *caurī* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. Indra faces forward while holding the shaft of the umbrella. Both Hindu deities wear a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and are richly adorned. The halo of Buddha and the back-slab are unembellished except for a *vidyādhara* at each upper corner. The lower portion of the pedestal is broken off so that only the upper half of the kneeling devotees is intact. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

The latest and most interesting example of Buddha's descent is the image housed in the Dondua-*maṭha* near Kalyānapur (fig. 55). He stands in a rather rigid pose with his left foot slightly forward. His right hand is in *varada-mudrā* while his raised left hand holds the edge of his *uttarāsaṅga,* the latter enlarged from accretions of paste. His *uṣṇīṣa* is in the shape of a small *stūpa* and foil has been inserted into his eyes. Although Indra still holds the shaft of the umbrella on the left, Brahmā is replaced on the right by the kneeling Utpalavarṇā. The halo of Buddha is supported by mouldings simulating a *toraṇa* design as at Ratnagiri. On either side of the back-slab are superimposed four figures one above the other who represent a conflation of Hindu deities along with their attendants accompanying Buddha on his descent. On the proper right the top seated figure is Brahmā while the standing figure immediately below may be an attendant. The third figure is Gaṇeśa while the fourth, at the bottom, may be another attendant. Only the lower two figures have survived on the left and they are Sūrya at the base and an attendant above. The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* is decorated with kneeling devotees on the corners and a foliated centre rhizome. Surface details are badly worn from *pūjā* rituals. The image can be dated to the late 10th century.

Utpalavarṇā also appears large in the scene of Buddha's descent included as one of the *aṣṭamahāprātihārya* on a stele in a niche of the Raghunātha temple at Solaṁpur (fig. 50). The scene, third from the bottom on the left, depicts Buddha standing in a slightly flexed pose with his right hand in *varada-mudrā*. Utpalavarṇā kneels on his right, in front of Brahmā, while Indra holds the umbrella on his left. The image can be dated to the late 10th century.

B. IMAGES OF SEATED BUDDHA

Seated images, both major and small, far outnumber standing images. As indicated earlier, however, it is often difficult to determine whether they represent Śākyamuni or a Tathāgata, exceptions being the colossal images at Baudh, Khaḍipadā, Khiching, Kuruma, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri which probably were housed in the sanctum of a monastery or temple, or the images *in situ* in the excavated monasteries at Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri. Size alone cannot be the sole determining factor, however, as the decapitated heads of the missing or broken Tathāgatas of Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri indicate that they were even larger than the sanctum image of Monastery 1 (fig. 465, C-21). Whereas the sanctum image at Ratnagiri is flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi, there are no flanking Bodhisattvas *in situ* at Udayagiri though the iconography of the lintel suggests a similar alignment (fig. 451). It is also probable that the colossal image from Khaḍipadā had the same alignment as all three images are now housed in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (figs. 71, 187). There is also a second large image from Khaḍipadā, badly broken, which displays *dharmacakra-mudrā*, but it is not known if it was a sanctum image or a Tathāgata from the destroyed *stūpa* (fig. 96). Virtually all of the colossal images display *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. In respect to size, the sanctum images at Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, along with several from Lalitagiri, are all approximately the same (figs. 17b, 67-70) while the images at Khaḍipadā and Baudh are slightly smaller (figs. 71-72).

Of the smaller seated Buddha images, the most popular *mudrā* on the earliest images is *dharmacakra*, the images all being recently excavated at Lalitagiri (figs. 97-99). By the late 7th century this *mudrā* is replaced in popularity by *bhūmisparśa* which continues to be popular throughout the remaining periods of Buddhist activity. Of the other *mudrās* corresponding to the five Tathāgatas or directional Buddhas, *dhyāna* is most popular while *abhaya* and *varada* appear only sporadically.

1. Buddha in Bhūmisparśa-mudrā/Akṣobhya

Most of the colossal images of seated Buddha depict him in *bhūmisparśa*, the *mudrā* associated with the Tathāgata Akṣobhya. He is in *vajraparyaṅka* with his left hand on his lap, palm facing upward, while his right hand rests on his right knee with the tips of the fingers touching the ground, the palm drawn inward, the *mudrā* signifying the moment when Śākyamuni responds to a challenge from Māra, the god of death and desire, by calling upon the earth to act as his witness. In only a few cases, as indicated, is Māra actually depicted on the pedestal so that for the most part, the mode is treated in a hieratic manner. When he is flanked by Bodhisattvas, they are generally Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi, as prescribed in the *Arya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and various texts of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, rather than Maitreya and Lokeśvara as prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā* for Vajrāsana Buddha.[8] In numerous examples, however, as prescribed for Vajrāsana, a *vajra* appears at the front edge of the *viśvapadma* seat. Although the *vajra* is the symbol for Akṣobhya, the image cannot positively be identified as this Tathāgata unless his *vāhana* (elephant) is also included, except when it is *in situ* on the east in a *stūpa-maṇḍala*.

The colossal images at Baudh (fig. 72), Khaḍipadā (fig. 71), Lalitagiri (figs. 17b, 67), Ratnagiri (fig. 68) and Udayagiri (figs. 69-70), are built in sections of stone and are characterized by a rather plain back-slab, though a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner at Baudh. If accompanied by Bodhisattvas, the latter were carved as monolithic images set up on either side as at Ratnagiri and Khaḍipadā. Iconographically and stylistically they are all similar and can be dated to the 7th-9th centuries with the image at Baudh being the latest. Only with the sanctum images of Monastery 4 at Lalitagiri and Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri has a decorated pedestal survived. At Lalitagiri the lotus rhizome at the centre is faced on either side by a kneeling devotee and flanked at each side by a frontally depicted lion (fig. 17b). At Ratnagiri it extends the width of the sanctum wall, thus supporting the attendant

Bodhisattvas as well as the Buddha, and is *tri-ratha* in design. The centre is decorated with a lotus rhizome flanked by a *nāga* on either side while at each corner is a recumbent lion. The latest of these major images of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* is the one at Kuruma which, though colossal, is monolithic (fig. 93). It also differs iconographically in that the Buddha is ornately adorned and wears a crown.

Only the lower portion of a Buddha along with the pedestal survives from a large image at Khiching (fig. 422). The pedestal is *tri-ratha* in design with a *gaja-krānta* motif in each corner compartment. The centre projection contains a *śikṣādāna* scene of a standing female and a kneeling child facing a guru seated before a stand supporting a manuscript. On the upper edge of the projection are four intermeshed figures with both hands uplifted who probably represent the four *māras*. On the lower edge are bowls heaped with offerings and an incense burner flanked on either side by two kneeling devotees with hands clasped in *añjali*. Better preserved is another image in the Khiching Museum of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* with a tree etched on the halo above his head (fig. 87). The lower edge of his *viśvapadma* seat has two rows of petals. The pedestal is decorated with a foliated stalk in the centre and a lion at each corner. The body of the Buddha is thinner than on the earlier colossal Buddhas.

Among the early smaller depictions of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* are several examples at Lalitagiri. The earliest is probably the example where he is unaccompanied and the plain back-slab is rounded at the top (fig. 73). The surface details are badly worn and his right hand is awkwardly rendered. The only interesting iconographic feature is the group of standing figures on the pedestal, the centre two repesenting Māra and his daughter. The image can be dated to the late 6th-early 7th century. In a second example, dating to the late 7th or early 8th century, the Buddha has a somewhat short torso, in contrast to his long arms, and sloping shoulders (fig. 74). His *uṣṇīṣa* extends nearly the width of his head, appearing more like a chignon than a cranial protuberance, and his snail-shell curls are loosely coiled. A tree branches out above his head and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of his back-slab. He is flanked opposite each shoulder by a Bodhisattva standing on a lotus suspended in air, the one on his right being Avalokiteśvara while the one on the left is Maitreya. The pedestal, partially broken, contains a lion at each corner while the foliated lotus stalk is flanked on the right by a kneeling devotee and on the left by an ornate vessel. In a slightly later work, which probably dates to the 8th century, the body of Buddha is better proportioned and the snail-shell curls are tightly coiled (fig. 75). The lotus flowers supporting the flanking images of Mañjuśrī on the right and Avalokiteśvara on the left each have a stalk and no longer float in the air. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab but there is no tree etched on the halo. In a fourth image, probably dating to the 9th century, the body of Buddha is more fully rounded and the snail-shell curls are even more tightly coiled (fig. 77). The flanking Bodhisattvas, now seated, are elevated to the top corners of the back-slab and the *vidyādharas* are eliminated. The right Bodhisattva is probably Maitreya while the left is Avalokiteśvara. A tree rises up above the *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha and the top of the back-slab is rounded. The lower portion of the pedestal is broken off. A similar iconographic programme appears on the image from Khangara, adjacent to Khaḍipadā, though the surface details are badly worn from weathering (fig. 78). The halo is an elongated-oval and there is no tree. The pedestal has lions at the corners, a kneeling devotee, and a tripod heaped with offerings. The image probably dates to the 9th century.

Of the small images of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* from this period at Ratnagiri, the most interesting iconographically is the example with Aparājitā attacking Māra on the pedestal (fig. 79). A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab and a tree is above the halo. On the back of the image is the Buddhist creed inscribed in characters of the 9th century.

The image of Akṣobhya on the east side of the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, forming part of a complex *maṇḍala*, is flanked on the right by Maitreya and on the left by Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. They hold a *caurī* in their right hand and their cognizance in their left (fig. 127). A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab and a *nāga*, possibly symbolizing a gate-keeper, is seated on either side of the lotus-stalk beneath the *viśvapadma* seat. An inscription is etched at the top of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the mid-8th century. A similar but smaller Akṣobhya image, formerly in the Ghosh collection, formed part of a second *stūpa-maṇḍala* at Udayagiri of which two other Tathāgata images survive.[9] In another image from Udayagiri, now in the Patna Museum (acc. no. 6499), Buddha is flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī while Acala is on the pedestal (fig. 76).

In the image in the Rāmeśvara compound at Baudh, a *vajra* is placed at the front centre of the *viśvapadma* seat and the back-slab is designed as a throne (fig. 80). Facial features are obliterated. The oval-shaped halo is edged with flames while a lotus-bud issues out on either side at the base. A creeper frames the upper part of the halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century. The badly-worn image at Śyāmāsasundarpur is placed in a wooded area (fig. 40). A tree branches out above the halo and the back-slab tapers inward towards the top. There is also a late image in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay from Orissa. Buddha is flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi (?).[10]

The two images of Buddha showing *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* at Brahmavāṇa, probably dating to the late 9th or early 10th century, are almost completely refurbished with plaster so that few original surface details remain (figs. 39, 81). In the best preserved example the back-slab and pedestal have escaped being plastered. The halo is oval-shaped and there is a kneeling *vidyādhara* in each upper corner of the back-slab. A lion is at each corner of the pedestal while the lotus stalk supporting the *viśvapadma* is flanked on the right by a kneeling devotee and on the left by a tripod heaped with offerings as on the image from Khangara.

Also dating to the 9th-10th century is an image affixed to the exterior wall of the Raghunātha temple at Solaṁpur (fig. 82). Surface details are badly weathered. A tree branches out at the top edge of the halo while a small votive *stūpa* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. There are no attendant figures and the pedestal contains only foliage. Flanking miniature *stūpas* also appear on a small image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* from Bhajalpur in the University Museum at Sambalpur and on a small image of Akṣobhya from Ayodhyā, though in these examples they appear opposite the shoulders of the Buddha.

Of the sixteen Buddha images from the bronze hoard at Acutrajpur, as stated earlier, thirteen of them display *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. None of them are accompanied by Bodhisattvas, attendants or devotees, and even the full-fledged throne is rarely represented. The composition thus centres around the hieratic image of the Buddha with his seat, halo and umbrella. In eleven of the bronzes the branches of the *bodhi* tree are etched above the head of Buddha. In an image dating to the 9th century the tree is visible on the halo of Buddha which has a beaded border and is edged with flames (fig. 83). The *viśvapadma* seat rests on the back of recumbent lions facing outward. The throne of the Buddha has a *virāla* motif of a lion standing on an elephant on each side while the horizontal lintel of the back-rest has *amalaka*-shaped ends. In a slightly later example from Acutrajpur, dating to the 10th century, *haṁsas* are perched on this lintel, one on either side of the Buddha, which, together with the beaded, flame-edged halo, form an incipient *toraṇa* design (fig. 84). The *bodhi* tree spreads out above the head of Buddha and streamers flutter out from the edge of the surmounting umbrella. The *viśvapadma* seat is placed on a footed throne. The lion motif is eliminated.

Included among the later examples at Ratnagiri are two images, dating to the late 9th-early 10th century, in which an umbrella projects out above the halo at the top of the back-slab. In both examples the Buddha is flanked on the right by Avalokiteśvara and on the left by Vajrapāṇi. In the first image the upper corners of the back-slab are occupied by Ratnasaṁbhava on the right and Amitābha on the left (fig. 85). The pedestal is decorated with recumbent lions at the corners and a foliated lotus stalk at the centre. In the second image the upper corners of the back-slab each contain a flying *vidyādhara* (fig. 86). The Buddhist creed is inscribed in characters of the 10th century on the elongated, oval-shaped halo.[11] The pedestal is decorated with a kneeling devotee, an incense-burner, a tripod heaped with offerings and a conch resting on a tripod.

An 11th century image of the Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* in the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur, originally from Ratnagiri, is decorated with an ornate throne, the three horizontal mouldings of the back-rest being supported on each side by a *virāla* motif (fig. 89). The head of Buddha is framed by a petal-shaped halo with a beaded border edged with flames. A tree branches out above the halo while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Immediately above the back-rest are diminutive images of seated Bodhisattvas, Mañjuvara on the right and Avalokiteśvara on the left. Above each Bodhisattva is a miniature *stūpa*. A *vajra* is placed on the front edge of the *viśvapadma* seat. The pedestal has a *tri-ratha* design with the centre projection containing images of the assault and temptation of Māra while the side compartments contain a reclining lion. On the back side of the image is the Buddhist creed in four lines inscribed in characters datable to the end of the 11th century.[12]

Equally ornate and even more impressive is another 11th century image at Ratnagiri with a similar throne decorated with *virāla* motifs (fig. 94). The flanking Bodhisattvas are replaced by *haṁsas* and the *stūpas* are eliminated. The pedestal is divided into two registers and is *tri-ratha* in design. The centre projection of the upper register contains a foliated lotus stalk while the side compartments each house a lion. The centre projection of the lower register is decorated with a bowl heaped with offerings flanked on either side by a lamp on a moulded stand and an incense-burner while the side compartments contain a kneeling devotee, flower offerings, water vessels and a tripod supporting a conch.

There are also a few late examples of Buddha showing *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* from Khiching, including a small image in the Baripada Museum where there is no throne, merely a *viśvapadma* seat.[13] More often, however, he is provided a throne on late images though it is not always so ornate, as in 11th-12th century examples from Chaudar, now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and in the compound of the Pūrṇeśvara Śiva temple at Bhillideuli (fig. 90). In the latter example the curls of the coiffure of the Buddha are loosely coiled and stylized as mentioned earlier. In the image from Chaudar the *vidyādharas* are replaced by lotus rosettes.

There are three late images, dating from the late 11th century and to the late 12th-early 13th century, in which the four *māras* are represented as four Hindu gods—Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—who are each represented twice, on the upper right half of the back-slab riding on their respective mounts and wielding weapons in a threatening manner, as if summoned to attack the meditating Buddha, and repeated in placement on the upper left half where their principal set of hands display *añjali*, as prescribed for Hindu deities in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of *Niṣpannayogāvalī*,[14] implying that they are paying homage to the victorious Buddha (figs. 91, 511). In a *sādhana* for Vajrāsana in the *Sādhanamālā* we are informed that he sits on the *vajra*-marked *viśvapadma* supported by four *māras* of blue, white, red and green colour, and this is generally where the four *māras* are represented

in art, on the pedestal as on the broken image from Khiching (fig. 422). In the *Hevajra-maṇḍala* (no. 5) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where they are being trampled, the four *māras* are Skandha (Brahmā) of yellow colour, Kleśa (Viṣṇu) of blue colour, Mṛtyu (Śiva) of white colour and Devaputra (Indra) also of white colour. They are also being trampled on by Vidyujjvālākarāli (a variety of Ekajaṭā) in the *Sādhanamālā*.[15] These three Orissan images, from Fakirpatana, Bāṇeśwarnāsi and Narsinghapur, are rare Orissan examples where *māras* are depicted as Hindu deities in the theme of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. Generally they are represented as warriors or dwarves being vanquished beneath the seat of Buddha. The most complex programme appears on the image from Fakirpatana where Buddha is flanked by Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, each with their outside hand on the hip and their raised inside hand holding a flower. The head of Buddha is framed by a trefoil-shaped *haṁsa-toraṇa* with an overlaying miniature *rekhā-deul* at the apex. The four *māras* are depicted first on the upper right half and then repeated on the upper left half.[16] The front edge of the *viśvapadma* is marked with a *vajra*. The pedestal is divided into two levels, as indicated earlier, with the attack against Buddha appearing on the right side of the lower level while the left side depicts figures paying homage to Buddha, the activity thus duplicating that of the Hindu gods (as *māras*) on the upper part of the back-slab. The programme is more abbreviated on the image from Bāṇeśwarnāsi where the flanking attendant figures are replaced by *virāla* motifs. The *haṁsas* are eliminated and the framing *toraṇa* is less ornate. A *vidyādhara* appears on each upper corner of the back-slab so the available space for the Hindu deities (*māras*) is reduced. The pedestal contains a row of badly damaged devotees.

Included among the few examples of bejewelled images of Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* is a small, headless image now housed in the local museum at Salipur (fig. 92). He wears anklets, a broad necklace and a *yajñopavīta*. The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* seat is decorated with a foliated lotus stalk flanked by a kneeling and a seated figure who represent Earth (?) and the dejected Māra. More impressive are two large 11th century images, one from Ratnagiri and the other from Kuruma. The Ratnagiri image, now in the Patna Museum (fig. 95), has a back-rest decorated similar to that of another image at Ratnagiri (fig. 94), placed against the pillar of the verandah of Monastery 1 and, as suggested by D. Mitra, was probably installed in the missing eastern flank of the later antechamber as a companion piece.[17] The sides of the back-rest are decorated with *virāla* motifs while the lintel supports a *haṁsa* on either end and a flaming halo surmounted by a *bodhi* tree. A *vidyādhara* is near each upper corner of the slightly rounded back-slab. The Buddha is adorned with a finger ring, anklets, *valayas*, an armlet on the right arm, a broad necklace, a beaded *hāra*, a *ratnopavīta* and a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. A *vajra* is placed on the front edge of the *viśvapadma* seat. The pedestal, *tri-ratha* in plan, contains in the centre compartment an image of Māra (or Acala) flanked on either side by a standing female, the latter representing his daughters.

The colossal Crowned Buddha at Kuruma is likewise ornately bejewelled though he does not have a *ratnopavīta* (fig. 93). He wears anklets, armbands, wristbands, an ornate necklace and earrings in addition to his tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. A ribbon flutters outward from either side of his diadem, along with a fan-shaped ornament and drooping leaves, while a *kīrtimukha* appears above his flame-edged halo. A *vidyādhara* couple is at each upper corner of the back-slab and a *haṁsa* is perched on each side of his back-rest. The pedestal is *tri-ratha* in plan with a lion in each corner compartment. The centre projection contains a kneeling devotee facing four vessels heaped with offerings.

In the small image in the compound of the Dakṣiṇeśvara Śiva temple at Bagalpur the right hand is slightly damaged and it is not clear if it shows *bhūmisparśa-* or *varada-mudrā* (fig. 48). The figure is richly bejewelled and his hair is arranged in a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* so that his identity as Buddha is only tentative. The ends of his diadem flare out fan-like

above each ear and a leaf droops down behind the ears. He is seated on a *viśvapadma* with a simple throne-back crowned by a *pīḍha*-shaped moulding. His head is framed by a pointed halo with a *vidyādhara* at each upper corner. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

There are in addition, as indicated, numerous examples of Akṣobhya-*maṇḍalas* in which Akṣobhya is flanked by four or eight Bodhisattvas, though in the former the images were probably incoporated into a *stūpa-maṇḍala* containing the four Tathāgatas and sixteen Bodhisattvas. The best preserved example is the image from Ratnagiri in the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur where a pair of elephants appears on the pedestal (fig. 132a). These *maṇḍalas* are discussed in more detail in chapter IV.

2. Buddha in Dharmacakra-mudrā/Mahāvairocana in Bodhyaṅgī-mudrā

Dharmacakra-mudrā, as indicated, appears to have been the most popular *mudrā* for seated images in the earliest period as manifested at Lalitagiri where numerous examples in various states of preservation have survived. In one of the best preserved examples, dating to the late 6th or early 7th century, Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a dais with his hands forming the *mudrā* in front of his waist (fig. 97). His head is framed by a circular halo while the back-slab, tapering inward slightly, has a *vidyādhara* anchored at each upper corner. The recessed area beneath his seat is decorated with the Saranātha motif of a *cakra* flanked by deer and with five kneeling devotees. In a late image, from the 7th century, the back-slab is sharply rounded at the top so that the *vidyādharas* are lowered and appear opposite the centre of the halo (fig. 98). The face of the Buddha is obliterated. He is flanked by a standing Bodhisattva on each side, their identity obscured. The pedestal is slightly rounded. In a slightly later image, probably from the late 7th century, the facial features are preserved but the hands are damaged so that the exact *mudrā* is difficult to discern, particularly as the *mudrā* on these early images is held just above the legs, a placement normally reserved for *dhyāna-mudrā*. Buddha is flanked by two crowned Bodhisattvas who hold a *caurī* over one shoulder (fig. 99). His round halo projects slightly above the top edge of the back-slab. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner.

The only large surviving example of Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā* which may possibly have served as a sanctum image in a monastery complex, if not serving as a Tathāgata in a large *stupā*, is the badly damaged sculpture from Khaḍipadā, now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 96). Only the head, torso with the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, and part of the pedestal survive. The *mudrā* is elevated to the middle of the chest and thus is more readily identifiable. The image can be dated to the 8th century.

Other small examples of Buddha displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* include a headless image at Mahāṅga which was probably shifted there from Lalitagiri. He is flanked by a standing Bodhisattva on either side while two deer and four kneeling devotees appear on the pedestal. Within the Sevasadana compound just outside of Chaudar is a small, headless image of Buddha displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā*.

There are also a few examples of a Crowned Buddha displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* though, considering this *mudrā* is also adopted by various Bodhisattvas, including Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, it is not always clear if the crowned image represents Buddha, Vairocana or a Bodhisattva. Included among the images of crowned figures displaying this *mudrā* is an example from Bhubaneswar now in the Orissa State Museum (fig. 101). Buddha is ornately bejewelled and wears a truncated crown. He is encased within a niche crowned by a *haṁsa-toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. The *toraṇa* is supported at the sides by a *kumbha-stambha*. A small figure on the face of the *viśvapadma* is partially obliterated. The image can be ascribed to the 11th century. Another image of a bejewelled figure in *dharmacakra-mudrā* is fixed to the wall of the Vinode Behari temple at Kendrapara (fig. 33). This image, along with the accompanying jewelled Buddha in *dhyāna-mudrā*, possibly represents Vairocana.

Dharmacakra is the *mudrā* associated with the Tathāgata Vairocana, who is invariably conceived as residing within the sanctum of the *stūpa* and thus is not generally depicted, which may explain why there are so few late images displaying this *mudrā*. There are, however, two examples where a Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā* forms the centre figure of a sculptural *maṇḍala*. In the first, a chlorite image at Ratnagiri, he is flanked by four Bodhisattvas—Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī on the right, Vajrapāṇi and Maitreya on the left—who, in various combinations, are the primary attendants on Buddha (fig. 133). The head of Buddha is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* crowned by a spreading *bodhi* tree, the latter further suggesting that this is probably Buddha and not Vairocana. The pedestal is decorated with a *cakra* (side view rather than frontal as on early images) flanked by deer in the centre and on the corners with lions, devotees, censers, stands with offerings, etc. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

The second image is at Udayagiri and is presently placed in the sanctum of the monastery along with Vajrapāṇi and Buddha (fig. 136). The centre figure, probably Vairocana, is flanked by eight Bodhisattvas, three on either side of the back-slab and one at each corner of the pedestal. A descending *vidyādhara* appears between the top Bodhisattva on either side and the umbrella surmounting the halo. The pedestal is decorated in the centre with a *cakra* flanked on either side by a deer. Behind the deer on the right is a monk with hands in *añjali* while a vase appears behind the deer on the left. Stylistically the image can be ascribed to the mid-8th century.

In some cases the Tathāgata Vairocana replaces one of the other Tathāgatas on the exterior of the *stūpa*, as on a bronze votive *stūpa* from the hoard found at Acutrajpur where he replaces Ratnasaṁbhava (fig. 100). His image also appears in miniature with the other Tathāgatas on the back-slab of many images of Bodhisattvas. A good example of Vairocana in this role appears on a chlorite fragment in the small museum at Salipur (fig. 34). He is housed in a miniature *rekhā-muṇḍi* next to a fragmented lotus-petalled halo which probably framed the head of a Bodhisattva. Stylistically the image can be ascribed to the late 10th or early 11th century.

Particularly interesting is the later Mahāvairocana-*maṇḍala* image placed on the south side of the porch fronting the sanctum entrance of the excavated monastery at Udayagiri (figs. 27, 144). He is ornately adorned and wears a tall crown. Curls cascade down his shoulders and a ribbon flutters out behind his coiffure. His hands display the *bodhyaṅgī-mudrā* or "mudrā of the six elements", a *mudrā* signifying the union of the five knowledges of the Tathāgatas into the single enlightenment, whereby the index finger on the left hand is clasped by the five fingers of the right hand. As noted by A. Getty, the five fingers of the right hand represent the five material elements of which man is composed (earth, water, fire, air and ether) while the index finger of the left hand represents the flame-symbol of Ādi-Buddha:

> The two hands, thus representing the union of the Spiritual with the Material, correspond with the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu or the Maṇḍala of the Two parts. The Vajradhātu, represented by the index finger, is the 'diamond' element corresponding to the spiritual world (v. Vajradhātu). The Garbhadhātu, indicated by the five fingers, is the matrix element, corresponding to the material world.

According to this Shingon scheme, Vairocana is the sun—the centre of a planetary system around which revolve his manifestations, the four Tathāgatas, as planets, that he is the "one Truth surrounded by the four constituent elements."[18] In the Orissan image these four surrounding manifestations or constituent elements are female (C-9).

In the creation of the *Tathāgata-maṇḍala* as recorded in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, Vairocana, plunged into the concentration called "Of the diamond of the Great Passion of the Tathāgatas", made all the Tathāgatas enter the three diamonds of his body, word and spirit:

> Then these Tathāgatas in order to please the Blessed Lord of the body, word and spirit of all the Tathāgatas, made by artifice, their own bodies to assume the appearance of women and thus they issued from the body of the blessed Vairocana.

They took the form of the four counterparts "corresponding to the four Tathāgatas situated in the four points of space, excluding the central deity of the *maṇḍala*, the immobile centre operating through the activity of his emanation projected towards descent in time and space." Shifting from the role of Vairocana to Akṣobhya, he blessed the "four-cornered dustless maṇḍala of 'Great Pledge' in the bhaga(s) of the diamond ladies" and then, seated in the centre, he began the emanation of the *maṇḍala*, giving each Tathāgata a *mantra*, a colour, a Prajñā, a direction and a guardian of the gate.[19]

This importance of the female also appears in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* where the four Bodhisattvas of the Vairocana circle are female emanations of the *pāramitā* of the four Tathāgatas of the four cardinal points. As deified *pūjopakaraṇas* or materials used in ritual worship they appear at the four corners outside the diamond circle, i.e., in the second enclosure. In the Mahāvairocana-*maṇḍala* sculpture from Udayagiri, based essentially on the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala,* they appear on the upper corners of the back-slab and the lower corners of the pedestal (fig. 144). They are seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, holding their offerings with both hands, and have the appearance of *apsaras* as prescribed. At the lower right (S.E.) is Vajradhūpā, corresponding to Akṣobhya, who offers incense (*dhūpa*); at the upper right (S.W.) is Vajrapuṣpā, corresponding to Ratnasaṁbhava, who offers flowers (*puṣpa*); at the upper left (N.W.) is Vajradīpā, corresponding to Amitābha, who offers a lamp (*dīpa*); while at the lower left (N.E.) is Vajragandhā, corresponding to Amoghasiddhi, who offers perfume (*gandha*). Iconographically the ritual objects are more closely aligned with those held by their counterparts in the *maṇḍala* of Vajra-Tārā in both the *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where they appear at the cardinal points of the inner circle, the objects being an incense-stick (*dhūpaśākhākaravyagrāṁ*), a garland of flowers (*puṣpadāmakarākulāṁ*), a torch (*dipayaṣṭikarākulī*), and a conch of scents (*gandhaśaṅkhakarākulāṁ*) respectively.[20] On the extreme right corner of the pedestal, behind Vajradhūpā, is a kneeling female devotee. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

3. Buddha in Dhyāna-mudrā/Amitābha/Vairocana/Mucilinda Buddha

Next to the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* in popularity for Buddha in Orissan art is *dhyāna-mudrā*, a meditative pose in which both hands are placed on the lap with palms open, one upon the other. In addition to its association with Tathāgata Amitābha, it is also the *mudrā* adopted for the Buddha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and for Mucilinda Buddha while a variation of this *mudrā* is adopted for Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, i.e., the Manifest Enlightenment of Vairocana. Included among the numerous images at Ratnagiri with this *mudrā*, aside from small images of Amitābha on monolithic *stūpas*, is a chlorite image found amidst debris below the compound wall of Stūpa 1 of period II.[21] A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while on either side of Buddha is the Buddhist creed inscribed in characters of the 10th-11th century. The pedestal is decorated with a kneeling monk, two vases with offerings on tripods, an incense-burner and a water-pot.

There are two well-preserved images of Amitābha from Udayagiri where he is flanked by Bodhisattvas. The earlier and smallest image (in the Patna Museum) probably belonged

to a *stūpa* which has not survived or is still buried, from which the images of Akṣobhya and Ratnasaṁbhava have also been retrieved. Amitābha is flanked by Lokeśvara and Mañjuśrī (fig. 131b). A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the early 8th century. The second image is *in situ* on the west side of the excavated *stūpa*. In contrast to the other Tathāgatas on this *stūpa*, who have an unembellished halo framing their head, Amitābha has his whole body surrounded by a *caitya*-shaped aureole which most likely symbolizes Sukhāvatī (Western Paradise). It is ornamented with a band of eight-petalled flowers housed in circlets (fig. 129). He is flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal is decorated with a seated *nāga* on either side of the centre lotus stalk. The image can be dated to the mid-8th century.

Later in date is an image of Amitābha at Lalitagiri (fig. 102). He is seated on a *viśvapadma* in Sukhāvatī which is symbolized by a womb-like setting formed by *caitya*-shaped bands of floral motifs. He is surrounded by five small aureoles or moon-discs in addition to his halo, one opposite each elbow and each shoulder and one above his jar-shaped *uṣṇīṣa*. His circular halo has a border band of rosettes. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. At the apex of his womb- or cave-like setting is a *kīrtimukha* surmounted by a spreading *bodhi* tree. The upper register of his pedestal is decorated with a meandering stalk with lotus flowers while the lower register consists of two bands of irregular-shaped stones (?). Stylistically the image can be ascribed to the late 9th or early 10th century.

In an image from Ratnagiri shifted to the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur, Amitābha is flanked by four Bodhisattvas (fig. 132b). His halo has an elongated oval-shape decorated with a band of four-petalled flowers at the edge. The pedestal contains four seated male figures, two on either side of the centre lotus stalk, with the second and fourth figures seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. On the back of the sculpture is the Buddhist creed inscribed in two lines. Stylistically the image can be dated to the 9th century and is a companion to an Akṣobhya image shifted to the same compound (fig. 132a). They apparently belonged to a small *stūpa* which formed a *maṇḍala* consisting of four Tathāgatas and the sixteen great Bodhisattvas from the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and are discussed in detail in chapter IV.

The Tathāgata figure *in situ* on the north side of the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, usually Amoghasiddhi, also displays *dhyāna-mudrā* though he has an unembellished round halo rather than the ornamental *caitya*-shaped aureole symbolic of Sukhāvatī that identifies Amitābha. He also has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* rather than the conventional coiffure of a Buddha, though he wears the robes of a Buddha and has no other ornamentation (fig. 130). He is flanked by Mañjuśrī and Kṣitigarbha.

Although *abhaya* is the conventional *mudrā* of Amoghasiddhi, there are a few examples where he displays other *mudrās*. In the *Tricatvāriṁśadātmaka-Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, for example, both he and Ratnasaṁbhava display *dhyāna-mudrā*, the characteristic *mudrā* of Amitābha,[22] while on a Mārīcī image from Eastern India (National Museum, New Delhi) both he and Amitābha show *dhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 364). Amoghasiddhi, however, is not associated with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* such as appears on this image at Udayagiri. Another possibility is that the figure represents Vajrarāga- or Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī, who also display *dhyāna-mudrā*, though it does not seem likely that a Bodhisattva form would be included in a programme where the other three directional figures are Tathāgatas.

A more plausible interpretation, in respect to the iconography of both the *stūpa* and the site, is that the image represents Abhisambodhi-Vairocana (i.e., highest enlightenment of

Vairocana, Mahāvairocana becoming Buddha), who is frequently associated with a variant of the *dhyāna-mudrā*, referred to as the "space" *mudrā* or "seal of Dharmadhātu voidness", whereby the thumbs touch to form an upward point, as in the heart of the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* (the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* of Shingon Buddhism). The Tathāgatas are Ratnaketu in the east, Saṁkusumitarāja in the south, Amitābha in the west and Dundubhi-nirghoṣa in the north. Mahāvairocana is seated on the pericarp of the eight-petalled lotus: "He is golden and brilliant, has a crown and tuft of hair on the head. He has a perfect light that saves the world. He dwells in samādhi, free from heat."[23] He may be depicted without ornamentation, as described in Śubhākarasiṁha's commentary (*Taizō zuzō*) in Chinese on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, or with ornamentation, as in the Tibetan version and the *Taizō kyū zuyō* (in the tradition of Amoghavajra).[24] The Udayagiri image is without ornamentation, aside from the jewel in the coiffure, and thus conforms to the description of Śubhākarasiṁha, though his thumbs do not join to form the "space" *mudrā*.

A similar image without ornamentation appears at Lalitagiri though it has been dislodged from its original placement (fig. 103). R.P. Chanda, as mentioned earlier, identified the image as the Jain Ṛṣabhanātha but the *mantra* inscribed on the back-slab appears in chapter six of both the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and helps us to identify the image as Vairocana. It reads "*namaḥ samantabuddhānām A vīra Hūṃ Khaṃ*" and appears in a context where the *samādhi* means the "diamond play victorious over the four Māra-s, the non-apprehension of the six destinies, and omniscience", while the term *vīra* (O hero!) refers to the Enlightenment body.[25]

There are also images with ornamentation, as described in the *Taizō kyū zuyō*, which have been identified as representing Vairocana, including the image on the west (back) wall of the sanctum of Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri (fig. 184), or as Śākyamuni, as in the sculptural *maṇḍala* from Ratnagiri (fig. 141).[26] In that neither of these images display the "space" *mudrā*, and *dhyāna-mudrā* is also adopted by various Bodhisattvas, in particular Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī, also known as Vāk, Amitābha-Mañjuśrī and Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī, it is difficult to make positive identification of these ornamented images. Even the figure depicted in *pratyālīḍha* left of the pedestal of the image in the sanctum of Temple No. 4 is not that helpful as he can be identified either as Yamāntaka or Acala, if the weapon in his raised hand is a *daṇḍa* or a sword respectively. A third image in *dhyāna-mudrā* with ornamentation is set up in the yard of the school at the base of the hill at Ratnagiri (fig. 183). On the modern Vinode Behari temple at Kendrapara is an image of a bejewelled Buddha in *dhyāna-mudrā* affixed on the *sandhi-sthala* next to another bejewelled figure displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* (fig. 33). These are smaller images than the three examples at Ratnagiri and are later in date. The Ratnagiri images are discussed in more detail in chapter V under Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī.

Affixed to the wall of the later Varāha temple at Jājpur is a badly damaged image, probably from Solaṁpur, of Buddha in *dhyāna-mudrā* flanked by two Bodhisattvas, possibly Mañjuśrī (?) and Avalokiteśvara, which can be dated to the 10th century. On the pedestal is a scene of a seated male and female figure in discussion on a footed dais. On either side and facing inward are three standing figures. Other examples of Buddha in *dhyāna-mudrā* include the image from Nathuavara now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (AY 219).

Dhyāna-mudrā (or *samādhi*) is also the hand pose adopted for images of Mucilinda Buddha. According to the legend, while Buddha remained in a state of *samādhi* for seven days under a tree near the pond, one portion of his 49 days after achieving Enlightenment during which he experienced no bodily wants, the blind serpent Mucilinda within the pool

had his vision restored by the light that emanated from the Buddha's body. The serpent thus became the disciple of Buddha. When Māra unchained the fury of the elements to disturb Buddha's *samādhi,* Mucilinda seven times wound his coils about him and spread his hood over his head to protect him. This motif appears to have been popular in Orissa only during the earlier periods of sculptural activity, as indicated, with two of the earliest examples being the images at Gaṇiāpāli (figs. 43, 106). In both images Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* above the coiling tail of the serpent while its hoods form a canopy over his head. His hands display *dhyāna-mudrā* though portions have been clumsily restored with plaster. Both images are badly worn due to the soft nature of the stone and it is thus difficult to date them with precision. Their bodies are block-like in conception to suggest an early date, possibly the late 6th or early 7th century. Numerous Mucilinda images have recently been excavated at Lalitagiri, in various states of preservation, of which two are illustrated here. The first example is best preserved, though surface details are badly worn, with Buddha depicted in *vajraparyaṅka* on the coils of the serpent (fig. 104). He is slightly stout in body proportions. The coils of the serpent are visible behind the body of Buddha. The second image is similar though its upper portion is broken off (fig. 105). The image is framed at the sides by a projecting jamb to indicate it may have formed part of a wall or door-jamb. A kneeling devotee is visible on the damaged pedestal. Both images can be ascribed to the 6th-7th century.

One of the latest examples of Mucilinda Buddha is the image in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar supposedly discovered at G. Udayagiri in Phulbani district though its place of origin is not settled (fig. 107). The coils of the serpent are again visible behind Buddha. The back-slab tapers inward towards the top. The pedestal contains a Saranātha device at the centre and an outward facing lion at each corner. The face of Buddha has been obliterated while the lower portion of the pedestal has broken off. The image can be dated to the late 7th-early 8th century. Iconographically the Mucilinda images are closely related to images of the Jain Pārśvanātha, who likewise displays *dhyāna-mudrā* while seated on the coils of a serpent, of which several good examples are at Podasingidi.

Dhyāna-mudrā is also the pose adopted for Buddha when depicted as an *avatāra* for Viṣṇu on Brahmanical temples. This motif is discussed in chapter XI.

4. Buddha in Abhaya-mudrā/Amoghasiddhi

Included among the few seated images of Buddha displaying *abhaya-mudrā*, the hand pose of assurance generally associated with the Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi, are several early examples as Lalitagiri. In one image the plain back-slab is rounded at the top while the pedestal is decorated with the Saranātha device in the centre and kneeling devotees at the corners. In a similar second example the devotees are eliminated from the pedestal (fig. 108). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his right hand, raised chest high, displaying *abhaya-mudrā*. His body is somewhat disproportionate with the head slightly small while his stomach is distended. Both of these images can be dated to the late 6th or early 7th century. A later image at Lalitagiri, with the right hand resting on the knee but mostly obliterated, has the Buddha seated on a *viśvapadma* rather than a dais (fig. 110). A throne-back is lightly carved behind his body. His eyes are downcast and the elongated-oval halo framing his head is edged with a band of rope-like scroll. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal is missing. The image, probably representing Amoghasiddhi, can be dated to the 8th-9th century.

There are also several examples at Ratnagiri which have been dislodged from small monolithic *stūpas*,[27] including one crowned image of the 9th-10th century.[28] In no example is a *vāhana* included, though it is probable that some may represent Amoghasiddhi. A small, headless image at Ayodhyā definitely represents Amoghasiddhi (fig. 109). He is seated on a *viśvapadma* and his back-slab is decorated with a throne-back ornamented with the *mali phula phaḍika* scrollwork consisting of half-rosettes framed by triangles of beads. His right shoulder is bare and folds of his *uttarāsaṅga* spread over his left shoulder. The lower part of the

pedestal is missing. Most likely the image was housed in a niche on the north side of a small *stūpa*. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

There are also two small images of Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā* at Acutrajpur, one in metal and the other in stone. In the bronze image, Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* cushion. His right hand is in *abhaya* while the left hand, held above his lap, holds part of his *uttarāsaṅga*. His eyes are half-closed, suggesting his contemplative mood and calm detachment, and the image is sensitively rendered. It can be dated to the 7th century. The stone image, now in the possession of the school authorities, is badly worn. His *viśvapadma* seat is supported by a lotus rhizome and a throne-back is carved on the back-slab. His head is framed by a pointed halo decorated with beaded bands and flanked by lush foliage. The image can be dated to the 11th century.[29]

5. Buddha in Varada-mudrā/Ratnasaṁbhava

There are only a few examples of Buddha displaying *varada-mudrā*, the gift-bestowing hand pose associated with the Tathāgata Ratnasaṁbhava. The largest surviving image is the Ratnasaṁbhava occupying the south niche of the *stūpa* excavated at Udayagiri (fig. 128). He is flanked by standing images of Samantabhadra on his right and Ākāśagarbha on his left, both of whom are associated with a jewel. A short inscription is incised on the top edge of his halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A *nāga* is seated on either side of the lotus stalk on the pedestal. The image can be dated to the mid-8th century. A similar image of Ratnasaṁbhava from a slightly earlier *stūpa* at the site which has not survived or is still buried, has been found in the monastery area during recent excavations (fig. 131a). The upper right corner of the back-slab is broken off, the right hand of Ratnasaṁbhava is damaged and the pedestal is missing. He is flanked on either side by a Bodhisattva with a *caurī* in their right hand. The uplifted left hand holds their cognizance though I am unable to identify it in my photograph. The left one appears to hold a jewel to suggest he may represent Ākāśagarbha. A *vidyādhara* is above each Bodhisattva, on either side of the elongated-oval halo. The image can be dated to the early 8th century.

Of the several surviving examples at Ratnagiri, the best is the chlorite image where he is seated on a *viśvapadma* with an ornate throne carved behind him.[30] The back-rest of his throne is decorated with three horizontal mouldings supported at each side by a moulded post. The pointed halo, with beaded border edged by flames, is surmounted by three luxuriant branches of the *bodhi* tree. On either side of the halo is a *vidyādhara*. The pedestal is *tri-ratha* in design with the centre *ratha* containing a kneeling, bejewelled figure in *añjali* facing a stand supporting a manuscript. The outer *rathas* contain a lion. The image can be dated to the 10th-11th century.

There is also a bronze image of Ratnasaṁbhava at Ratnagiri. His right hand, in *varada*, holds a small jewel while his left hand, on his lap, holds a bowl filled with an object. The image, covered with gold-leaf, can be dated to the 12th century.[31]

A detached image of Buddha displaying *varada-mudrā* is in the compound of the Paścimeśvara temple at Talcher (fig. 111). The back-rest of the throne is decorated with a *makara* on either side suggesting an incipient *makara-toraṇa*. Spreading branches of the *bodhi* tree are carved on the upper half of the halo. The *viśvapadma* seat and the pedestal are mostly obliterated. The image, quite likely originating from the Jayāśrama-*vihāra*, can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

At Ayodhyā is a small image of Ratnasaṁbhava which originally filled the south niche of a small *stūpa*, probably the same *stūpa* containing the image of Amoghasiddhi mentioned

above (fig. 109) as the images are stylistically similar and of the same approximate size (fig. 112). The back-rest of his throne also supports a triangular design on either side. The pointed halo has a beaded-border and is edged with flames. A lotus rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal remains mostly undecorated. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

C. VAJRASATTVA/VAJRADHARA

Although Vajrasattva is frequently considered to be the sixth Tathāgata, his position in the Buddhist pantheon, as noted by S.K. Saraswati, is difficult to determine: "Certain Lamaistic sects identify Vajrasattva with Vajradhara who is considered to be the exoteric manifestation of Ādi-Buddha. Others regard him as an active form of Vajradhara. Such an association finds an echo also in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where Vajradhara has been described to be the principal deity of the Vajrasattva maṇḍala."[32] Although mentioned in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, an early Tantric Buddhist work, his position remains vague and he does not appear in the context of the five *kuleśa* Tathāgatas. His conception as the sixth Tathāgata who, as the priest of the five Tathāgatas, according to Saraswati, "came to be considered as the embodiment collectively of the five *skandhas* (elements) over which the five Tathāgatas are said to preside, appears to be a later development. This conception led to his emergence as an important divinity of the Buddhist pantheon."[33]

In contrast to the five Tathāgatas, Vajrasattva is richly ornamented and wears a crown in the manner of Bodhisattvas rather than the simple robes of the Buddha. The description of him in the *Advayavajra-saṁgraha* is as follows:

> Vajrasattva originates from the syllable HŪM and is white in colour. He is two-armed and one-faced and holds in his two hands the vajra and vajra-marked ghaṇṭā. He represents the astringent taste, the autumn season, the letters of the alphabet ya, ra, la, and va, and the part of the night from midnight to day-break. His second name is Dharmadhātu.[34]

In this form he may be represented singly or in *yab-yum*, i.e., with his consort Vajrasattvātmikā. The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* refers to a form of Vajrasattva with two hands holding an axe and a club[35] while in the *Vajraḍāka Tantra* (Calcutta Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 3825, fol. 3a) is a terrifying four-armed form in which, invoked within a *maṇḍala* as Vajraḍāka, he is dancing on a corpse. He has four faces, a crown of matted hair, and carries the *vajra*, sword, bell and a human-skull. He is encircled by a host of *ḍākinīs*.[36] More placid in form is a three-headed, six-armed seated image from Cambodia in the National Palace Museum at Taipei. Only the *vajra* and the bell have survived.[37]

Vajrasattva is especially popular in Orissa and his image corresponds closely to the two-armed description of the *Advayavajra-saṁgraha*. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* or *sattvaparyaṅka* with his right hand holding the *vajra* in front of his chest, either clutching it in his fist or balancing it on the palm. The left hand holds the bell, often tipped with a *vajra*, at the left hip. There are five bronze images from Acutrajpur with two seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* and three seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. Four of the images bear effigies of the Tathāgatas on their crown, two having Vairocana, one having four Tathāgatas (C-8) and one with five, suggesting he is conceived as a Bodhisattva rather than a Tathāgata. Though missing its halo, the best example from Acutrajpur is the image with all five Tathāgatas (fig. 115). He is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on the pericarp of a *viśvapadma*. He is richly adorned and his conical *mukuṭa* is crowned by a *stūpa*-shaped finial. His eyes are inlaid with silver. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

At Ratnagiri nine monolithic *stūpas* with the image of Vajrasattva were found on the south-western side of the Stūpa-area immediately outside the compound wall of Stūpa 1 of period II. In eight of the images he is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* while in one he is in *sattvaparyaṅka*. Another image of Vajrasattva appears on a drum-slab originally forming part of a *stūpa* while still others are found in monolithic *stūpas* from the group in front of Monastery 2 or near Stūpa No. 1.[38] In respect to iconography, the images are all quite similar with the only variations being the manner in which the *vajra* is held in the right hand. There are also larger images in various states of preservation. The largest, from the sanctum of Temple No. 4, is badly worn or was purposely left unfinished (fig. 117).

At Brahmavāṇa, Vajrasattva is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* with his right leg resting on his left. The pedestal is missing. He is richly adorned but his *mukuṭa* has been refashioned with plaster (fig. 113). The *vajra* has been transformed so that it looks like a fruit. The bell is missing and his facial features have been remodelled with plaster. His head is framed by a plain halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be assigned to the late 9th or early 10th century.

Better preserved is the image now placed in the sanctum of a small shrine in the compound of the Khandeśvara Mahādeva temple at Nasikakotian (fig. 114). He is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* holding a *vajra* horizontally in the palm of his right hand. His left hand holds the *vajra-ghaṇṭā* against his thigh. He is richly adorned and wears a jewelled diadem at the base of his tall *mukuṭa*. Within the *mukuṭa* are four Tathāgata images while at the apex is a *stūpa*-shaped finial. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. On the right corner of the pedestal is a figure seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* while on the left side is a bowl heaped with offerings. The image can be dated on stylistic evidence to the late 10th or early 11th century.

In the image from Solaṁpur (Indian Museum, Calcutta), Vajrasattva is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and balances the *vajra* vertically on the tip of one finger (fig. 116). He is richly adorned and his *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* is crowned by a *stūpa*-shaped finial. A miniature *stūpa* appears at each upper corner of the back-slab while a kneeling devotee is at each corner of the pedestal. The image can be dated to the 11th century.[39]

A small image of Vajrasattva frequently appears on the pedestal of major Buddhist deities, including various forms of Avalokiteśvara (fig. 5), such as Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (fig. 214), Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 237), Hālāhala Lokeśvara (fig. 257), and Prajñāpāramitā (fig. 328).

The eight-armed image from Aragarh shifted to Haripur, as indicated, may represent an esoteric form of Vajrasattva and is discussed under Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara (fig. 118).

In Vajrayāna, Ādi-Buddha is regarded as the highest deity of the Buddhist pantheon and is considered to be the originator even of the five Tathāgatas. When represented in human form he is given the name of Vajradhara and he may be depicted singly or in *yab-yum*. When single he is richly adorned and is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. His hands, in *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā*, hold the *vajra* and the *ghaṇṭā*, or these symbols are shown on a lotus on either side. He also has a three-faced, six-armed form.[40] The concept of Vajradhara appears not to have been very popular in Orissa as only two small images from Ratnagiri have been identified. In both cases, on *stūpa* no. 181 in the Stūpa-area and a broken image found near Monastery No. 1, his hands are partially obliterated and the attributes are indistinct. They date to the 10th and the 11th-12th century.[41]

D. MAITREYA

As the next Buddha, Maitreya is conceived as passing the life of a Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven, preparatory to his descent to earth in human form. He thus has a dual nature in the Buddhist pantheon and may be depicted either as a Buddha or a Bodhisattva. As a Buddha he is represented seated in *vajraparyaṅka* or in *bhadrāsana* (both legs pendent), while as a Bodhisattva he may be depicted seated or standing, either as a principal deity or as an attendant deity.[42] Despite his popularity throughout the history of Buddhist art, being the only Bodhisattva worshipped alike by the Hinayānists and the Mahāyānists, there are very few textual descriptions of him. Although he is usually depicted with two arms, there are several textual descriptions where he is four-armed, as in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* where he salutes Tathāgata and holds a rosary with his right hands while his left hands hold a staff and a *kamaṇḍalu*. In this description he is said to accompany the Buddha.[43] Another four-armed description appears in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 285) where he has three faces and is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. His principal set of hands display *vyākhyāna-mudrā* while his other right and left hands show *varada* and hold a cluster of *nāgakeśara* flowers in full bloom.[44] A four-armed example also appears in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where he heads the list of Bodhisattvas in the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20). He displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* with his major set of hands while showing *varada* and holding the *nāgakeśara-pallava* in his other right and left hands respectively.[45] These four-armed forms appear not to have been popular in sculpture.

Several two-armed descriptions appear in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. In the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* (no. 2) he displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* like his sire Vairocana while in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (no. 19) he is identical with Akṣobhya and displays *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*.[46] In a third example, from the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* (no. 22), he displays *varada* or holds the *kuṇḍī* (begging bowl) in his right hand[47] while the left hand holds the *nāgakeśara*. A similar description of Maitreya showing *varada* and holding the *nāgakeśara* appears in *sādhana* no. 18 of the *Sādhanamālā* where he is the first of eight Bodhisattvas surrounding Lokanātha.[48] As an attendant on the right of Buddha Vajrāsana in the *Sādhanamālā* he has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and holds the *cāmara-ratna* and the *nāgakeśara* in his right and left hands respectively.[49] In these textual descriptions, whether two- or four-armed, his most distinctive cognizance is the *nāgakeśara*, a flower of the *campaka* category with white blossoms which is rendered differently from the lotus though sculptors are inconsistent as to how it should look.[50] The water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*), his most distinctive cognizance in earlier Indian art, is mentioned only once. His most distinctive *mudrā*, aside from *varada* which is common with most of the Bodhisattvas, is the *dharmacakra* or teaching *mudrā*.

His most distinctive ornament, though not mentioned in textual accounts, is the *stūpa* on his crest. According to tradition this ornament refers to the *stūpa* on the Kukkuṭapāda mountain near Bodh Gaya which covers the spot where Kaśyapa Buddha is lying. When Maitreya descends to earth from Tuṣita heaven he will go directly to that spot, "which will open by magic, and Kaśyapa will give him the garments of a Buddha."[51] This *stūpa* ornament, or *stūpa*-shaped crown, is not always present, however, and in addition is sometimes associated with other Bodhisattvas, including Sukhāvatī-Lokeśvara,[52] so it is not as reliable for identification as the *nāgakeśara* flower.

As an attendant divinity in Orissan art, whether flanking the Buddha or serving in a *maṇḍala*, Maitreya is two-armed and holds the *nāgakeśara* in his left hand. The right hand in standing images either displays *varada*, as in the case of large *maṇḍala* images independently carved (figs. 150a-b), or holds a *caurī* as when flanking a Buddha (fig. 145a). In seated images when serving in a *maṇḍala*, the right hand may exhibit *vyākhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 146a) or merely be placed on the knee (fig. 148a) or seat (fig. 142) as in the case of other Bodhisattvas. The pose with the right hand in *vyākhyāna-mudrā*, stressing his teaching aspect, also appears

on a small stone image from Ratnagiri where Maitreya is seatd in *lalitāsana*. His left palm, with a twig of the missing *nāgakeśara* flower between the thumb and forefinger, rests on the seat. Another flower rises up on the right side of Maitreya. The image, badly damaged, contains a short dedicatory inscription in two lines in characters of the 11th-12th century.[53]

A much larger and better preserved image of Maitreya from Ratnagiri depicts him in *dharmacakra-mudrā* with both hands placed near the chest (fig. 119). He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his left leg pendent. Issuing from under his left arm is the *nāgakeśara* flower with possibly a water-pot amidst its blossoms. His head is framed by a pointed halo and a rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Three kneeling devotees appear on the pedestal, one on the right corner and two on the left corner.[54] N.K. Sahu illustrates a seated image of Maitreya placed on the bank of an old pool in Balasore town.[55] He is seated in *bhadrāsana* with both legs pendent and has his hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. He is richly ornamented and a *nāgakeśara* flower issues from under his left arm.

D. Mitra has identified three of the bronzes from Acutrajpur as representing Maitreya with each being in a slightly different pose. The first example depicts him in a relaxed pose midway between *lalitāsana* and *ardhaparyaṅka*, the right knee being slightly raised.[56] The right hand, in *varada* and resting on the knee, holds a small circular object while the left hand, palm down, rests on his left knee and holds the stalk of a flower. Though somewhat obfuscated, the flower, if a *nāgakeśara*, is unrealistic and, in fact, looks more like a *kalpavṛkṣa* so that the Bodhisattva could be Kṣitigarbha (fig. 160). The image can be dated to the 8th century. In the second image, Maitreya is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a lotus. His right hand is in *varada* while the left holds the stalk of a flower which supports a *kamaṇḍalu*. He wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure containing a miniature *stūpa* at the front. The image can be dated to the 9th century.[57] The third image depicts Maitreya seated in *lalitāsana* on the pericarp of a high *viśvapadma*. His right hand displays *vyākhyāna-mudrā* while his left hand, resting on his knee, holds the stalk of a *nāgakeśara* flower. A small water-pot is visible amidst the blossoms (fig. 120). Another flower rises up on the right side of Maitreya. He wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* bearing the representation of a *stūpa* and loose locks fall down to his shoulders. Stylistically the image can be dated to about the 12th century.[58] N.K. Sahu also illustrates a small bronze of Maitreya from Baudh showing him in a pose midway between *lalitāsana* and *ardhaparyaṅka* as in the first image from Acutrajpur.[59] The right hand likewise holds a small vase while the left hand holds a *nāgakeśara* flower.

In a small stone image from Avana the two-armed Maitreya (fig. 121) is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his right hand in *varada*. The left hand is placed on the seat and holds the stalk of a *nāgakeśara* flower that blossoms above his shoulder. The face and coiffure of Maitreya are badly worn. His halo is edged with flames and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal is decorated with luxuriant foliage. The image can be dated to the late 9th century. A similar image in respect to iconography exists at Kendupatna though again surface details are badly worn. The image can probably be dated to the 10th century.

The most unusual image is that placed with other Buddhist and Brahmanical deities in the centre of the village of Bañchua. Maitreya stands in a rigid frontal pose with his right hand in *varada*, holding a small vessel, and the raised left hand holding a *nāgakeśara* flower (?). His crown is decorated with a *caitya* and his head is framed by a halo. Small *vidyādharas* are carved near the upper edge of the halo, one on either side (fig. 122). Each of the four corners of the back-slab contains a seated deity carved on a projecting block. The two at the upper corners, male on the right and female on the left, place the palm of their left hand on the seat where it holds the stalk of a flower. The right hand of the male

is held chest-high while the right hand of the female is in *varada*. The two lower deities, both male, are four-armed. The right figure shows *varada* with his major right hand while the left is placed on his seat. The objects held in the uplifted back hands are indistinct. The left figure has his hands posed in the same manner. His head is framed by a canopy of seven serpent hoods to suggest he may represent Yamāntaka. Each of these four deities is in *lalitāsana* and has a *vidyādhara* in the upper corners of their back-slab. The image can be ascribed to the late 10th or early 11th century.

References

[1]C. Fabri, *op. cit.*, p. 35 and pl. XV; and R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 204.

[2]In the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* the Wheel of Doctrine encircled with a ring of flames is prescribed for the pedestal. Cf. D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 194.

[3]In the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* the *nāgas* Nanda and Upananda function as gate-keepers in the *maṇḍala*. *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 23.

[4]R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II, plates between pp. 396-97. Banerji suggests the scene refers to the incident of the subjection of the assassins hired by Devadatta to murder Buddha in the narrow streets of Rājagṛha because of the kneeling figure. *Ibid.*, II, p. 390.

[5]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 221-22, pl. CLXIX (C); and II, p. 358, pls. CCLXXX(B) and CCCXLVII(A).

[6]See Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism* (New York, 1964 reprint), pp. 57-58; Alfred Foucher, *The Life of the Buddha*, abridged trans. by Simone Brangier Boas (Middletown, Conn., 1963), pp. 205-07; and Eugene Watson Burlingame (trans.), *Buddhist Legends*, 3 vols., Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 28 (London, 1969 reprint), III, pp. 47-53.

[7]See *Si-yu-ki*, I, pp. 204-05; James Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (New York, 1965 reprint), p. 49; and Susan L. Huntington and John C. Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th-12th centuries) and Its International Legacy* (Seattle and London, 1990), p. 132.

[8]Cf. B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 78.

[9]R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II, pl. between pp. 396-97.

[10]Moti Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Prince of Wales Museum* (Bombay, 1974), fig. 116.

[11]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 193.

[12]*Ibid.*, II, p. 425.

[13]A. Joshi, *op. cit.*, fig. 59.

[14]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 363-67.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 78, 159, 195.

[16]A similar alignment appears on several 11th-12th century Bihar/Bengal images. See Susan L. Huntington, *The 'Pāla-Sena' Schools of Sculpture* (Leiden, 1984), fig. 131; and *Catalogue of Exhibition of Buddhist Art* (on the 2500th Buddha Jayanti) at the Indian Museum (Calcutta, 1956), pl. XXIV.

[17]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 427-28.

[18]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33. See also A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 137-40.

[19]Giuseppe Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala* (New York, 1970, 2nd impression), p. 99; and A. Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, p. 125.

[20]Cf. Mrs. Shashibala, *Comparative Iconography of the Vajradhātu-Maṇḍala and the Tattva-Saṅgraha* (New York, 1989 reprint), pp. 247-65; A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, II, pp. 626-29; and B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 241.

[21]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pl. LXXXII.

[22]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 111. In a brass image from northwest India he also displays *varada*. See Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path* (Los Angeles, 1982), p. 172, pl. 83.

[23]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 21.

[24]Cf. A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, pp. 13, 37; A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35; and Antoinette K. Gordon, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism* (New Delhi, 1978 reprint), pl. opposite p. 51, where his hands displaying *dhyāna-mudrā* also hold a *cakra*.

[25]M. Yoritomi, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-81; and A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, p. 13.

[26]M. Yoritomi, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-81; and A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, p. 37. Wayman suggests that the centre figure in the *maṇḍala* is Bhagavat Śākyamuni, the lord of the Tathāgata family, who is surrounded by the eight great Bodhisattvas in the pure abode (*śuddhāvāsa*).

[27]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pl. LXXXIX(A), and II, pl. CCLXIII(A).

[28]*Ibid.*, p. 142, and pl. LXXXV(B).

[29]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 32, fig. 11.

[30]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 222, and pl. CLXIX(D).

[31]*Ibid.*, II, p. 359, and pl. CCLXXXI(A).

[32]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LV.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. LV. Elsewhere Vajrasattva is considered the "yogin possibility of a person, as the essence of the Tathāgatas, Akṣobhya, and as their enlightenment-pledge, Samantabhadra; who has advanced... to the last three Bodhisattva stages." See A. Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, p. 131.

[34]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 75.

[35]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LV.

[36]Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources* (Delhi, 1974), p. 18.

[37]*The Crucible of Compassion and Wisdom: Special Exhibition Catalogue of the Buddhist Bronzes from the Nitta Group Collection at the National Palace Museum* (Taipei, 1987), pl. 37.

[38]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 105, 115-17, 144, and pls. LII(C), LXV(C-D) and LXVI(A-C); II, pp. 299, 317, pl. CCXLVII.

[39]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 158, illustrates another image of Vajrasattva from Solaṁpur in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

[40]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 43-44.

[41]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 84, 224-225, pl. CLXXII(A).

[42]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 80; A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; and S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XV.

[43]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XV.

[44]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 81.

[45]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XV.

[46]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 29.

[47]S.K. Saraswati (*op. cit.*, p. XVI) states that *varada* is displayed while B. Bhattacharyya (*Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 29) reads it as *kuṇḍī*.

[48]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 131.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 78.

[50]D. Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur*, p. 82.

[51]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[52]See D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 23.

[53]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 226, and pl. CLXXII(D); a similar image appears on *stūpa* no. 250 from the area north and west of Stūpa No. 1 (p. 97).

[54]*Ibid.*, I, p. 225.

[55]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 78.

[56]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 83, fig. 73.

[57]*Ibid.*, p. 83, and fig. 74.

[58]*Ibid.*, p. 84.

[59]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 52.

MAṆḌALAS AND MAṆḌALA BODHISATTVAS

In the formation of the *Tathāgata-maṇḍala* as recorded in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, each of the five Tathāgatas is given a direction, a *mantra*, a colour, a Prajñā and a guardian of the gate.[1] Accordingly, four of the Tathāgatas face the cardinal directions while the fifth is placed within the *stūpa* or *maṇḍala*. The most popular alignment of Tathāgatas or directional Buddhas in this simple type of *maṇḍala* consists of Akṣobhya on the east, Ratnasaṁbhava on the south, Amitābha on the west and Amoghasiddhi on the north while Vairocana is within. Included among Orissan examples displaying this alignment are several monolithic *stūpas* at Ratnagiri, i.e., *stūpa* no. 30 from the group in front of Monastery 2 and *stūpa* no. 227 from the group near Stūpa No. 1, and a *stūpa* drum now in the sanctum of a small shrine at Odisoandeigoda. In some cases Vairocana replaces one of the Tathāgatas on the exterior, as on the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri where he replaces Amoghasiddhi or on a bronze *stūpa* from Acutrajpur where he replaces Ratnasaṁbhava (fig. 125). In other cases, however, there is a curious medley of images which is more than just a shift in alignment of Tathāgatas. *Stūpa* no. 226 from the group near Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri, for example, has images of Buddha, Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa, Cundā and Jambhala (fig. 124); the three intact images of *stūpa* no. 16 are Tārā, Aparājitā and Ārya-Sarasvatī;[2] while those on a bronze *stūpa* from Acutrajpur are Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Pāṇḍarā and probably Yaśodhara or Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī (figs. 126a-d).

The most unique alignment in this simple form of *maṇḍala* may have been at Aragarh, provided these detached images were from a *stūpa* and/or faced the cardinal directions, with the first being Akṣobhya displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (fig. 88). His head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* and, as with each image, there is a *vidyādhara* at each upper corner of the back-slab. A *vajra* is placed on the front edge of the *viśvapadma* seat. The pedestal has a *tri-ratha* design with a *gaja-krānta* in the centre projection. The right compartment has a kneeling devotee facing a stand with two books while the left compartment is filled with vessels heaped with offerings. The remaining three figures appear to be Bodhisattvas, each with three (visible) heads, who are ornately adorned and hold a *vajra* in one of their hands. The first figure is four-armed and is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 185). His major set of hands display *dhyāna-mudrā* while his uplifted hands hold a stalk with three *stūpa*-shaped blossoms which possibly represent the *kalpavṛkṣa*. A *caitya* is in his jewelled headdress and each coiffure has a *stūpa*-shaped finial. The centre projection of the pedestal

is decorated with vessels and a kneeling devotee. The third figure, also seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*, has six arms (fig. 226). His major set of hands open the petals of a lotus. His other right hands hold a rosary and a *vajra* while one of the remaining left hands has a *kamaṇḍalu*. The object in the other left hand is broken off, the hand being in *vitarka-mudrā*. An effigy of Amitābha appears in the centre coiffure. The centre projection of the pedestal contains a vessel flanked by a kneeling devotee and a warrior on one knee with his left hand in *vandanābhinayī*, his right hand holding a sword. The fourth figure is seated in *lalitāsana* and has eight arms (fig. 118). His principal right hand balances a *vajra* upright in front of his chest while his other right hands hold a sword, goad and arrow. Three of his left hands hold a bow, bell and noose. The object in the remaining left hand, held in *vitarka-mudrā*, is again broken off. An effigy of Akṣobhya is in the centre coiffure. If the missing object was a manuscript, the image would correspond to the iconography of Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara as given in the *Sādhanamālā*, except the effigy should be of Amitābha rather than Akṣobhya. Akṣobhya does appear as an effigy on numerous multi-armed forms of Vajrasattva in Southeast Asia and Japan where he may have three heads while two of his additional hands hold a bow and an arrow. Though none of these three Bodhisattva images can be identified on the basis of surviving Indian texts, their major set of hands display *mudrās* or attributes which correspond with those of the two-armed images of Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri, the deities being Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī or Vairocana, Vajradharma and Vajrasattva, and it may be that these images at Aragarh represent a more esoteric interpretation of these three who symbolize the threefold *kula* or family concept—Tathāgata, Padma and Vajra.

A more complex *maṇḍala* appears in *stūpa* no. 37 at Ratnagiri from the group in front of Monastery 2 where the Prajñā of each Tathāgata is inserted into the *caitya*-medallion above (fig. 123). The *maṇḍala* thus contains eight surrounding figures. Rather than facing the intermediate directions, as prescribed in texts,[3] the Prajñās face the same direction as the Tathāgata whom they serve as consort, i.e., Māmakī faces east, Vajradhātvīśvarī (?) faces south, Pāṇḍarā faces west and Tārā faces north. This *maṇḍala* is discussed in detail in chapter IX.

There are also sculptural *maṇḍalas* carved on a single slab of stone, in which a centre figure is flanked by four smaller deities, though it is not known if they represent simple *maṇḍalas* or if they formed part of a larger iconographic programme of a more complex *maṇḍala*. In an example from Ratnagiri, for instance, the large centre deity is Buddha/Vairocana displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* while the four flanking Bodhisattvas are Lokeśvara, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi, the four who most often serve as companions to Buddha in various combinations (fig. 133). Each Bodhisattva is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with one arm resting on their raised knee. Four other examples from Ratnagiri, two with Akṣobhya at the centre and two with Amitābha, most likely formed part of larger iconographic programmes consisting of four Tathāgatas and sixteen Bodhisattvas, i.e., the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (figs. 132a-b). The most popular sculptural *maṇḍalas*, however, consist of a large centre deity, generally a Tathāgata or a form of Mañjuśrī, surrounded by eight Bodhisattvas, four on either side arranged vertically one above the other. These *maṇḍalas* are discussed in detail below.

There are also sculptural *maṇḍalas* where the flanking companions are female, including one from Ratnagiri where the four surrounding deities are seated in *vajraparyaṅka* similar to the examples forming part of a *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* just mentioned. The centre deity is a goddess, possibly a Prajñā, rather than a Tathāgtata (fig. 340). In the Mahāvairocana-*maṇḍala* at Udayagiri, discussed earlier, Mahāvairocana is surrounded by four female figures who represent the four outer offering Bodhisattvas of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* in feminine form, i.e., Vajradhūpā, Vajrapuṣpā, Vajradīpā and Vajragandhā (fig. 144). The same four *pūjopakaraṇas* appear on the Vajra-Tārā *maṇḍala* from Ayodhyā (fig. 320). In a badly-worn image from Ganjam, Avalokiteśvara is flanked by five female figures, two on the right and

three on the left, along with Hayagrīva (fig. 192). In the Dhanada Tārā image in the Varāha temple compound at Jājpur, however, the intact six companion deities are male rather than female as prescribed in textual accounts of her *maṇḍala* (fig. 312). In the image from Kasbā, possibly representing Mahākāla, the *maṇḍala* consists of eight flanking *ḍākinīs* (fig. 281). These *maṇḍalas* with flanking female companions are discussed in chapter IX.

In addition to *stūpa-maṇḍalas* and sculptural *maṇḍalas*, there is a complex *maṇḍala* diagram incised on the back of an image of Jambhala at Ratnagiri which consists of two concentric circles at the centre, the rough outline of an eight-petalled lotus, and two larger concentric circles along with the Buddhist creed, a *mantra*, and letters and numerous inscriptions representing Jambhala, Vasudhārā, dance deities, deified paraphernalia, musical instruments, etc.[4]

A. STŪPA-MAṆḌALAS WITH EIGHT/SIXTEEN BODHISATTVAS

The iconographic programme of the *maṇḍala* is more complex on large *stūpas* though the only surviving intact programme is that of the recently excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, dating to the mid-8th century, which exhibits affinities with the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* (figs. 28-29). Each Tathāgata is accompanied by two Bodhisattvas so that, in addition to the primary circle of Tathāgatas facing the cardinal directions, there is a second circle of eight Bodhisattvas. There are in addition two *vidyādharas* above each Tathāgata and two *nāgas* on each pedestal. Although only the four Tathāgatas are included with Vairocana on the eight-petalled centre lotus of the triadic-world conception of the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala*, while in the third rank are the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī (E.), Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (S.), Kṣitigarbha (N.) and Ākāśagarbha (W.), in the "Guidance in the Secret Maṇḍala" (ch. XVI) the centre lotus has the Tathāgatas facing the four directions while four Bodhisattvas face the intermediate directions, i.e., Samantabhadra (S.E.), Avalokiteśvara (N.E.), Mañjuśrī (S.W.) and Maitreya (N.W.).[5] On the *stūpa* at Udayagiri, Akṣobhya on the east is flanked by Maitreya and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (fig. 127); Ratnasaṁbhava on the south is flanked by Samantabhadra and Ākāśagarbha (fig. 128); Amitābha on the west is flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi (fig. 129); while Vairocana on the north is flanked by Mañjuśrī and Kṣitigarbha (fig. 130). The Bodhisattvas stand in a relaxed pose holding a *caurī* in their right hand and their cognizance in their left hand. Six are clearly identifiable while two—Ākāśagarbha and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin—each have a jewel on their lotus (figs. 128, 145b).

The discovery of three slightly smaller Tathāgata images, each flanked by a Bodhisattva on either side, suggests there may have been a slightly earlier *stūpa* at the site which either has been destroyed or still remains buried. In the first example, now in the Patna Museum, Amitābha is flanked by Lokeśvara and Mañjusrī (fig. 131b). The Bodhisattvas stand in a relaxed pose and hold a *caurī* over their shoulder with their right hand while their left hand holds their cognizance. The other two images are of Akṣobhya, formerly in the Ghosh collection,[6] and Ratnasaṁbhava (fig. 131a). The attributes in the left hand of the flanking Bodhisattvas are indistinct though it is obvious that their alignment differs from that on the excavated *stūpa*. The important Tathāgata from the north side, unfortunately, is missing.

There are also a few images of Tathāgatas flanked by Bodhisattvas on either side at Lalitagiri which possibly formed part of iconographic programmes of small *stūpas* manifesting a *maṇḍala* with eight Bodhisattvas, including an image of Akṣobhya flanked by Mañjuśrī and Lokeśvara (fig. 75). The Bodhisattvas each hold their cognizance in their left hand while the right hand, holding the *caurī* (?), is lowered. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab.

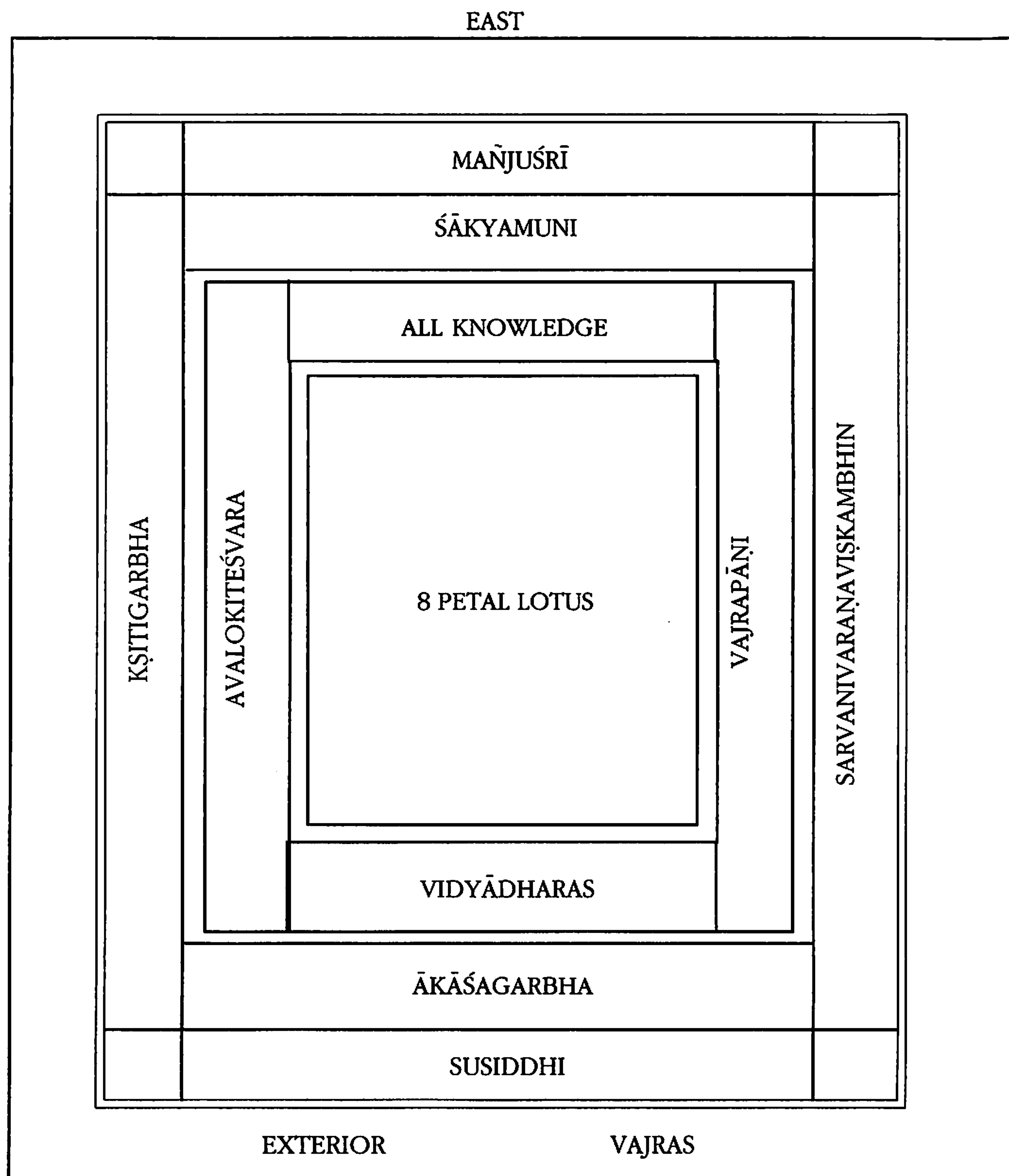


Diagram 2. *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala*; diagram of "quarters" (courtesy John Huntington, "Cave Six at Aurangabad: A Tantrayāna Monument?" in *Kalādarśana*, fig. 4).



Diagram 3. Central Eight-Petal Dais of the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* with Mahāvairocana in the centre.*

Tathāgatas

E. Ratnaketu
S. Saṁkusumita-rāja
W. Amitābha
N. Dundubhi-nirghoṣa

Bodhisattvas

S.E. Samantabhadra
S.W. Mañjuśrī
N.W. Maitreya
N.E. Lokeśvara

(Bodhisattvas in outer circle)

Mañjuśrī	E
Viṣkambhin	S
Ākāśagarbha	W
Kṣitigarbha	N

*Adopted from Adrian Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, frontispiece.

Tathāgatas

A. Mahāvairocana
B. Akṣobhya
C. Ratnasaṁbhava
D. Amitābha
E. Amoghasiddhi

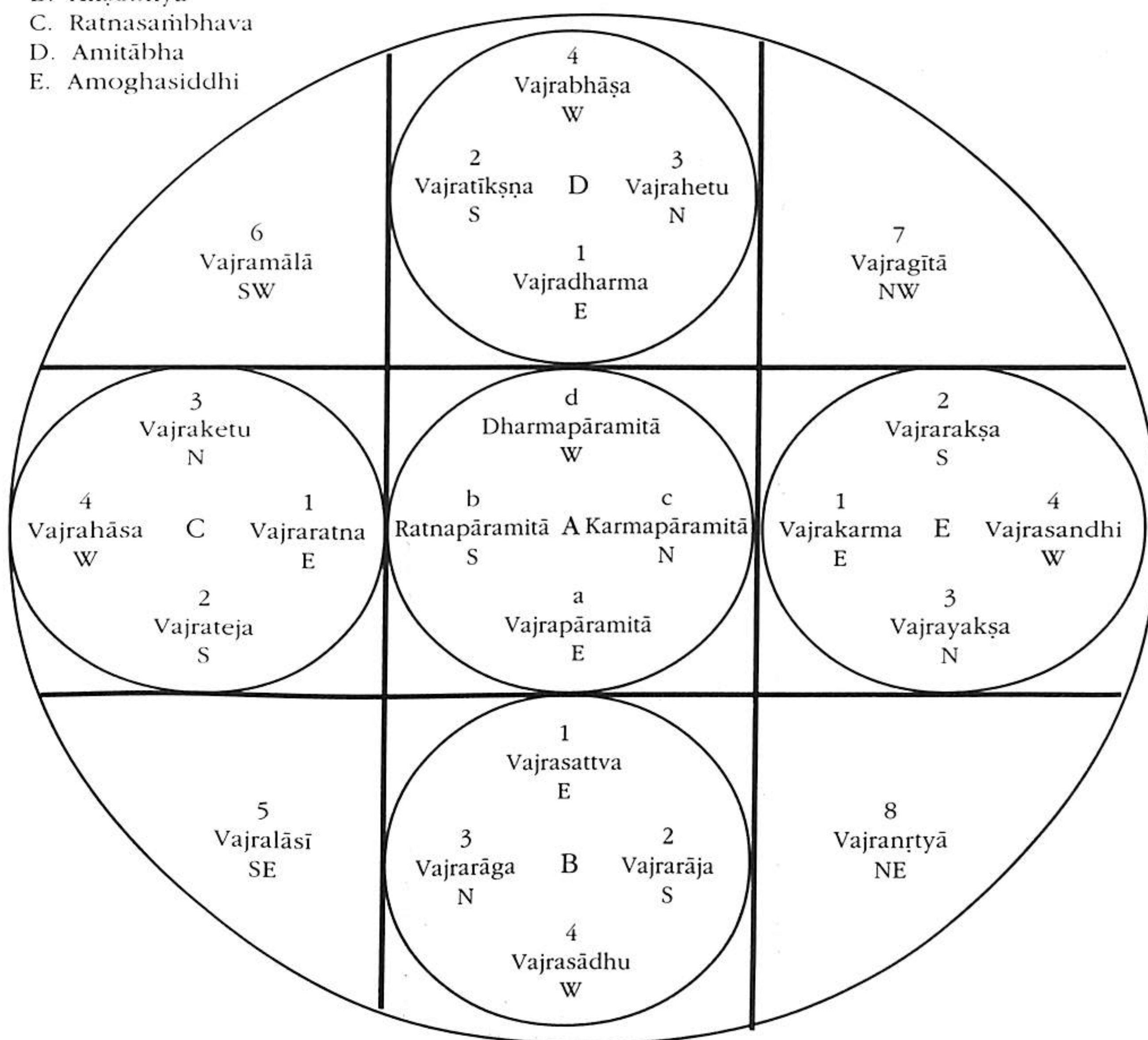


Diagram 4. *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*: interior portion.*

*Adopted from John Huntington, "Cave Six at Aurangabad: A Tantrayāna Monument?" in *Kalādarśana*, fig. 5; and Adrian Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, II, fig. 306.

Tathāgatas

A. Mahāvairocana
B. Akṣobhya
C. Ratnasaṁbhava
D. Amitābha
E. Amoghasiddhi

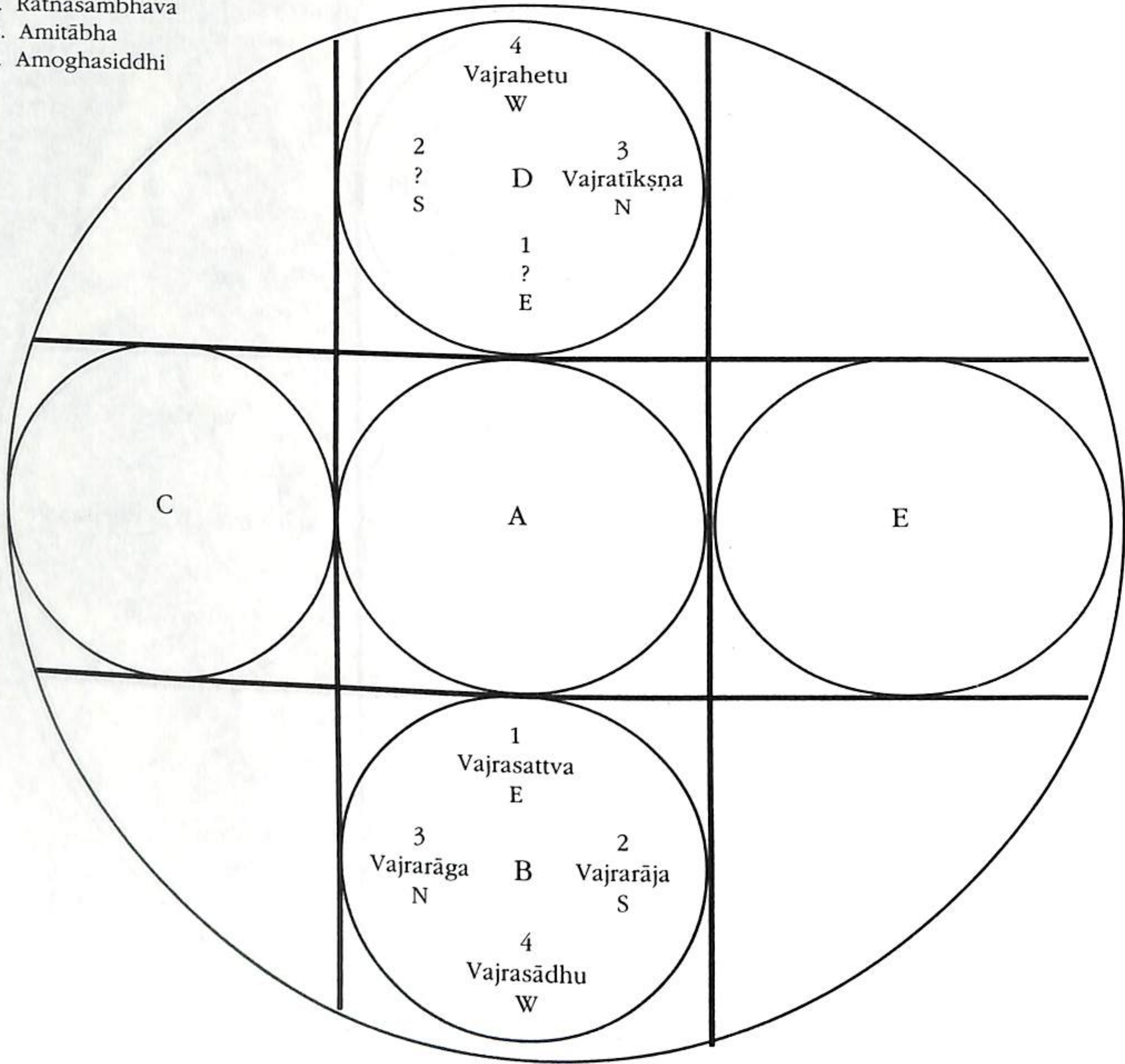


Diagram 5. *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*; Orissan fragments at Ratnagiri (figs. 132a-b).

Diagram 6 MAṆḌALA WITH FOUR/SIXTEEN BODHISATTVAS

Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala NSP no. 21	Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala NSP no. 20	Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala NSP no. 22	Tathāgata
1. Samantabhadra	Maitreya	Maitreya	
2. Akṣayamati	Mañjuśrī	Amoghadarśi	
3. Kṣitigarbha	Gandhahasti	Apāyañjaha	Akṣobhya
4. Ākāśagarbha	Jñānaketu	Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati	
5. Gaganagañja	Bhadrapāla	Gandhahasti	
6. Ratnapāṇi	Sāgaramati	Suraṅgama	
7. Sāgaramati	Akṣayamati	Gaganagañja	Ratnasaṁbhava
8. Vajragarbha	Pratibhānakūṭa	Jñānaketu	
9. Avalokiteśvara	Mahāsthāmaprāpta	Amṛtaprabha	
10. Mahāsthāmaprāpta	Sarvāpāyañjaha	Candraprabha	
11. Candraprabha	Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati	Bhadrapāla	Amitābha
12. Jālinīprabha	Jālinīprabha	Jālinīprabha	
13. Amitaprabha	Candraprabha	Vajragarbha	
14. Pratibhānakūṭa	Amitaprabha	Akṣayamati	
15. Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati	Gaganagañja	Pratibhānakūṭa	Amoghasiddhi
16. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin	Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin	Samantabhadra	

Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa	Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala STTS/NSP no. 19	Ratnagiri figs. 132a-b	
1. Samantabhadra	Vajrasattva	Vajrasattva	
2. Kṣitigarbha	Vajrarāja	Vajrarāja	
3. Gaganagañja	Vajrarāga	Vajrarāga	Akṣobhya
4. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin	Vajrasādhu	Vajrasādhu	
5. Apāyajaha	Vajraratna		
6. Maitreya	Vajratejas		Ratnasaṁbhava
7. Vimalagati	Vajraketu		
8. Vimalaketu	Vajrahāsa		
9. Sudhana	Vajradharma	Vajradharma?	
10. Candraprabha	Vajratīkṣṇa	Vajrabhāṣa?	
11. Vimalakīrti	Vajrahetu	Vajratīkṣṇa	Amitābha
12. Sarvavyādhicikitsaka	Vajrabhāṣa	Vajrahetu	
13. Sarvadharmeśvararāja	Vajrakarma		
14. Lokagati	Vajrarakṣa		
15. Mahāmati	Vajrayakṣa		Amoghasiddhi
16. Patidhara	Vajrasandhi		

At Ratnagiri only the heads from the colossal Tathāgata images of Stūpa No. 1 have survived so that the original iconographical programme in respect to its *maṇḍala* design is unknown (fig. 465, C-21). There are, however, as mentioned earlier, four smaller Tathāgata images—two of Akṣobhya and two of Amitābha—which most likely formed part of two small 9th century *stūpas* which incorporated sixteen Bodhisattvas into the *maṇḍala* design, two of these images being shifted to the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur. In each case the Tathāgata is flanked by four Bodhisattvas, two on either side, though unfortunately they are badly worn or damaged so that positive identification is difficult. In that there are no other surviving examples in Orissan art for corroborative comparison, my identifications—or suggestions—must remain extremely tenuous. Although there are three different lists for groups of sixteen Bodhisattvas in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, and others in texts such as the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, their names and descriptions vary. In the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* the lists appear in the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20), the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) and the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* (no. 22), with the latter list also appearing in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (no. 19) though here they assume the form of their spiritual sire rather than having an individual form. Of particular importance is a second list of sixteen Bodhisattvas in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, four surrounding each of the directional Tathāgatas, which originally appeared in the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* carried by king Śubhākarasiṁha to China, referred to in Shingon Buddhist *sādhana* as the sixteen great Bodhisattvas who represent sixteen "births" and stages of development that the Bodhisattva passes through after he attains awakening.[7] It is quite probable that these are the attending Bodhisattvas to the Tathāgata images at Ratnagiri, suggesting that they formed part of an iconographic programme of a *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* at the site (figs. 132a-b).

In all four surviving examples the four attending Bodhisattvas are each seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and are two armed. In the Akṣobhya image in the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur, the bottom Bodhisattva on the right of the Tathāgata corresponds to Vajrasattva, the first "birth" or stage. As stipulated in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and in the *Gobushinkan*, he holds a *vajra* in front of his chest with his right hand. The left fist is clenched at the hip though it is not clear if it holds a bell as prescribed in later Shingon texts. The upper Bodhisattva on the right holds an *aṅkuśa* with both hands in front of his chest in the manner of Vajrarāja (Vajrāṅkuśa) in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and in the second chapter of the *Gobushinkan*, who represents the second birth or stage,[8] or to Sarvāpāyañjaha in the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* who likewise attends Akṣobhya.[9] The lower Bodhisattva on the left, dispensing an arrow from a bow, corresponds to Vajrarāga (Māra) in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and the *Gobushinkan*, the third birth or stage.[10] The top Bodhisattva on the left has both hands clenched in front of his chest, where they each possibly hold a *vajra*, as mentioned for Vajrasādhu in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and the *Gobushinkan*.[11] The iconography and the alignment of the Bodhisattvas thus follow that prescribed in the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* and is repeated on the second image of Akṣobhya from Ratnagiri though the top two figures are badly effaced.[12]

In the image of Amitābha in the S.D.O. compound the lower Bodhisattva on the right is mostly obliterated while the corresponding figure on the left, holding a sword in his right hand and placing his left fist on his thigh, corresponds to *Vajratīkṣṇa* (Mañjuśrī) as described in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and in the *Gobushinkan*. The Bodhisattva on the top left, holding a circular object (*vajra-hetu*) with both hands in front of his chest, corresponds to Vajrahetu while the Bodhisattva on the top right, with his right hand in front of his chest and his left hand at the hip, could represent Vajrabhāsa (or even Vajradharma), the cognizance (*vajra*-tongue?) being indistinct. The missing lower figure would thus have been Vajradharma opening the petals of a lotus.[13] In the second image of Amitābha from Ratnagiri the two Bodhisattvas on the left side are broken off while the two on the right are badly effaced.[14]

Basically the four Bodhisattvas in these two images correspond to those surrounding Amitābha in the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala*, though their alignment is slightly varied, to suggest there must have been two small *stūpas* or halls displaying this *maṇḍala* with sixteen Bodhisattvas. Unfortunately the sculptures with the other two Tathāgata images have not survived.

It may be that the image of a female deity from Ratnagiri mentioned above, possibly a Prajñā, functioned in a manner similar to these Tathāgata images in a complex *maṇḍala* (fig. 340). She is of the same size and date and likewise is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, though the four surrounding companion goddesses are seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*. Her left hand is on her lap while her right hand, broken off, is at the knee, the *mudrā* now missing. The lower set of companion goddesses hold an indistinct object in front of their chest with the right hand while placing the left hand on the hip. The upper right goddess holds a short vertical object in each hand in front of her chest while the upper left goddess extends her right hand in *varada* while her left hand is at the hip.

B. SCULPTURAL MAṆḌALAS WITH EIGHT BODHISATTVAS

Maṇḍalas with eight Bodhisattvas surrounding or flanking a centre deity appear in sculpture as early as the 6th century, as evident in a terracotta plaque from Uttar Pradesh now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.[15] Though circular in design, the plaque essentially consists of nine "squares" arranged in three rows so that the figures are all of the same approximate size, the centre image of Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā* having a more prominent lotus seat. Basically he is circled by eight Bodhisattvas, or flanked by three on each side and by one above and one below. Each Bodhisattva is rendered differently but, due to the small size of the plaque and its effaced condition, it is difficult to identify the specific Bodhisattva, aside from Lokanātha and Mañjuśrī. There are similar *maṇḍalas* of nine squares carved in shallow relief on the left and right side walls of the shrine of Cave 6 at Ellora, dated to the beginning of the 7th century, though all nine figures display *dharmacakra-mudrā* and all are Buddhas.[16] Later nine-square *maṇḍalas* appear in Cave 12 and can be dated to the early 8th century.[17] In these later examples the centre Buddha displays *dhyāna-mudrā* while the other eight figures are clearly differentiated Bodhisattvas, though they cannot all be identified with certainty as some attributes are indistinct or do not conform to known texts.[18] The texts also vary and in numerous cases the same object may be the cognizance of several Bodhisattvas. In the shrine on the second floor of Cave 11, also dating to the 8th century, and the shrines of Cave 12, the nine-square plan is replaced by a more three-dimensional approach whereby large standing Bodhisattva images are aligned on the left and right walls to form a *maṇḍala* with the image of Buddha on the back wall.

In Orissa the concept of a nine-square *maṇḍala* carved in low-relief on a single slab, whereby all nine figures are of the same size, is not in evidence. In all surviving *maṇḍalas* the Bodhisattvas flank a much larger centre image and the concept appears to evolve through a simple multiplying of attendants, from two to four and now to eight. The number eight, of course, is quintessential to *maṇḍalas* based on compass directions, the conventional alignment for *stūpas* and temples, and the concept is not limited to Buddhism but is pervasive. The eight deities forming a ring around the centre image may be Bodhisattvas, *dikpālas*, *āvaraṇa-devatās* such as Bhairavas, Caṇḍīs and *mātṛkās*, or even *grahas*, *yoginīs* and lesser celestial figures.[19] On *stūpa* no. 37 in front of Monastery no. 2 at Ratnagiri, as mentioned earlier, the number was increased from four to eight by adding the Prajñās above their respective Tathāgatas. It was at about this time that the *śaktis* of *dikpālas* were making their initial appearance on Brahmanical temples, their placement on the upper storey being standardized on later temples.

In the Orissan *maṇḍalas*, the Bodhisattvas are aligned vertically, four on either side of the larger centre figure who generally is Mañjuśrī or a Tathāgata Buddha. A similar alignment of four figures or scenes superimposed one above the other appears on images of Avalokiteśvara or Tārā as the saviour from eight great perils (*aṣṭamahābhaya*) or on Jain images where the *aṣṭagrahas* are carved on the sides. The largest number of surviving *maṇḍalas* are from Udayagiri where the multiplication of accessory figures was popular, including the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas flanked on either end by a Bodhisattva. In six of the surviving *maṇḍalas* from Udayagiri, however, there are only six Bodhisattvas on the back-slab, three on either side of the centre image, while the other two are on the pedestal. This suggests a transitional stage in the development of the *maṇḍala* from one with four Bodhisattvas to one with eight. This alignment of three sets of figures on the back-slab and the fourth set on the pedestal also appears on an image of Lakulīśa on the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, likewise dating to the 8th century (fig. 135). The six figures flanking Lakulīśa are disciples while the two on the pedestal are *nāgas*. The centre of the pedestal contains two deer flanking the lotus rhizome which simulates the Buddhist Saranātha device.

Of the six *maṇḍalas* at Udayagiri with the fourth set of Bodhisattvas on the pedestal, four depict the centre figure displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* to suggest he may represent Akṣobhya; one depicts Mañjuśrī displaying *varada* while holding an *utpala* supporting a book; and the remaining one, recently excavated and better preserved, represents the centre figure in *dharmacakra-mudrā* to suggest he may be Vairocana. The six Bodhisattvas on the back-slab of the latter *maṇḍala* are seated in various relaxed poses with their left hand, on their thigh or the seat, holding a flower while the right hand displays a *mudrā* or holds an object (fig. 135). Five of the Bodhisattvas can easily be identified. Beginning on the upper right they are Samantabhadra, Maitreya and Lokeśvara (fig. 146a). The middle figure on the left is Vajrapāṇi while the bottom figure is Mañjuśrī (fig. 146b). This same alignment, beginning with Samantabhadra, appears on all six *maṇḍalas*. The Bodhisattva on the top left appears to support a jewel to suggest he may represent Ākāśagarbha. The two Bodhisattvas on the pedestal, replacing the *nāgas* of the Lakulīśa image, are seated on a lotus and extend their right hand up towards the Buddha. Their left hand, placed on their seat, holds a staff or long-stemmed lotus which supports a large jewel (?). In some cases the object on the staff/ lotus of the right Bodhisattva resembles a jar so he could represent Kṣitigarbha (fig. 147a). In the broken fragment from Lalitagiri this figure holds the staff/stalk in his uplifted hand (fig. 139). The gem or flower at the top has three buds or jewels and most likely symbolizes the *kalpadruma*. The left figure on the pedestal probably represents Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, the only missing Bodhisattva from the list of eight, who likewise is often associated with either the jewel or the banner in early texts.

Of the other five *maṇḍalas* from Udayagiri with the fourth set of Bodhisattvas on the pedestal, the one at the site is broken, the head and arms of the Buddha mostly missing, though the Bodhisattvas are all preserved (fig. 138). In the *maṇḍala* at the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), the upper left corner of the back-slab is broken off so that the top two Bodhisattvas are missing (fig. 137). Two *maṇḍalas* are inserted into the *beki* of the rebuilt Vinode Behari temple at Kendrapara. In one *maṇḍala* the centre figure is Akṣobhya while in the other it is Mañjuśrī seated in *lalitāsana*. In both the top portion of the back-slab is broken off, the upper set of Bodhisattvas thus missing, while the objects held by the Bodhisattvas on the pedestal are indistinct or obscured (fig. 32). Only Maitreya, Lokeśvara, Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī can be identified. I do not know the location of the sixth *maṇḍala* which formerly was in the Ghosh collection and was illustrated by R.D. Banerji.[20] Samantabhadra, Maitreya and Lokeśvara are easily identifiable on the right as are Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī on the left. The Buddhist creed is inscribed on the upper surface of the halo.

The seventh *maṇḍala* at Udayagiri is a badly-weathered rock-cut image. The fourth

set of Bodhisattvas are placed inside of the top set rather than on the pedestal (fig. 140). Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Lokeśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Mañjuśrī can be identified and each is in their proper alignment in respect to the other *maṇḍalas*. The bejewelled centre figure is seated in *lalitāsana*. His right hand is in *varada* while the left hand, placed on his seat behind his thigh, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. The object resting on the *utpala* and the face of the deity are obliterated. His *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure and his *pātra-kuṇḍalas* indicate that he represents Mañjuśrī. On the top edge of the back-slab are aligned the five Tathāgatas so that Mañjuśrī is actually surrounded by thirteen figures, a feature which has led the people in the area to identify the image as "Solapuamā", the objects on the pedestal—a stand supporting a vessel, a tripod supporting a conch (?) and a seated monk—being interpreted as the remaining three sons.

There are four surviving sculptural *maṇḍalas* at Ratnagiri and in each case there are eight Bodhisattvas on the back-slab, four aligned vertically on either side of the centre figure to suggest that the *maṇḍala* concept is fully developed. In two of them the centre figure is in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* to indicate he may be Akṣobhya (figs. 142-43). The alignment of Bodhisattvas is the same as on the *maṇḍalas* at Udayagiri. The top six have been identified by D. Mitra while the bottom set, previously on the pedestal, are tentatively identified as Kṣitigarbha and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin.[21] The *kalpadruma* held by Kṣitigarbha, consisting of a flower with three round jewel-like buds, is more developed than on the *maṇḍalas* at Udayagiri and the fragment at Lalitagiri so that positive identification can be substantiated. The object held by Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, however, is still indistinct, possibly a jewel, so that the identification is tentative.

The third *maṇḍala* at Ratnagiri has in the centre an image of a bejewelled figure seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 141). The deity corresponds iconographically to Vajrarāga Mañjuśrī (Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī) or to Vairocana according to the tradition of Amoghavajra (*Taizō kyū zuyō*) and the Tibetan version of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*.[22] The alignment of Bodhisattvas differs slightly from the other *maṇḍalas* in that they are all shifted counterclockwise one position (figs. 148a-b). Ākāśagarbha is thus shifted from the top left to the top right while Kṣitigarbha moves from the bottom right to the bottom left, etc. The object held by Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin appears to be a jewel.

A fourth *maṇḍala* at Ratnagiri is damaged, the head of the centre figure and the top two sets of Bodhisattvas being broken off. The centre figure is richly adorned and is seated in *lalitāsana*. Although D. Mitra suggests the figure may be Lokanātha,[23] the missing head with its coiffure, as well as the flower and attribute, precludes positive identification. Considering the Udayagiri images, the figure more likely represents Mañjuśrī. The four intact Bodhisattvas are all seated in *lalitāsana* with their right hand in *varada* and the left holding a lotus supporting their attribute.

On the back-slab of the image of Eight Great Miracles at Solaṁpur is a horizontal alignment with six Bodhisattvas placed in a line above the seated Buddha while the other two flank the *nirvāṇa* scene (fig. 50). The top two are Maitreya and Vajrapāṇi while the bottom row consists of Kṣitigarbha, Samantabhadra, Lokeśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin and Mañjuśrī (?). Each is seated in *lalitāsana* with the right hand in *varada* and the left on the seat.

The alignment of the Bodhisattvas in most of these *maṇḍalas* is remarkably consistent and invariably begins with Samantabhadra while the other Bodhisattvas on the right are Maitreya, Lokeśvara and Kṣitigarbha. The alignment thus differs from that mentioned by A. Getty where the Bodhisattvas on the right of the deity are Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha,

Diagram 7 ORISSAN MAṆḌALAS WITH EIGHT BODHISATTVAS

Udayagiri
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala*
fig. 32

x	x
Maitreya	Vajrapāṇi
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
?	Viṣkambhin?

Udayagiri
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala*
fig. 137

Samantabhadra	x
Maitreya	x
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
?	?

Udayagiri
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala*
fig. 138

Samantabhadra	?
Maitreya	Vajrapāṇi
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
?	Viṣkambhin?

Udayagiri
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala*
(Banerji)

Samantabhadra?	?
Maitreya	Vajrapāṇi
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
?	?

Lalitagiri
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala*
fig. 139

x	x
x	x
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
Kṣitigarbha	Viṣkambhin

Ratnagiri
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala
fig. 142

Samantabhadra	Akāśagarbha
Maitreya	Vajrapāṇi
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
Kṣitigarbha	Viṣkambhin

Ratnagiri
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala
fig. 143

Samantabhadra	Ākāśagarbha
Maitreya	Vajrapāṇi
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
Kṣitigarbha	Viṣkambhin

Ratnagiri
Lokeśvara/Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala
Mitra CCCXXXV(B)

x	x
x	x
Lokeśvara?	?
Kṣitigarbha?	Viṣkambhin?

Udayagiri
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala*
(Kendrapara)

Samantabhadra	x
Maitreya	Vajrapāṇi
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
?	Viṣkambhin?

Udayagiri (rock-cut)
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala
fig. 140

Samantabhadra	Ākāśagarbha
Maitreya	?
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
? (inside top)	? (inside top)

Udayagiri
Vairocana-maṇḍala*
fig. 136

Samantabhadra	Ākāśagarbha
Maitreya	Vajrapāṇi
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
Kṣitigarbha	Viṣkambhin

Ratnagiri
Vairocana/Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala
fig. 141

Ākāśagarbha	Vajrapāṇi
Samantabhadra	Mañjuśrī
Maitreya	Viṣkambhin
Lokeśvara	Kṣitigarbha

Udayagiri
excavated stūpa
figs. 127-130

Maitreya	Viṣkambhin?
Samantabhadra	Ākāśagarbha?
Lokeśvara	Vajrapāṇi
Mañjuśrī	Kṣitigarbha

Udayagiri
destroyed stūpa?
figs. 131a-b

?	?
?	?
Lokeśvara	Mañjuśrī
x	x

Lalitagiri
destroyed-stūpa?
fig. 75

Mañjuśrī	Lokeśvara
x	x
x	x
x	x

x missing
? identity indistinct
* lowest set of Bodhisattvas are on the pedestal

Diagram 8 DIRECTIONAL ALIGNMENT OF STŪPA-MAṆḌALA BODHISATTVAS

Akṣobhya-maṇḍala NSP no. 2		Kālacakra-maṇḍala NSP no. 26	Lokanātha-maṇḍala sādhana no. 18	Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara-pūjā	
East	Maitreya	Samantabhadra	Maitreya	Maitreya	SE
East	Kṣitigarbha	Ākāśagarbha	Kṣitigarbha	Gaganagañja	
South	Vajrapāṇi	Vajrapāṇi	Vajrapāṇi	Samantabhadra	
South	Ākāśagarbha	Kṣitigarbha	Khagarbha	Vajrapāṇi	
West	Lokeśvara	Dharmadhātu	Mañjughoṣa	Mañjughoṣa	
West	Mañjughoṣa	Viṣkambhin	Gaganagañja	Viṣkambhin	
North	Viṣkambhin	Vajrapāṇi	Viṣkambhin	Ākāśagarbha	
North	Samantabhadra	Lokeśvara	Samantabhadra	Kṣitigarbha	

Udayagiri excavated stūpa		Udayagiri ruined stūpa?	Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi	
East	Viṣkambhin		*Mañjuśrī	E
East	Maitreya		Samantabhadra	SE
South	Ākāśagarbha		*Viṣkambhin	S
South	Samantabhadra		Mañjuśrī	SW
West	Vajrapāṇi	Mañjuśrī	*Ākāśagarbha	W
West	Lokeśvara	Lokeśvara	Maitreya	NW
North	Kṣitigarbha		*Kṣitigarbha	N
North	Mañjuśrī		Lokeśvara	NE

* in outer circle of the *maṇḍala*

Vajrapāṇi and Kṣitigarbha while those on the left are Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, Maitreya, Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī.[24] The alignment also differs from the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* of the later *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where they appear in the third circle, arranged in pairs for each of the cardinal directions: Maitreya and Kṣitigarbha in the east; Vajrapāṇi and Ākāśagarbha in the south; Lokeśvara and Mañjughoṣa in the west; and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin and Samantabhadra in the north.[25] They also differ from Tibetan traditions, as described by L. Chandra, where Mañjughoṣa is paired with Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, Lokeśvara with Vajrapāṇi, Kṣitigarbha with Ākāśagarbha, and Samantabhadra with Maitreya.[26] In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 18), the list is identical except Gaganagañja replaces Lokeśvara. The order on the eight petals of the lotus is: 1) Maitreya; 2) Kṣitigarbha; 3) Vajrapāṇi; 4) Khagarbha; 5) Mañjughoṣa; 6) Gaganagañja; 7) Viṣkambhin; and 8) Samantabhadra. Thus though the names of the Bodhisattvas of Orissan *maṇḍalas* conform to the popular list of eight such as preserved in the *Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva-maṇḍala* of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra between A.D. 746-771,[27] and the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, first translated into Chinese in A.D. 725, or as outlined in the later *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and *Sādhanamālā*, the alignment differs from any known textual list and suggests that the sculptors were following texts which have not survived or strongly entrenched indigenous traditions, visual or oral. It may be, in fact, that the images themselves served as the text.

C. MAṆḌALAS WITH EIGHT FREE-STANDING BODHISATTVAS

The final stage in this evolution of a *maṇḍala* of eight Bodhisattvas takes place at Lalitagiri where there existed at least three, and possibly four, *maṇḍalas* consisting of large free-standing Bodhisattvas as in the late stage at Ellora. Set A, the largest and best preserved, appears to have been situated near Monastery 3 or 4 and the terrace area with the apsidal shrine on Laṇḍā hill; Set B was aligned in a long gallery on the northern slope of Pārābhāḍi hill; while Set C apparently was placed near Monastery 1 and the Bāsulī Thākurāṇī temple on Laṇḍā hill. It is impossible to reconstruct their original alignment. Presumably they were aligned on either side of a Buddha or Tathāgata image as at Ellora but, particularly in respect to Set B where they were in a single line with no evidence of a Buddha, even this assumption cannot be verified. There may have been a fourth set (Set D) though only two images have survived so there is no way at present of determining how many Bodhisattvas it contained. The two images are smaller than those in the three large sets and appear to be slightly earlier in date (figs. 157-58).

Of the three large sets, Set C is the least ornamented and possibly the earliest. The image of Maitreya from this set has the Buddhist creed carved on the back-slab in characters assignable to the 8th century (fig. 150c). There are seldom any attendant figures while each upper corner of the back-slab has a Tathāgata. Only four images have survived from this set—Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Lokeśvara and Kṣitigarbha. The *kalpadruma* attribute of Kṣitigarbha is clearly defined. All eight Bodhisattvas from Set B have survived though only the lower portion of Lokeśvara remains while the head is missing from both Ākāśagarbha and Maitreya. There is a *vidyādhara* on each upper corner of the back-slab and an attendant is at each lower corner. The attendants in several cases help to identify the Bodhisattva. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin now has a banner as his major attribute. All eight Bodhisattvas in Set A are well preserved. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab and an attendant is at each lower corner as on Set B. In addition, however, the sides of the back-slab are decorated with flames. The attributes of each Bodhisattva are clearly defined.

There are also at least three images of Bodhisattvas from the bronze hoard at Acutrajpur which probably belonged to a *maṇḍala* likewise dating to the 9th century, the surviving examples being Ākāśagarbha (fig. 159), Kṣitigarbha (fig. 160) and Mañjuśrī (acc.

no. 311). There is no way of determining how many were in the set or how they were aligned.

All of the surviving *maṇḍalas* can be dated to the Bhauma-kara period and there is little doubt that the *maṇḍala* concept played a major role in Buddhist ritual in Orissa at this time. Although we have no information associating the Bhauma kings with patronage in respect to such *maṇḍalas*, aside from an inscription dedicating an image at Khaḍipadā by a *mahāmaṇḍalācārya* during the reign of Śubhākaradeva, the concept evidently permeated the political and martial organization of their kingdom. With the central authority situated along the coastal area, they created a group of feudatory states, called *maṇḍalas*, which surrounded their kingdom like a semi-circle on the northern, western and southern sides, the ocean being on their east, their names being Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* (the Nandobhavas/Nayagarh, s. Dhenkanal, w. Cuttack); Bonāi-*maṇḍala* (Mayuras/Sundargarh); Khijjiṅga-*maṇḍala* (Bhañjas/Mayurbhañja); Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* (Bhañjas/Sonepur-Baudh); Kodalaka-*maṇḍala* (Śulkīs/Talcher area); Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala* (Bañkāḍa area of Ganjam); Śvetaka-*maṇḍala* (Gaṅgas/Mahendragiri area of Ganjam); Yamagartta-*maṇḍala* (Tuṅgas/n. part of Kodalaka).[28]

D. MAṆḌALA BODHISATTVA ICONOGRAPHY

The general trend in the *maṇḍalas* with eight Bodhisattvas is towards an increasing clarity in respect to the identity of each individual Bodhisattva. Whereas several of the Bodhisattvas in the earliest sculptural *maṇḍalas*, or on the *stūpa-maṇḍalas*, could only be identified tentatively, their attribute being indistinct or being one shared with others, eventually, as manifested in the three large sets of free-standing images at Lalitagiri, each Bodhisattva has his own distinct cognizance so that each is clearly identified. In some cases this clarity is enhanced by the attendant figures, either through their identity or the secondary cognizances they hold. At the same time, however, there is a parallel trend towards standardization of pose. Whereas specific individual *mudrās* often appear on the earliest sculptural *maṇḍala* images, including *vyākhyāna* for Maitreya and *vandanābhinayī* for Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, in Set A at Lalitagiri, probably the latest surviving example, there is complete standardization of pose and *mudrā*. Each Bodhisattva stands in a slightly flexed pose with his right hand lowered in *varada* and his left hand, raised chest high, holding the stalk of a flower which is, or supports, his major cognizance. Of the free-standing sets at Lalitagiri, the small Set D, of which only two known examples have survived, may be the earliest. Both Ākāśagarbha and Mañjuśrī (or Ratnapāṇi/Candraprabha?) have their left arm bent at the elbow, the hand placed on the thigh, as prescribed in early texts such as the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, while of the four surviving images of Set C only Kṣitigarbha assumes this hand pose. Both of these sets can tentatively be dated to the late 8th century. In Set B, probably dating to the early 9th century, all of the Bodhisattvas except Ākāśagarbha have their left hand raised chest high, the exception placing this hand on the head of an attendant. In Set A there is no exception, suggesting the set probably dates to the second-quarter of the 9th century at the latest.

1. Samantabhadra

As the spiritual son of the Tathāgata Vairocana, Samantabhadra is the first Bodhisattva corresponding with the five celestial Jinas. Like Vairocana, he is white in colour and has the *cakra* as his symbol. He is often depicted in the same manner as his sire, as in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Ms. No. G. 8055, fol. 37B) where he is white, is decorated with ornaments and displays *dharmacakra-mudrā*.[29] In the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where he is at the head of a group of sixteen Bodhisattvas, he is mentioned ten times and is given five different forms. In several cases he is again identical with his sire, as in the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* (no. 2) where he assumes the form of Vajrasattva, who is described as Mañjuvajra with three faces and six arms in the company of his Prajñā, the other four hands holding the sword, arrow, lotus and bow.[30] In the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (no. 19), he is of the same form as his sire

Amoghasiddhi, having Garuḍa as his vehicle and displaying *abhaya-mudrā* with his right hand. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) he is of yellow colour, displays *varada-mudrā* with his right hand and holds a sword or lotus in his left hand. In the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* (no. 22) he is yellow, holds a bunch of jewels in his right hand and rests his left hand at the hip.[31] In the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (no. 26) he is blue and holds in his three right hands the *vajra*, *kartrī* and *paraśu* while his three left hands hold the *ghaṇṭā*, *kapāla* and the severed-head of Brahmā, the latter sometimes being replaced by the *nīlotpala*. He is embraced by his consort Dharmavajrā.[32] In trhe *Sādhanamālā*, where he is included among the eight Bodhisattvas of the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala,* he has a yellow colour, holds a jewel in one hand and displays *varada* in the other.[33] In the *Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva-maṇḍala* of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, and repeated in the Japanese *Vikīrnoṣnīṣa-maṇḍala* and in the *Sonshō-mandara* drawings of the *Bessonzakki*, he holds a sword in his right hand while his left arm is bent at the elbow, the hand placed on his thigh.[34] In the *Genzu Matrix-maṇḍala* (*genzu-taizō-mandara*), based on the Amoghavajra interpretation of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, Samantabhadra holds a lotus supporting a flaming sword in his left hand and his right hand makes the *mudrā* called the "seal of the wondrous goodness of the three Actions" (*sangō-myōzen-in*) while in the "Maṇḍala Transmitted by the Ācārya Śubhākarasiṁha" (*ajari-shoten-mandara*) based on the same text he holds a sword in his right hand while making the *mudrā* with the left hand.[35]

According to Getty, he holds the *cintāmaṇi* in his left hand while his right hand displays *vitarka-mudrā*. When in the group of Bodhisattvas, according to her, he displays *varada-* and *vitarka-mudrā* while holding long-stemmed lotus flowers which support the *cintāmaṇi* on the right and the *vajra* on the left.[36] He was particularly popular in China and at least five images of him are illustrated by W. Clark, including a six-armed example holding a sword, *viśvavajra* and mirror in his right hands while his left hands hold the *ghaṇṭā*, leaves and jewels.[37] In two examples of a seated form with a relaxed pose his right hand may display either *varada-* or *vitarka-mudrā* and the left hand holds a lotus while when seated in *vajraparyaṅka* his right hand holds a *viśvavajra* at the chest and the left hand rests on his leg.[38] The last example is a miniature painting in which his right hand, in *varada*, holds a jewel while the left holds a lotus.[39] The *cintāmaṇi* jewel and the sword are thus equally associated with Samantabhadra in textual descriptions.

On the sculptural *maṇḍala* in the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto, the Bodhisattva holds his right hand in *vitarka* in front of his chest while his raised left hand holds a lotus which supports a sword (fig. 137). In the *Vairocana-maṇḍala* at Udayagiri the iconography is the same except his right hand displays *varada* (fig. 146a). In the first *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* at Ratnagiri his raised left hand, resting on his knee, holds a bunch of flowers or jewels while the right hand, placed on the seat, holds a lotus supporting a sword (fig. 142). In the second Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* at Ratnagiri, the right hand is on the seat while the left hand holds a lotus supporting a sword (fig. 143). In the Vajrarāga/Vairocana *maṇḍala* at Ratnagiri the right hand rests on the raised knee while the left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holds a lotus supporting a sword (fig. 148a).

Of the standing images, the example on the *stūpa* at Udayagiri depicts him holding a *caurī* in his right hand, the *caurī* touching the ground as on all of the Bodhisattvas on the right side of their respective Tathāgata, while the left hand, raised shoulder high, holds a *nīlotpala* supporting a sword (fig. 128). In the large image of Set A from Lalitagiri, the right hand is extended in *varada* while the left, raised chest high, holds a *nīlotpala* supporting a sword (fig. 149a). He is flanked by a seated goddess on either side with the one on the right holding a lotus supporting the *cintāmaṇi* jewel with her left hand while the one on the left holds a sword in her right hand (figs. 403-04). Sudhanakumāra kneels beneath the right attendant. The iconography for Samantabhadra in Set B is similar except Sudhanakumāra

is eliminated and the attendant goddesses each hold a flower supporting a sword (fig. 149b).

In Orissan images, then, the sword is the major attribute of Samantabhadra while the *cintāmaṇi* jewel is a secondary cognizance. Although some scholars identify the sword-bearing Bodhisattva in the *maṇḍalas* at Ellora as Sthiracakra, the jewel as the second attribute in Orissan images substantiates his identity as Samantabhadra. Sthiracakra carries no jewel and does not appear among the lists of either eight or sixteen Bodhisattvas. Although some Japanese texts based on the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* prescribe a flaming sword along with a jewel for Ākāśagarbha, in Indian texts, as in the Orissan images, he is associated only with a jewel. Samantabhadra was particularly popular in early *maṇḍalas* and not only is included in two groups of eight Bodhisattvas, i.e., the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* but appears at the head of two groups of sixteen Bodhisattvas, one in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and the other in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. He is also revered in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasamādhi*, popular in Orissa at this time as mentioned earlier, while in early texts such as the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* he is considered to be the chief of the Bodhisattvas, who, as the "Great Thought of Enlightenment, resides in the hearts of all the Tathāgatas."[40] There is little doubt, then, that the Bodhisattva with the sword as his major attribute, invariably at the head of the eight Bodhisattvas in Orissan sculptural *maṇḍalas*, is Samantabhadra.

2. Maitreya

Maitreya is invariably the second Bodhisattva on the right, beginning from the top, on Orissan sculptural *maṇḍalas*. He appears at the head of a list of sixteen in the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* as indicated earlier, where he is four-armed and displays *dharmacakra* with his major set of hands while his other hands show *varada* and hold the *nāgakeśara* flower.[41] He also heads a list of sixteen in the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* (no. 22) where he is yellow and holds the *nāgakeśara* in his right hand while the left holds a bowl (*kuṇḍī*) or displays *varada*.[42] In the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (no. 19) list of sixteen he is one of four who have the same form as that of Akṣobhya on the east.[43] In the list of eight from the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* (no. 2) where he is paired with Kṣitigarbha in the east, he is identical with his sire Vairocana.[44] In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā*, where he also heads a list of eight, he has one hand in *varada* while the other holds the *nāgakeśara*.[45] When attending Vajrāsana Buddha, as mentioned above, he is white and bears the *caurī*-jewel in his right hand and the *nāgakeśara* in the left hand. In both the *Garbhadhātu-* and *Buddhalocanī-maṇḍalas* of the *Bessonzakki* he shows *abhaya* with his left hand and holds a lotus supporting a *kuṇḍikā* with his right hand.[46] In textual descriptions he is thus associated with both the *nāgakeśara* and a bowl.

In the Vairocana-*maṇḍala* from Udayagiri his right hand is placed in front of his chest in *vyākhyāna* while the left hand, the arm resting on his thigh, holds the stalk of the *nāgakeśara* flower (fig. 146a). In this example he can be further identified by the *stūpa* in his coiffure. In the two Akṣobhya-*maṇḍalas* from Ratnagiri and on the one from Udayagiri in the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto, he holds the *nāgakeśara* flower in his raised left hand, resting on his knee, while his right hand is placed on his seat. In an Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* at Udayagiri, the right hand is placed in front of the chest though the *mudrā* is not discernible (fig. 138).

In the standing image on the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, where Maitreya is on the right side of Akṣobhya, his right hand holds the *caurī*, the whisk-end touching the ground, while the left hand holds the *nāgakeśara* (fig. 145a). In Set A of the free-standing Bodhisattvas at Lalitagiri his right hand is in *varada* but the arm is broken off at the elbow (fig. 150a).

Chart 3

SAMANTABHADRA

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Text
Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva	sword	bent, on thigh	Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra
Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara	varada	sword	Niṣpannayogāvalī no. 21
Durgatipariśodhana	jewels	at hip	Niṣpannayogāvalī no. 22
Lokanātha-maṇḍala	varada*	jewel*	Sādhanamālā no. 18
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	mudrā	sword on lotus	(Amoghavajra)
Ajari-shoten-maṇḍala	sword	mudrā	(Śubhākarasiṁha)
Vikīrnoṣnīṣa-maṇḍala	sword	bent, on thigh	Bessonzakki
Japanese model book	vajra	fist at navel	Shosonzuzō
Mahābodhisattva	vitarka/lotus	varada	Kanjur
Aṣṭa-bodhisattvas	?	lotus	300 Icons
Nepalese drawing	varada	sword on lotus	B. Bhattacharyya

ORISSAN IMAGES

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Site/fig. no.
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	?	sword on lotus?	Udayagiri/fig. 138
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	varada	sword on lotus	Udayagiri (Banerji)
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vitarka	sword on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 137
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	sword on lotus	jewels	Ratnagiri/fig. 142
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	sword on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 143
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala	on knee?	sword on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 140
Vairocana-maṇḍala	varada	sword on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 146a
Vairocana/Vajrarāga	on knee	sword on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 148a
Aṣṭamahāprātihārya	varada	sword on lotus	Solaṁpur/fig. 50
Excavated stūpa	caurī	sword on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 128
Free-standing	varada	sword on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 149
(attendant; right)	varada	jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 403
(attendant; left)	sword	on seat	Lalitagiri/fig. 404
(attendant; right)	on seat	sword on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 149b
(attendant; left)	sword on lotus	on seat	Lalitagiri/fig. 149b

*specific hand not mentioned

Chart 4

MAITREYA

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Text
Amoghapāśa-maṇḍala	cakra*	nāgakeśara*	Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā
Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva	?	lotus	Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra
Durgatipariśodhana	nāgakeśara	varada/kuṇḍikā	Niṣpannayogāvalī no. 22
Lokanātha-maṇḍala	varada*	nāgakeśara*	Sādhanamālā no. 18
Vajrāsana Buddha	caurī	nāgakeśara	Sādhanamālā
Buddhalocanī-maṇḍala	kuṇḍikā on lotus	abhaya	Bessonzakki
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	kuṇḍikā on lotus	abhaya	(Amoghavajra)
Mahābodhisattvas	vyākhyāna/cakra	vyākhyāna/lotus	Kanjur
Aṣṭa-bodhisattvas	lotus	vyākhyāna	300 Icons
Nepalese drawing	bhūmisparśa	vajra	B. Bhattacharyya

ORISSAN IMAGES

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Site/fig. no.
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vyākhyāna	nāgakeśara	Udayagiri/fig. 138
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vyākhyāna	nāgakeśara	Udayagiri (Banerji)
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vyākhyāna	nāgakeśara	Udayagiri/fig. 32
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	nāgakeśara	Udayagiri/fig. 137
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	nāgakeśara	Ratnagiri/fig. 142
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	nāgakeśara	Ratnagiri/fig. 143
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala	on seat	nāgakeśara	Udayagiri/fig. 140
Vairocana-maṇḍala	vyākhyāna	nāgakeśara	Udayagiri/fig. 146a
Vairocana/Vajrarāga	on knee	nāgakeśara	Ratnagiri/fig. 148a
Aṣṭamahāprātihārya	varada	nāgakeśara	Solaṁpur/fig. 50
Excavated stūpa	caurī	nāgakeśara	Udayagiri/fig. 145a
Free-standing	varada	nāgakeśara	Lalitagiri/fig. 150
(attendant; right)	on seat	on knee/flower	Lalitagiri/fig. 405
(attendant; left)	on knee/flower	on seat	Lalitagiri/fig. 150a
(attendant; right)	añjali	añjali	Lalitagiri/fig. 150b
(attendant; left)	añjali	añjali	Lalitagiri/fig. 150b

*specific hand not mentioned

The raised left hand holds the stalk of the *nāgakeśara*. His matted coiffure is fastened with a diadem having two crests, as in the case of most of the images from this set, with a miniature *stūpa* added to the upper crest. He is flanked at the base of either side by a female attendant, each seated with one hand on their seat and the other hand, resting on the raised knee, holding the stalk of a flower. The image in Set B is headless and both arms are broken off at the elbows (fig. 150b). Only the lower portion of the flower is visible so that identification has to be somewhat tentative. The attendants at the base are seated with their hands clasped in *añjali*. In Set C the image is well preserved except for the broken left hand and the upper left corner of the back-slab which is missing along with its Tathāgata. The *nāgakeśara* consists of three circular blooms. The Tathāgata of the upper right corner of the back-slab is Akṣobhya (fig. 150c). There are no attendant figures in this set. There is an inscription of the Buddhist creed inscribed on the back-slab in characters datable to the 8th century.

3. Lokeśvara

Lokeśvara, or Avalokiteśvara, generally the third Bodhisattva on the right side of Orissan *maṇḍalas*, appears in the group of five associated with the directional Tathāgatas and has Amitābha as his spiritual sire. In this family he has a red colour, is known as Padmapāṇi and carries the full-blown lotus.[47] In the list of sixteen in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* he is the ninth Bodhisattva, is white in colour and displays *varada* with his right hand while his left hand holds the lotus. In the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* of the same text he is paired with Mañjughoṣa in the west and assumes the same pose as his sire Amitābha.[48] In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā*, where he is the principal deity, he is replaced in the group of eight Bodhisattvas by Gaganagañja who, in this instance, is almost identical with Lokeśvara, displaying *varada* and holding a lotus, though it is of blue colour. As an attendant to Vajrāsana Buddha in the *Sādhanamālā*, where he stands on his left, Lokeśvara is of white complexion and carries the *caurī* in his right hand while the left hand holds the lotus.[49] In the *Genzu-taizō-mandara*, as Āryāvalokiteśvara in the central mansion, his right hand, chest-high, holds a lotus while the left hand displays *abhaya* whereas in the Avalokiteśvara mansion both hands are depicted opening the petals of a lotus.[50] The lotus, of course, is his primary cognizance and it may be depicted frontally (full-blown) or in profile.

In the Vairocana-*maṇḍala* at Udayagiri, Lokeśvara is seated in *sukhāsana* with his left hand resting on his thigh and holding a lotus (fig. 146a). The right hand holds a *caurī* over his shoulder. In virtually all of the other *maṇḍalas* in which he is seated, his right hand is either placed on his seat for support or the arm rests on his knee. In the standing images on the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, where he is on the right side of Amitābha, his right hand holds the *caurī* with its tip resting on the ground while his left hand, raised shoulder high, holds the lotus (fig. 129). In the example in the Patna Museum from another *stūpa* at Udayagiri, he holds the *caurī* over his right shoulder (fig. 131b). In the large standing image of Set A at Lalitagiri his right hand is lowered in *varada* while his left hand, held chest-high, holds the long stalk of a lotus (fig. 151a). The flower is mostly obliterated. He is flanked at the base by Tārā, opening the petals of a lotus, and four-armed Bhṛkuṭī. In the image from Set B only the lower portion of the image has survived, including the images of Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī (fig. 151b). The image from Set C is well-preserved and the lotus is full-blown (fig. 151c). The Tathāgatas at the upper corners of the back-slab are Akṣobhya and Ratnasaṁbhava. There are no attendant goddesses.

4. Kṣitigarbha

Kṣitigarbha, the last of the Bodhisattvas on the right side in most of the sculptural *maṇḍalas* of Orissa, is paired with Maitreya on the east in the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* of the

Chart 5

LOKEŚVARA

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Text
Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara	varada	lotus	Niṣpannayogāvalī no. 21
Vajrāsana Buddha	caurī	lotus	Sādhanamālā
Lokanātha-maṇḍala**	varada*	lotus*	Sādhanamālā no. 18
maṇḍala	varada	lotus	Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	lotus	abhaya	(Amoghavajra)
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	opening lotus	opening lotus	(Amoghavajra)
Mahābodhisattvas	varada	vitarka/lotus	Kanjur
Aṣṭa-bodhisattvas	varada	vitarka/lotus	300 Icons
Nepalese drawing	varada	lotus	B. Bhattacharyya

ORISSAN IMAGES

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Site/fig. no.
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 139
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 138
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	varada	lotus	Udayagiri (Banerji)
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	?	lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 32
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 137
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	lotus	on knee	Ratnagiri/fig. 142
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 143
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala	on knee	lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 140
Vairocana-maṇḍala	caurī	lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 146a
Vairocana/Vajrarāga	on knee	lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 148a
Aṣṭamahāprātihārya	varada	lotus	Solampur/fig. 50
broken stūpa (?)	caurī	lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 131b
Excavated stūpa	caurī	lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 129
Free-standing (Tārā & Bhṛkuṭī)	varada	lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 151

*specific hand not mentioned
**Description of Lokanātha at the centre of the *maṇḍala*. As a Bodhisattva he is replaced by Gaganagañja who is similar though he is red in colour and holds the *nīlotpala* (blue lotus).

Niṣpannayogāvalī where he is identical with his sire Vairocana, displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* and having the *cakra* as his symbol. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* he is yellow in colour and displays *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* with his right hand while his left hand holds a lotus with the *kalpadruma*. In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* 18) he is green in colour and displays *abhaya* with one hand while the other has a *kalaśa*.[51] In both the *Amoghapāśa-sūtra* and the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, he is associated with a lotus, in the latter a lotus of four jewels.[52] In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, in the *Gobushinkan*, and in the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* his attribute is the banner with a *cintāmaṇi* jewel while in the latter text he additionally has the sun disc.[53] According to A. Getty, his right hand may be in *vitarka-mudrā* while his left hand is in *varada* and his symbol is the *cintāmaṇi* jewel. A book placed on a lotus may appear near his left shoulder. After the 7th century, according to her, he took on the special aspect of "Earth" Bodhisattva, i.e. "Bodhisattva of the Mysteries of the Earth, manifestation possibly due to the popular Buddhist belief that he was invoked by the Buddha in order to 'bear witness' that he had resisted the temptations of Māra. From this, the transition is easily traced to his subsequent roles of 'Judge of the Lower Regions' and 'God of the Dead'."[54] W. Clark includes four illustrations of Kṣitigarbha from China. In two examples he displays *varada-mudrā* with his left hand while holding a lotus in his right; in a third example he has three heads and six arms while in a fourth image he holds a jewel and a lotus.[55] In the late Japanese model book *Shosonzuzō* he has a jewel in his left hand while displaying *abhaya* with his right hand.[56] In textual accounts and inscribed images he is thus associated with the *kalaśa*, *cintāmaṇi* jewel, banner with *cintāmaṇi* and the *kalpadruma*.

In the earliest sculptural *maṇḍalas* in Orissa, as indicated, Kṣitigarbha is placed on the pedestal where he is seated with his right hand on his seat for balance while the left hand is raised in *vandanābhinayī* (paying homage), the arm resting on the knee. A lotus or staff supporting a circular jewel or *kalaśa* is either held in a raised hand or rises up from the hand placed on the seat (fig. 146c). In the broken fragment at Lalitagiri the jewel at the end of the staff has three buds, rather than being a circular jewel, and, though reminiscent of the *triratna* appearing in some graphic *maṇḍalas*, is transitional between the earlier depiction of a jewel on a shaft or lotus and the fully developed *kalpadruma* conventional on later images (fig. 139). In the Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* at Ratnagiri the buds become more pronounced and jewel-like (fig. 143).

In the standing image from the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, where he is on the left side of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, he holds a *caurī* over his right shoulder while his left hand holds the stalk of a lotus which supports a *kalaśa* overflowing with foliage or a jewel (fig. 145d). In the standing image of Set A at Lalitagiri, Kṣitigarbha extends his right hand in *varada* while his left hand, raised chest-high but now broken off, holds the *kalpadruma* with its three jewel-like buds (fig. 152a). He is flanked by a seated goddess on either side while at the base on the right is a kneeling Sudhanakumāra. In the image of Set B the left hand is again broken off though the *kalpadruma* is intact (fig. 152b). The two attending goddesses have their hands in *añjali* while a lotus supporting a jewel rises up behind their inside arm. In Set C the left hand of Kṣitigarbha is at the hip rather than being raised (fig. 152c). The Tathāgatas at the upper corners of the back-slab were not completed. There are no attendant figures.

In the image of Kṣitigarbha from the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur, identified as Maitreya by D. Mitra,[57] the flower held in the left hand bears no resemblance to a *nāgakeśara*, as indicated earlier, and more likely is the *kalpadruma*. Kṣitigarbha is seated in a relaxed pose with his right hand, resting on his knee, displaying *varada*, the palm holding a small circular pellet which may represent a jewel (fig. 160). His *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure is badly worn. The image can be dated to the late 8th-early 9th century.

In the earliest images the iconography of Kṣitigarbha is thus not clearly established, the small circular jewel appearing on the top of a lotus or staff being barely perceptible. Gradually it increases in size to resemble a *kalaśa* and is eventually transformed into the *kalpadruma* or wish-granting tree characterized by three jewel-like buds, a form also evolved at Nālandā.[58] The *kalpadruma* is never transformed into a *khakhara* or sistrum in Orissan images, as it did in Japanese art, and the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and his association with the earth is not in evidence.

5. Ākāśagarbha

Ākāśagarbha (Khagarbha) is invariably the top Bodhisattva on the left side in most sculptural *maṇḍalas* from Orissa. As his name implies, i.e., both "*Ākāśa*" and "*Kha*" signify sky, he is the Bodhisattva who lives in the womb of the sky.[59] In the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* (no. 2) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where he is paired with Vajrapāṇi on the south, he is given the same form as his sire, Ratnasaṁbhava, whereby he displays *varada* and holds the *cintāmaṇi* jewel.[60] In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) he is green in colour and with his right hand showers all kinds of jewels while his left hand holds the *cintāmaṇi* jewel.[61] In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of *Sādhanamālā*, where he is named Khagarbha, he is green as the sky, holds the *cintāmaṇi* jewel in one hand while displaying *varada* with the other.[62] In the *Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva-maṇḍala* his major attribute is the flaming *cintāmaṇi* jewel whereas in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* it is a flaming sword.[63] In the first *maṇḍala* of the *Gobushinkan* it is a *cintāmaṇi* on the end of a small stick while in the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* he holds a flaming sword in the right hand and the flaming *cintāmaṇi* on a lotus in the left hand.[64] The *cintāmaṇi* jewel thus is his chief cognizance. A. Getty, however, states that he sometimes displays *vitarka* and on his left is a lotus supporting a book while the lotus on his right supports the sun, the special symbol of Ākāśagarbha. The *cintāmaṇi* jewel, of course, is often surrounded by flames and may appear like a sun.[65] W. Clark illustrates four different examples from China, two of which show him displaying *varada* with the left hand while holding the lotus in the right hand; in a third example he has three heads and six arms while in the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* manuscript he displays *varada* with his left hand and holds the *cintāmaṇi* jewel in his right hand.[66]

In Orissan images Ākāśagarbha invariably holds a lotus supporting the *cintāmaṇi* jewel in his left hand. His right hand displays no particular *mudrā* on seated images except in the Vairocana-*maṇḍala* where it is held against the chest as if it were also holding a jewel (fig. 142). In the standing image on the *stūpa* at Udayagiri, where he is on the left side of Ratnasaṁbhava, his right hand holds a *caurī* in front of his chest while the left hand holds the stalk of a lotus supporting the *cintāmaṇi* jewel, the iconography being almost identical with that of Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin except for the manner in which the *caurī* is held so that identification is tentative (figs. 128, 145b). The *cintāmaṇi* jewel is partially effaced so that its exact shape is not clear. On the large standing image of Set A from Lalitagiri, shifted to Mahāṅga, the *cintāmaṇi* resting on the *nīlotpala* has the shape of a miniature *stūpa* (fig. 153a). Ākāśagarbha is flanked by a seated goddess on either side who hold the stalk of a *nīlotpala* in their hand resting on the seat. A jewel is placed on top of each lotus. In the image from Set B at Lalitagiri, the head and upper part of the back-slab now missing, the right hand of Ākāśagarbha is in *varada* while the left, resting on the head of a pot-bellied male attendant, holds the *nīlotpala*, the flower now missing. He is flanked on his right by a kneeling female, her hands in *añjali*, who holds a *nīlotpala* supporting a jewel. The pot-bellied male attendant holds a jewel in his right hand, in front of his chest, while his left hand is on his hip (fig. 406).

There is another standing image of Ākāśagarbha at Lalitagiri, smaller than the image in the three described sets, which may have belonged to a fourth set (D) of Bodhisattvas.

Chart 6

KṢITIGARBHA

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Text
Amoghapāśa-maṇḍala	?	lotus	Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā
Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara	bhūmisparśa	kalpadruma	Niṣpannayogāvalī no. 21
Lokanātha-maṇḍala	abhaya*	kalaśa*	Sādhanamālā no. 18
Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava	?	lotus	Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi
Vajrakārya-karma-maṇḍala	banner/jewel	?	Tattva-saṁgraha
Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala	banner/jewel	fist on thigh	Gobushinkan
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	sun	banner/jewel	(Amoghavajra)
Japanese model book	abhaya	jewel	Shosonzuzō
Mahābodhisattvas	vitarka/lotus	on hip	Kanjur
Aṣṭa-bodhisattvas	jewel on lotus	varada	300 Icons
Nepalese drawing	on seat	jewel on lotus	B. Bhattacharyya

ORISSAN IMAGES

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Site/fig. no.
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	on seat	jewel on stick	Lalitagiri/fig. 139
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	kalaśa on lotus	vandanābhinayī	Udayagiri/fig. 147a
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	jewel? on lotus	vandanābhinayī	Udayagiri (Banerji)
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	on seat	kalpadruma?	Udayagiri/fig. 137
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	kalpadruma	Ratnagiri/fig. 142
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on seat	kalpadruma	Ratnagiri/fig. 143
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala#	on knee	kalpadruma?	Udayagiri/fig. 140
Vairocana-maṇḍala	kalaśa on lotus	vandanābhinayī	Udayagiri/fig. 146c
Vairocana/Vajrarāga	on knee	kalpadruma?	Ratnagiri/fig. 148b
Aṣṭamahāprātihārya	varada	kalpadruma	Solaṁpur/fig. 50
Seated bronze	varada/jewel	kalpadruma	Acutrajpur/fig. 160
Excavated stūpa	caurī	kalpadruma/kalaśa	Udayagiri/fig. 145b
Free-standing	varada	kalpadruma	Lalitagiri/fig. 152
(attendant; right)	on seat	on knee	Lalitagiri/fig. 152a
(attendant; left)	on knee	on seat	Lalitagiri/fig. 152a
(attendant; right)	añjali	añjali/lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 152b
(attendant; left)	añjali/lotus	añjali	Lalitagiri/fig. 152b

*specific hand not mentioned
**image on pedestal
#image placed inside of top Bodhisattva on right side

of which one other example survives. Ākāśagarbha extends his right hand in *varada*, the arm broken below the elbow, while the left hand is on the hip and holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* supporting a *stūpa*-shaped *cintāmaṇi* jewel (fig. 157). He is flanked on the right by a seated goddess holding a lotus and on the left by a kneeling, emaciated *ṛṣi* with his legs bound by a *yoga-paṭṭa*. There is also an image of Ākāśagarbha from the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur which probably formed part of a set of Bodhisattvas (fig. 159). He is seated in *mahārājalīlā* on a *viśvapadma* with his right hand, resting on his raised knee, holding a small globular object (jewel?). The left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holds the stalk of a lotus supporting a *cintāmaṇi* jewel. The jewel is shaped like a miniature *stūpa* and identifies the image as Ākāśagarbha.[67]

Thus, though originally circular in appearance, the *cintāmaṇi* jewel in Orissan images evolves into a miniature *stūpa* shape when serving as the attribute for Ākāśagarbha. Symbolically this *stūpa*-shaped *cintāmaṇi* represents, according to Shingon texts, the iron tower in which were hidden the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, the two basic canonical sources for their esoteric doctrine. The doctrine was transmitted by Mahāvairocana to Vajrasattva who sealed them in an iron *stūpa* in South India, eventually being recovered by Nāgārjuna who then transmitted it to Nāgabodhi, the latter passing it on to Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and Śubhākarasiṁha.[68] This *stūpa*-shape for the *cintāmaṇi* jewel also appears in the nine-square *maṇḍalas* at Ellora.[69]

Although he is prescribed a sword as an attribute in various Japanese texts based initially on the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, his name (Kokūzō) translates to "Void Store" and his secret name (Nyoi-kongō) to "Wish-granting Diamond", both of which emphasize his role as a store-house which contains all worldly wealth, the wealth of the mind and treasures of Felicity and Knowledge. As stated by Śubhākarasiṁha, he is a "store" that contains and produces "all beings and all things and freely bestows the immeasurable treasure of the Dharma but is never emptied. It is like the store that contains such a vast treasure that its owner can freely give alms to the needy without ever becoming poor."[70]

6. Vajrapāṇi

Vajrapāṇi is usually the second Bodhisattva on the left side in sculptural *maṇḍalas* in Orissa. In the list of Bodhisattvas associated with the Tathāgatas, he is the spiritual son of Akṣobhya, is blue of colour, and has a *vajra* as his symbol. He is frequently identified with the Hindu god Indra and is looked upon as the protector of snakes and the guardian of the Elixir of Life. He also serves as an attendant to the Buddha and as a companion to other deities, such as the goddess Uṣṇīṣavijayā. Although not included in the lists of sixteen Bodhisattvas in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, in the list of eight of the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* he is paired with Khagarbha in the south.[71] In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* he is described as being white in colour while displaying *abhaya* with one hand and carrying the *vajra* in the other.[72] In the *Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva-maṇḍala* he holds the *vajra* in his right hand while the left arm is bent at the elbow, the hand being placed on the thigh.[73] In the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, where he is placed to the left of Mahāvairocana, he holds a *vajra* in his left hand, the *vajra* enveloped in flames, while in the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* he holds the *vajra* horizontally in front of his chest with his right hand and the left hand makes the "diamond fist" *mudrā*.[74]

In the Vairocana-*maṇḍala* at Udayagiri, Vajrapāṇi is seated in *sukhāsana* with his left hand placed on his foot and holding the stalk of an *utpala* (fig. 146b). His right hand holds the *vajra* in front of his chest. A similar iconography occurs with the image formerly in the Ghosh collection and illustrated by R.D. Banerji except he is seated in *lalitāsana*.[75] In the *maṇḍalas* at Ratnagiri, in contrast, the *vajra* is placed on top of the *utpala* while the empty right hand rests on the knee or is raised in *vandanābhinayī* (figs. 142-43).

Chart 7

ĀKĀŚAGARBHA

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Text
Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva	flaming jewel	bent, on thigh	Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra
Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara	varada/jewels	jewel	Niṣpannayogāvalī no. 21
Lokanātha-maṇḍala	varada*	jewel*	Sādhanamālā no. 18
Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava	?	flaming sword	Mahāvairocanābhi-sambodhi
Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala	?	jewel on stick	Gobushinkan
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	flaming sword	flaming jewel	(Amoghavajra)
Sonshō-maṇḍala	flaming jewel	bent, on thigh	Bessonzakki
Japanese model book	sword	jewel	Shosonzuzō
Mahābodhisattvas	lotus	vyākhyāna	Kanjur
Aṣṭa-bodhisattvas	jewel on lotus	varada	300 Icons
Nepalese drawing	jewel	jewels	B. Bhattacharyya

ORISSAN IMAGES

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Site/fig. no.
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	jewel on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 138
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	jewel on lotus	Udayagiri (Banerji)
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vandanābhinayī	jewel on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 142
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	jewel on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 143
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala	on knee	jewel on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 140
Vairocana-maṇḍala	jewel	jewel on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 146b
Vairocana-Vajrarāga	on knee	jewel on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 148a
Aṣṭamahāprātihārya	varada	jewel on lotus	Solaṁpur/fig. 50
Seated bronze	on knee	jewel on lotus	Acutrajpur/fig. 159
Excavated stūpa	caurī	jewel on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 128
Free-standing	varada	jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 153
Free-standing	varada	jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 157
(attendant; right)	on seat	jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 153a
(attendant; left)	on knee	jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 153a
(attendant; right)	añjali	añjali/jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 153b
(attendant; left)	jewel	on thigh	Lalitagiri/fig. 406
(attendant; right)	on seat	jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 157
(attendant; left)	on knee/jewels	jewel	Lalitagiri/fig. 408

*specific hand not mentioned

Chart 8

VAJRAPĀṆI

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Text
Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva	vajra	bent, on thigh	Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra
Lokanātha-maṇḍala	abhaya*	vajra*	Sādhanamālā no. 18
Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava maṇḍala	?	vajra	Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi
	caurī	vajra-fist	Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa
Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala	vajra at chest	vajra	Tattva-saṁgraha
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	vajra at chest	vajra-fist	(Amoghavajra)
Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala	vajra	ghaṇṭā	Gobushinkan
Mahābodhisattvas	varada	vajra on lotus	Kanjur
Aṣṭa-bodhisattvas	vajra at chest	ghaṇṭā	300 Icons

ORISSAN IMAGES

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Site/fig. no.
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	vajra on lotus?	Udayagiri/fig. 138
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vajra at chest	vajra on lotus	Udayagiri (Banerji)
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	vajra on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 32
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vandanābhinayī	vajra on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 142
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	vajra on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 143
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala	on knee	vajra on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 140
Vairocana-maṇḍala	vajra at chest	vajra on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 146b
Vairocana/Vajrarāga	on knee	vajra on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 148b
Aṣṭamahāprātihārya	varada	vajra on lotus	Solaṁpur/fig. 50
Excavated stūpa	caurī	vajra on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 129
Free-standing	varada	vajra on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 154
(attendant; right)	on seat	vajra on lotus?	Lalitagiri/fig. 154a
(attendant; left)	on knee	vajra on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 154a
(attendant; right)	varada	on seat/lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 154b
(attendant; left)	on knee	on seat/lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 154b

*specific hand not mentioned

On the standing image from the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, where he is on the left side of Amitābha, his right hand holds a *caurī* over his shoulder while the left hand holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* which supports a *vajra* (fig. 129). He is the only Bodhisattva on this *stūpa-maṇḍala* that wears a crown. In the large standing image of Set A from Lalitagiri, now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, his right hand, broken at the elbow, was in *varada* while the left hand, raised chest-high, holds the *nīlotpala* supporting the *vajra* (fig. 154a). The upper corners of the back-slab are broken off. He is flanked at the base on either side by a seated female with one hand placed on her seat and the other resting on her knee. A *nīlotpala* supporting a *vajra* (?) issues up from the left hand of each goddess. The image from Set B at Lalitagiri is similar though both arms of Vajrapāṇi are broken off at the elbow and the upper right corner of the back-slab is missing (fig. 154b). The attendant goddess at the lower right is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* while the one on the left is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with her right arm resting on the raised knee.

In numerous cases, as in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, Vajrapāṇi is identical with Vajrasattva who holds a *vajra* and a *ghaṇṭā* in his right and left hands respectively while in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* he is identical with Vajradhara and serves as the master of mysteries and the chief of the *vidyādharas*.[76]

7. Mañjuśrī

Mañjuśrī is generally the third Bodhisattva on the left side in sculptural *maṇḍalas* from Orissa. In the list of sixteen Bodhisattvas of the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, forming the third circle surrounding the principal god who is represented with his Prajñā, Mañjuśrī takes the same form as Mañjuvajra except he does not have a consort. He has three faces and six arms. His right hands hold a sword, display *varada* and carry an arrow while his left hands hold the *Prajñāpāramitā* book, the *nīlotpala* and the bow. In the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* (no. 2) of the same text, where he is paired with Lokeśvara in the west, he is known as Mañjughoṣa and is identical with his sire Akṣobhya. In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* he holds the sword and the book.[77] In the earliest textual references, however, such as the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra* and the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, where he is portrayed as a youth with a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure (three or five tufts) and no crown, his only attribute is the *utpala*. In the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* a *vajra* is placed on the *utpala* while in the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* he additionally holds a book in front of his chest with his right hand or, as the centre deity of the Mañjuśrī mansion he displays *varada* with his right hand and as Mañjughoṣa he holds an *utpala* in his right hand and a book in his left. In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and the *Gobushinkan* he holds a *vajra*-sword in his right hand, the left hand resting on his thigh, while in the *mahāmaṇḍala* of the graphic *Vajradhātu* he holds the *vajra*-sword in his right hand and a book in his left hand.[78] In textual accounts he is thus associated with the *nīlotpala*, the *vajra*, the sword and the book with the *vajra* gradually being combined with, or replaced by, the sword and the *nīlotpala* being used as a support for one or both attributes. In Orissan *maṇḍalas*, however, it is primarily the book that identifies him, the sword being the cognizance of Samantabhadra. Mañjuśrī is additionally identified in Orissan images by his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure of three looped meshes, a *vyāghraṇakha* necklace of tiger-claws, and large *pātra-kuṇḍalas*, attributes equally characteristic of the Hindu deity Kārttikeya as a *kumāra* or youth.

In the image from the Vairocana-*maṇḍala* at Udayagiri the *vyāghraṇakha* necklace, the *pātra-kuṇḍala* earrings and the *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure are all well preserved (fig. 146b). He is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with his right hand raised, the fist clenched, while his left hand, placed on his thigh, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* which supports a book. In the *maṇḍalas* from Ratnagiri the right arm rests on the knee or is lifted up towards the Tathāgata in *vandanābhinayī* (figs. 142-43, 148b). The left hand, placed on the seat, holds the stalk of

the *utpala* supporting a book. In the standing image from the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, where he is placed on the right of Vairocana on the north, he holds the *caurī* in his right hand, the tip touching the ground, while the left hand, raised shoulder high, holds the *utpala* supporting the book (fig. 145c). In the large standing image from Set A at Lalitagiri, the broken right hand was in *varada* while his left hand, raised chest high, holds the stalk of the *utpala* supporting a book (fig. 155a). The upper corners of the back-slab are broken off. He is flanked at the base on either side by a female seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. The right attendant holds the stalk of an utpala supporting a book while the left attendant holds a sword in her right hand. The image in Set B from Lalitagiri is badly damaged, the cognizance and attendants missing, but he can be identified by his *vyāghranakha* necklace and *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure (fig. 155b). In the image of Set C only the left hand of Mañjuśrī and portions of the back-slab are broken (fig. 155c). The *utpala* supporting the book is partially intact. Mañjuśrī is flanked at the lower left by Yamāntaka standing on his buffalo.

There is another image at Lalitagiri, a companion to an image of Ākāśagarbha though it is not known how many were in this set (D) or how they functioned in the *maṇḍala*, which wears the *vyāghranakha* necklace and *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure of Mañjuśrī but the attribute on the *utpala* is a crescent rather than a book (fig. 158). The right hand is extended in *varada* while the left hand, holding the stalk of the *utpala*, is placed at the thigh. A *vidyādhara* is at the upper right corner of the back-slab while the left corner is broken off. The Bodhisattva is flanked at the base by a seated *ṛṣi* wearing a *yoga-paṭṭa* and a female seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*, an *utpala* rising up from her left hand placed on her seat, as on the image of Ākāśagarbha though their placement is reversed. If the crescent on the *utpala* is the moon, the image could represent either Ratnapāṇi or Candraprabha, both of whom appear among the list of sixteen Bodhisattvas headed by Samantabhadra in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. In this *maṇḍala*, Ratnapāṇi is green in colour and holds a jewel in his right hand while the left hand holds a lotus supporting the disc of the moon.[79] In the group of five Bodhisattvas associated with the Tathāgatas, he is of the same nature as his sire Ratnasaṁbhava and holds the stalk of a lotus supporting his symbol, the jewel, while in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and the *Genzu-taizō-mandara*, where he appears in the Kṣitigarbha mansion, he holds the jewel in front of his chest with his right hand and his left hand, at the waist, holds a lotus on which is placed a vertical three-prong *vajra* supporting a flaming green jewel.[80]

More popular is Candraprabha who, in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala*, is white in colour and holds the disc marked with a *vajra* in his right hand while his left hand holds a lotus supporting the disc of the moon. In the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* he is white in colour and displays *varada* with his right hand while the left hand holds a lotus supporting the disc of the moon. In the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala*, where he is also white, he holds the moon on a lotus in the right hand while the clenched left fist rests on the hip. In the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (no. 19), where he is one of the four Bodhisattvas in the west, he is red in colour and has the same form as the Tathāgata Amitābha.[81] Although not mentioned in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, he is included in the Mañjuśrī mansion of the *Genzu-taizō-mandara*, the *ajari-shoten-mandara* and the *taizō-kyūzuyō*. He is yellow in colour and has the form of a youth and wears a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure of three meshes like Mañjughoṣa and the other Bodhisattvas in this mansion. His right hand, at the waist, holds an *utpala* supporting a crescent moon while the left fist, placed in front of the chest with palm inward, holds a lotus bud.[82]

Although it is impossible, in the absence of colour, to make a positive identification of the Orissan image, particularly as this is the only known example, the iconography seems to suggest Candraprabha as an aspect of Mañjuśrī. His right hand, in *varada*, holds an indistinct object which could be a jewel or a *vajra*-marked disc.

Chart 9

MAÑJUŚRĪ

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Text
Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva	bent, on thigh	utpala	Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra
Lokanātha-maṇḍala	sword*	book*	Sādhanamālā no. 18
Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava	?	vajra on utpala	Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi
maṇḍala	varada/fruit	utpala	Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa
Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala	vajra-sword	fist on thigh	Tattva-saṁgraha
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	book	vajra on utpala	(Amoghavajra)
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	varada	vajra on utpala	(Amoghavajra)
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	utpala	book	(Amoghavajra)
Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala	vajra-sword	fist on thigh	Gobushinkan
Mahāmaṇḍala	vajra-sword	book on utpala	graphic Vajradhātu
Mahābodhisattvas	vyākhyāna/sword	vyākhyāna/book	Kanjur
Aṣṭa-bodhisattvas	sword	book on utpala	300 Icons
maṇḍala	sword	utpala	Acala Tantra (Bu-ston)
Mahāvajra-maṇḍala	varada	vajra	Vajrapāṇi-abhiṣeka-tantra

ORISSAN IMAGES

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Site/fig. no.
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vandanābhinayī	book on utpala	Lalitagiri/fig. 139
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	book on utpala	Udayagiri/fig. 138
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vandanābhinayī	book on utpala	Udayagiri (Banerji)
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	book on utpala	Udayagiri/fig. 32
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	abhaya	book on utpala?	Udayagiri/fig. 137
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vandanābhinayī	book on utpala	Ratnagiri/fig. 142
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	book on utpala	Ratnagiri/fig. 143
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala	on knee	book on utpala	Udayagiri/fig. 140
Vairocana-maṇḍala	clenched	book on utpala	Udayagiri/fig. 146b
Vairocana-Vajrarāga	on knee	book on utpala	Ratnagiri/fig. 148b
Aṣṭamahāprātihārya	varada	book on utpala?	Solaṁpur/fig. 50
Seated bronze	varada	book on utpala	Acutrajpur
broken stūpa?	caurī	book on utpala	Udayagiri/fig. 131b
Excavated stūpa	caurī	book on utpala	Udayagiri/fig. 145c
Free-standing	varada	book on utpala	Lalitagiri/fig. 155
(attendant; right)	varada	book on utpala?	Lalitagiri/fig. 155a
(attendant; left)	sword	on seat	Lalitagiri/fig. 155a
(Yamāntaka)	daṇḍa	noose	Lalitagiri/fig. 155c

*specific hand not mentioned

An image of Mañjuśrī from the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur most likely came from the set which included the Ākāśagarbha and Kṣitigarbha images mentioned earlier. He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holding the stalk of an *utpala* supporting a book. Surface details are badly worn as on the other two examples from this set.[83]

8. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin

Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, or Viṣkambhin, is the last Bodhisattva on the left side in most Orissan sculptural *maṇḍalas* and, as in the case of Kṣitigarbha, generally appears on the pedestal of the earliest *maṇḍalas*. He is described four times in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and has two independent forms, one blue and the other white, suggesting he may be the spiritual son either of Akṣobhya or Vairocana. In the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) he is blue and displays *bhūmisparśa* with his left hand while the right hand, with the thumb and the index finger joined together in the clenched mode, exhibits the act of pacification. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21), where he is the last in the list headed by Samantabhadra, he is blue in colour and holds the sword in his right hand and a banner marked with a *viśvavajra* in his left. In the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* (no. 2), where he is paired with Samantabhadra on the north, he has the same form as his spiritual sire Amoghasiddhi while in the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (no. 26) of the same text, where he is paired with Dharmadhātuvajra on the west, he is identical with Vairocana.[84] In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* he is of ash colour and displays *varada* with one hand while holding a jewel in the other.[85] The jewel is also his attribute in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*[86] and in the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* where he displays *abhaya-mudrā* (with palm turned inward) with his right hand. According to Śubhākarasiṁha this represents his vow "to grant complete fearlessness to all beings by means of the Cintāmaṇi jewel within the Bodhicitta." In earlier texts, however, where he is placed in the Kṣitigarbha mansion, he holds a banner in his left hand while displaying *varada* with his right hand.[87] The flag or banner is named as his attribute in the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra* and in descriptions from the *Vikīrnoṣnīṣa-maṇḍala* and the *Amitābha-maṇḍala* of the *Bessonzakki*.[88] He is thus equally associated with the *cintāmaṇi* jewel or the banner. A. Getty in addition gives him the full moon and a book as attributes.[89] W. Clark illustrates four examples from China with two showing him holding a lotus in the right hand while the left hand rests on the hip. It is not clear as to what, if anything, is supported on the lotus.[90] In a third image he is three-faced and six-armed.[91] In the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* he holds a jewel or staff in his right hand while the left hand rests on his thigh.[92]

In the earliest Orissan images, as in the *maṇḍalas* at Udayagiri and the fragment at Lalitagiri, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin is on the left corner of the pedestal. He is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with his right hand raised in *vandanābhinayī* (figs. 139, 146d). The left hand, placed on the seat, holds a lotus supporting a jewel (?). At Ratnagiri it appears similar to a purse (fig. 143). In the standing image from the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, placed on the left side of Akṣobhya, he holds a *caurī* over his shoulder with his right hand while the left hand holds a lotus supporting the jewel (fig. 145b). In the large standing image from Set A at Lalitagiri his right hand is extended in *varada* while the left hand, now obliterated, held a lotus supporting a banner (fig. 156a). He is flanked at the base on either side by a seated female with one hand placed on her seat, the hand holding a lotus supporting a jewel. The jewel, an attribute more closely associated with Ākāśagarbha, is thus changed into a secondary attribute. This iconography is repeated with the image of Set B (fig. 156b) though the image of Sudhanakumāra is eliminated.

Chart 10 SARVANIVARAṆAVIṢKAMBHIN

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Text
Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva	?	banner	Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra
Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara	sword	banner	Niṣpannayogāvalī no. 21
Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala	pacification	bhūmisparśa	Niṣpannayogāvalī no. 20
Lokanātha-maṇḍala	varada*	jewel*	Sādhanamālā no. 18
Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava	?	jewel	Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi
Amitābha-maṇḍala	?	banner	Bessonzakki
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	abhaya	jewel on lotus	(Amoghavajra)
Mahābodhisattvas	sword	on hip	Kanjur
Aṣṭa-bodhisattvas	full-moon	jewel?	300 Icons
Nepalese drawing	sword	banner/viśvavajra	B. Bhattacharyya

ORISSAN IMAGES

Maṇḍala	right hand	left hand	Site/fig. no.
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	vandanābhinayī	jewel on lotus?	Lalitagiri/fig. 139
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	vandanābhinayī	banner on lotus?	Udayagiri/fig. 147b
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	vandanābhinayī	jewel on lotus?	Udayagiri (Banerji)
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	vandanābhinayī	jewel on lotus?	Udayagiri/fig. 32
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala**	vandanābhinayī	banner on lotus?	Udayagiri/fig. 137
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	vandanābhinayī	jewel on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 142
Akṣobhya-maṇḍala	on knee	banner on lotus?	Ratnagiri/fig. 143
Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala	on knee	banner on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 140
Vairocana-maṇḍala	vandanābhinayī	jewel on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 146d
Vairocana/Vajrarāga	on knee	jewel on lotus	Ratnagiri/fig. 148b
Aṣṭamahāprātihārya	varada	banner on lotus	Solampur/fig. 50
Excavated stūpa	caurī	jewel on lotus	Udayagiri/fig. 145b
Free-standing	varada	banner on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 156
(attendant; right)	jewel on lotus	on knee	Lalitagiri/fig. 156a
(attendant; left)	on knee	jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 156a
(attendant; right)	on seat	jewel on lotus	Lalitagiri/fig. 156b
(attendant; left)	jewel on lotus	on seat	Lalitagiri/fig. 156b

*specific hand not mentioned
**image placed on pedestal

9. Unidentified Bodhisattvas

Aside from the image supporting a crescent on an *utpala*, tentatively identified as Candraprabha or Ratnapāṇi if not Mañjuśrī, there are very few other standing images at Lalitagiri which could have belonged to a *maṇḍala* grouping. In most cases individual Bodhisattvas or other deities who remain unidentified have an indistinct or missing *mudrā*/ cognizance, as in the case of the Bodhisattva from the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his right hand in *varada* while his left hand, also on a knee, holds the stalk of an indistinct flower (lotus?). He is mostly devoid of ornaments aside from a large oval-shaped jewel (?) at the front of his matted coiffure. Coiled locks of hair cascade down his shoulders. If the flower is a half-blown lotus, as suggested by D. Mitra, then the image could represent Avalokiteśvara who is sometimes shown in *vajraparyaṅka* and in some forms is enjoined to be devoid of ornaments.[93] It is possible, however, that the flower supports an indistinct object.

In other cases, in contrast, the identity remains obscure due to the lack of textual corroboration in respect to the cognizance or number of arms, as in the example from Acutrajpur of a Bodhisattva in *mahārājalīlā* who has as his cognizance a *makara* (fig. 161). His right hand, the arm resting on his knee, holds a jewel while his left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holds the stalk of a lotus which supports a *makara*. D. Mitra suggests that if the *makara* was intended as an elephant, the figure could represent the Bodhisattva Gandhahasti, who is included in several *maṇḍalas* from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, though she admits that positive identification cannot be made in the absence of textual evidence or a labelled image.[94] Another image with a *makara* as the major attribute appears in a hoard of bronzes discovered at Jhewari (Chittagong district in Bangladesh), now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, though in this case the figure appears to have a *stūpa* on its head.[95] The *makara*, though a popular motif in Indian art and especially associated with Kāma, is not prescribed for a Bodhisattva in surviving textual accounts. It is, however, associated with one of the directional deities of a group of six (each with a Prajñā) in the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala*, serving as the *vāhana* for Nāgavajra and his consort Vajramakarā. They each are white in colour, have a canopy of eight serpent hoods, and hold a *vajra* in their right hand. Whereas Nāgavajra has a *sarpa-pāśa* in his left hand, Vajramakarā holds a *makara* marked with a *vajra*.[96] There is no canopy of serpent hoods in the bronze image so it does not likely represent Nāgavajra.

In later Japanese versions of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* the *makara* is associated with Rāgavajra (Aikongō), one of the four Diamond Bodhisattvas surrounding Vajrasattva in the Naya Assembly. As the "Love Diamond" he embodies attachment "or covetous affection, which, when seen with the Eye of Knowledge, is identical with the Compassion of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, Compassion being Bodhicitta manifesting itself from desire to aid and liberate all beings."[97] Iconographically the Bodhisattva is depicted holding a pennant emblazoned with the figure of a *makara*. It is possible, considering the popularity of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* in Orissa, that the Acutrajpur bronze represents Vajrarāga (Aikongō), the original Sanskrit text with its iconography being lost.

In a small corner shrine of the Siddheśvara compound at Jājpur, as indicated in chapter II, is an image of a Bodhisattva seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his principal set of hands in front of his chest where they may be causing a lotus to blossom or are displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* (fig. 227). The uplifted back right hand holds a *cakra* (?) while above his left shoulder is a *makara* with a diminutive figure issuing from its mouth. It is not clear if the *makara* is part of the original image or is a decorative fragment from a larger image affixed to this work. The back-slab is partially obfuscated by accretions of paste and grime as is his *mudrā*. He is richly adorned and multiple Tathāgatas appear in his crown. The sides of the back-

slab are adorned with a *virāla* motif. A lion is in each of the three compartments of the pedestal while at the centre of the lower edge is a diminutive peacock or *haṁsa*. The latter is partially obliterated and it is not clear if it is the *vāhana* of the Bodhisattva or merely a decorative feature. The peacock is the *vāhana* for Vajradharma, a form of Avalokiteśvara in which he causes the lotus to blossom in front of his chest. Although the *Sādhanamālā* gives only a two-armed form, W. Clark illustrates a six-armed image from the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* manuscript in the collection of the National Library of Beijing.[98]

E. THE CULT OF EIGHT BODHISATTVAS

The cult of worshipping eight Bodhisattvas was widespread throughout lands permeated by Buddhism. One of the oldest texts in which eight Bodhisattvas are named, as pointed out by P. Granoff, is the *Bussetsu-hachi-kichijō-jin-kyō*, first translated into Chinese by the Yüeh-chih monk Chin Ch'ien in the 3rd century A.D. The eight Buddhas and the eight Buddha-lands protected by four Deva kings are briefly described in this short *sūtra* which concludes with a passage mentioning that "eight Bodhisattvas led by Bhadrapāla appear and vow to aid all beings on the path to Buddhahood, saying that they will support the needy in times of illness, and at the moment of death they will rush to meet the departing devotee."[99] The Bodhisattvas, Granoff continues, are closely associated with securing mundane benefits for the faithful, and due to their relationship to the eight Buddhas, eight Buddha-lands and the four Deva kings, the same results being procured by reciting their names, she thus concludes that their power lies not within their identity as one or another Bodhisattva, "but is more related to a general conception of the efficacy of a group of four or eight beings as protectors. The reason for their potency seems, moreover, to be connected with the directional or astronomical symbolism of quadruples."[100]

Eight Bodhisattvas as protecting deities also appear in the *Hanjusammai-kyō* or *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*, composed even earlier with the first Chinese translation being either the one done by the Yüeh-chih monk Lokakshema in A.D. 179 or that done by an unknown translator and entitled *Bhadrapāla-Bodhisattva-sūtra*. The same eight Bodhisattvas of the *Bussetsu-hachi-kichijō-jin-kyō* appear assembling from different parts of India, to hear the recitation of the Law. In this text their primary function is to protect the Law, though later in the text (chapter 8) material gains, such as immunity from poison, exemption from battle, freedom from disease and theft, and the protection of the four Deva kings are portrayed as a by-product of the meditation practice they vow to protect.[101]

Though eight in number, the names of these Bodhisattvas differ from the later tradition as evolved in sculpture or in later texts. Most of the names of the popular later list appear as early as the 4th century A.D., i.e., in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, though we are not given any details in respect to iconography. Among the earliest surviving texts which list these eight Bodhisattvas in a *maṇḍala* are the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, both translated into Chinese during the 8th century as mentioned earlier, and the slightly later *Amoghapāśa-sūtra* which was in Loyang no later than A.D. 693.[102] In the *Aṣṭamahā-Bodhisattva-maṇḍala* of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra* it is clearly stated that the *mantras* and *maṇḍalas* of the eight Bodhisattvas are effective in "securing fulfilment of one's wishes, absolution from crime, and protection from other ills", suggesting again the basically mundane aims of the cult.[103] In that the iconography of individual Bodhisattvas is not standardized, and differs in many respects to that of the earliest sculptures appearing in the 7th-8th century, it is likely that there was a considerable lapse of time between the two with the texts possibly dating to as early as the 3rd-4th centuries. Although the same eight Bodhisattvas as given in the *Aṣṭamahā-Bodhisattva-maṇḍala* appear in the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, dating to the reign of Rāmapāla (A.D. 1084-1130), it has a different iconographic tradition as each Bodhisattva has a form identical with that of his sire. The same is true for the sixteen

Bodhisattvas headed by Maitreya in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* where four are assigned to each of the four Tathāgatas in the cardinal directions.[104] In the list of sixteen in the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* only Samantabhadra and Maitreya from the popular list appear and their iconography differs from that in the sculptural *maṇḍalas*. In the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where seven of the eight Bodhisattvas are listed, two to each direction though Maitreya is missing and Vajrapāṇi appears twice, they are each depicted with their Prajñā.[105] In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* all eight are represented in that Gaganagañja, who replaces Lokeśvara, has a very similar iconographic form.[106] Iconographically, however, only half of the Bodhisattvas are prescribed the attributes which appear in the sculptural *maṇḍalas*. Although only five of the eight Bodhisattvas appear among the list of sixteen in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, the iconographic details are generally closer to the sculptural images than in any of the other texts, including the *Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva-maṇḍala* which invariably depicts the attribute in a right hand while the left is on the hip. Even if the left hand is placed on the hip in Orissan images it is this hand that holds the cognizance and/or flower. The alignment in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* begins with Samantabhadra and ends with Sarvanivaranaviskambhin, as on most of the Orissan *maṇḍalas*, and the iconography of the three missing names—Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi—is well known from other textual sources. It would appear, in respect to iconography of individual Bodhisattvas, that the tradition followed in Orissa, whether textual, visual or oral, was partially absorbed into the later tradition of sixteen as recorded in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala*.

The iconography of the individual Bodhisattvas in the nine-square *maṇḍalas* at Ellora is basically the same as in the Orissan sculptural *maṇḍalas* except their alignment is different. As noted by J. Huntington, based particularly on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha,* "the actual arrangement and final details of the *maṇḍala* are for the *ācārya* to decide; thus it is highly likely that the manner in which the *maṇḍalas* are presented might vary greatly, so long as the main features were included."[107] Whereas more than half of the Orissan *maṇḍalas* have Akṣobhya as the dominant centre figure, the centre figure of the nine-square *maṇḍalas* at Ellora displays *dhyāna-mudrā* and is additionally flanked (within his square) by an attendant Bodhisattva, Lokeśvara on his right and Vajrapāṇi on his left.[108] The overall alignment of the nine-square *maṇḍala* is diagrammed below:

Diagram 9. Ellora: Nine-Square Maṇḍala

Maitreya	Samantabhadra	Kṣitigarbha
Lokeśvara	Lokeśvara BUDDHA Vajrapāṇi	Vajrapāṇi
Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin	Ākāśagarbha	Mañjuśrī

In most Orissan *maṇḍalas*, Maitreya is opposite Vajrapāṇi while Lokeśvara is opposite Mañjuśrī. Though it is difficult to determine how to read the nine-square *maṇḍala* for comparison with Orissan sculptural *maṇḍalas* where four Bodhisattvas are on either side of a larger centre figure, G. Malandra divides the nine-square *maṇḍala* into horizontal sections

Diagram 10 MAṆḌALA BODHISATTVA ALIGNMENTS

AKṢOBHYA-MAṆḌALA (6)
Ratnagiri/Udayagiri

1. Samantabhadra	5. Ākāśagarbha
2. Maitreya	6. Vajrapāṇi
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

AKṢOBHYA-MAṆḌALA
Ellora: Cave No. 11.2

1. Lokeśvara	5. Vajrapāṇi
2. Maitreya	6. Mañjuśrī
3. Samantabhadra	7. Ākāśagarbha
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

NINE-SQUARE MAṆḌALAS
Ellora: Cave No. 12

1. Lokeśvara	5. Vajrapāṇi
2. Maitreya	6. Mañjuśrī
3. Samantabhadra	7. Ākāśagarbha
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

AKṢOBHYA-MAṆḌALA
Lalitagiri

1. x	5. x
2. x	6. x
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

AKṢOBHYA-MAṆḌALA
Ellora: Cave No. 12.3

1. Maitreya	5. Mañjuśrī
2. Samantabhadra	6. ?
3. Ākāśagarbha	7. Viṣkambhin
4. ?	8. ?

AKṢOBHYA-MAṆḌALA
Ellora: Cave No. 12.2

1. Maitreya	5. Mañjuśrī
2. ?	6. ?
3. Samantabhadra	7. Viṣkambhin
4. ?	8. Ākāśagarbha

VAIROCANA-MAṆḌALA
Udayagiri

1. Samantabhadra	5. Ākāśagarbha
2. Maitreya	6. Vajrapāṇi
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

VAIROCANA-MAṆḌALA
Ellora: Cave No. 12.1

1. Lokeśvara	5. Kṣitigarbha?
2. Maitreya	6. ?
3. Samantabhadra	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Viṣkambhin	8. Ākāśagarbha?

MAÑJUŚRĪ-MAṆḌALA
Udayagiri (rock-cut)

1. Samantabhadra	5. Ākāśagarbha
2. Maitreya	6. Vajrapāṇi
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. ?

MAÑJUŚRĪ-MAṆḌALA
Kendrapara

1. ?	5. ?
2. Maitreya	6. Vajrapāṇi
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

LOKEŚVARA/MAÑJUŚRĪ MAṆḌALA
Ratnagiri

1. x	5. x
2. x	6. x
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

VAIROCANA/VAJRARĀGA MAṆḌALA
Ratnagiri

1. Ākāśagarbha	5. Vajrapāṇi
2. Samantabhadra	6. Mañjuśrī
3. Maitreya	7. Viṣkambhin
4. Lokeśvara	8. Kṣitigarbha

ŚĀKYAMUNI-MAṆḌALA
Turfan (K.C. Museum)

1. Maitreya	5. Kṣitigarbha
2. Samantabhadra	6. Viṣkambhin
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Ākāśagarbha	8. Vajrapāṇi

UDAYAGIRI STŪPA

right	left
1. Maitreya	5. Viṣkambhin?
2. Samantabhadra	6. Ākāśagarbha
3. Lokeśvara	7. Vajrapāṇi
4. Mañjuśrī	8. Kṣitigarbha

EIGHT MIRACLES OF BUDDHA
Solaṁpur

1. Maitreya	5. Vajrapāṇi
2. Kṣitigarbha	6. Ākāśagarbha
3. Samantabhadra	7. Viṣkambhin
4. Lokeśvara	8. Mañjuśrī

with the top and bottom sections being rotated ninety degrees so that each section corresponds to a wall inside the later shrines at the site which have large standing images forming a three-dimensional *maṇḍala*.[109] Although the overall alignment thus formed differs from the alignment on most Orissan *maṇḍalas* which begin with *Samantabhadra*, the same four Bodhisattvas are on the right and left respectively of the centre figure with the series beginning on the upper right with Lokeśvara. In the 9th-10th century portable *maṇḍala* from Turfan now in the Nelson Gallery at Kansas City,[110] where four Bodhisattvas are superimposed above each other in a vertical alignment on either side of a centre Buddha as in Orissan sculptural *maṇḍalas*, the series begins at the upper right with Maitreya and ends on the lower left with Vajrapāṇi. Except for Kṣitigarbha and Ākāśagarbha, who are transposed, the Bodhisattvas are aligned on the same side as in Orissan *maṇḍalas* rather than as prescribed by A. Getty.[111] The centre figure, richly ornamented, is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and displays *dhyāna-mudrā*, the iconography for Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī or similar to that of Vairocana in the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala*, as in the example from Ratnagiri, though P. Granoff prefers to identify him as Śākyamuni,[112] primarily due to the previously established tradition in Tibet of a similar iconographic scheme of Śākyamuni surrounded by these eight Bodhisattvas in the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*[113] and the fact that Śākyamuni is the only Buddha mentioned in the text. In Orissa, however, the cult of eight Bodhisattvas is primarily associated with Tathāgata Buddhas and various forms of Mañjuśrī.

In commenting on these eight Upaputra Bodhisattvas of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* pantheon (Tibetan), L. Chandra states that they represent the "four aspects of the pair of Heaven and Earth lorded over by Indra and Brahmā." In this alignment of pairs, Ākāśagarbha and Kṣitigarbha represent the quintessence of Heaven (*ākāśa*) and Earth (*kṣiti*). The other pairs consist of Mañjughoṣa and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhim, Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi, Samantabhadra and Maitreya, with all eight serving as attendants to Amitābha.[114] D. Snellgrove, in contrast, suggests there is no apparent iconographic connection between Ākāśagarbha and Kṣitigarbha.[115]

There is no way of knowing the original alignment of the free-standing Bodhisattvas from the sets at Lalitagiri, the images having been shifted numerous times over the past two hundred years. In the later shrines at Ellora with similar standing Bodhisattvas, the alignment is somewhat varied in each *maṇḍala*. Due to this lack of standardization at Ellora in respect to alignment, some of the images still await final identification as their cognizance is not clearly delineated or understood. In the images at Lalitagiri, in contrast, the attributes are clearly represented, in some cases even reinforced by the attendant figures, and identification is more easily finalized.

References

[1]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 45, and G. Tucci, *Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, pp. 98-104.

[2]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 49-50, 92-93.

[3]See B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, pp. 34-35, 37, 58, 61.

[4]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 230-32.

[5]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, pp. 20-26, 140. The Tathāgatas are Ratnaketu (E.), Saṁkusumitarāja (S.), Amitābha (W.) and Dundubhi-nirghoṣa (N.).

[6]See R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II, pl. between pp. 396-97.

[7]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, II, pp. 602-04; and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, pp. 17-25.

[8]Shashibala, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-40.

[9]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 31.

[10]Shashibala, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-46.

[11]*Ibid.*, pp. 147-51; and A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, II, p. 606.

[12]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 458, pl. CCCXLVII(B).

[13]Shashibala, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-95.

[14]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 465, pl. CCCLII(A).

[15]Pratapaditya Pal, "A Note on the Maṇḍala of the Eight Bodhisattvas", *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. XXVI (1972-73), pp. 71-73.

[16]Geri Hockfield Malandra, "Ellora: The 'Archaeology' of a Maṇḍala", *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. XV (1985), p. 68, fig. 1.

[17]*Ibid.*, pp. 68-69 and figs. 2, 7; see also R.S. Gupte, *op. cit.*, pl. 3a.

[18]R.S. Gupte (*op. cit.*, pp. 49-54), for example, identifies three of the Bodhisattvas as Jñānaketu, Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati and Sthiracakra, even though they do not belong to any known group of eight described in texts. Bunyiu Nanjio, referring to them as the eight great principal sons of Buddha (*Hachi-dai-chaku-shi*), identifies them as Durgatipariśodhana, Ākāśagarbha and Kṣitigarbha (top row); Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī (bottom row); and Samantabhadra on the left and Mahāsthānaprāpta to the right of the centre Buddha. See Albert Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, trans. A.C. Gibson, revised by Jas. Burgess (New Delhi, 1985 reprint of 1901 edition), p. 196, n. 1.

[19]See also Phyllis Granoff, "A Portable Buddhist Shrine from Central Asia", *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. XXII (1968-69), pp. 88-90; and Marie-Therese de Mallmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique* (Paris, 1975), pp. 41-82.

[20]R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II, pl. between pp. 408-09.

[21]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 190-92.

[22]A. Wayman identifies him as Bhagavat Śākyamuni. See A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, p. 37.

[23]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 442, pl. CCCXXXV(B).

[24]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[25]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, pp. 35-36.

[26]Lokesh Chandra, *Buddhist Iconography*, 2 vols. (New Delhi, 1987 newly revised and enlarged edition), pp. 55-56. In a second group he pairs Kṣitigarbha with Ākāśagarbha, Mañjughoṣa with Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara with Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, and Samantabhadra with Maitreya.

[27]P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90. See also John C. Huntington,"The Tendai Iconographic Model Book Shosonzuzō dated 1858", *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, Vol. 4 (1975), pp. 121-424.

[28]Swagatika Dalapati, "Warfare in Orissa: From Earliest Time to 1568 A.D.", Ph.D. Dissertation, Sambalpur University (Sambalpur, 1991), pp. 34-35. See also B.K. Rath, *Cultural History of Orissa*, pp. 99-100, for such divisions in the Somavaṁśī period.

[29]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 18.

[30]B. Bhattacharyya, *Nispannayogāvalī*, p. 23.

[31]*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

[32]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 83-84.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 131.

[34]P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90.

[35]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 181-83, 239-40.

[36]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 47. She does not identify sources.

[37]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52, fig. 2 A 23.

[38]*Ibid.*, II, pp. 8-9, figs. 1 M 9 and 1 A 3, and p. 133, fig. 4 B 5.

[39]*Ibid.*, II, p. 274, fig. 198.

[40]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, p. 240.

[41]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, pp. 29-31.

[42]B. Bhattacharyya (*Ibid.*, p. 29) has the left hand holding a bowl while S.K. Saraswati (*op. cit.*, p. XVI) has it displaying *varada*.

[43]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 99.

[44]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 29.

[45]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 131.

[46]P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[47]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* p. 51.

[48]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* p. 26.

[49]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* pp. 78, 130-31.

[50]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, pp. 246-48, 293-94.

[51]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* p. 85.

[52]P. Granoff, *op. cit.,* p. 90; in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (p. 24) he is seated on a lotus of four jewels.

[53]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, pp. 411-12; and Shashibala, *op. cit.,* pp. 164-68.

[54]A. Getty, *op. cit.,* p. 102; see also D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism,* II, p. 340.

[55]W. Clark, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 8-9, 56, 274, figs. 1 M 7, 1 A 4, 2 A 40 and 197.

[56]J. Huntington, "Shosonzuzō", p. 295.

[57]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* pp. 82-83, fig. 73.

[58]See A.J. Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art* (Leiden, 1933), pp. 31-32, fig. 9 (97). The image was tentatively identified as Samantabhadra by Bosch while Kempers suggested Kṣitigarbha as a possibility.

[59]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* p. 85.

[60]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* p. 25.

[61]*Ibid.,* p. 25.

[62]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* pp. 86, 131.

[63]P. Granoff, *op. cit.,* pp. 88-90; see also J. Huntington, "Shosonzuzō", p. 263; and *Mahāvairocana-sūtra,* p. 25.

[64]Shashibala, *op. cit.,* p. 154; and A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, pp. 419-20.

[65]A. Getty, *op. cit.,* pp. 101-02.

[66]W. Clark, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 8-9, figs. 1 M 8 and 1 A 1; p. 56, fig. 2 A 38; and p. 273, fig. 196.

[67]D. Mitra (*Achutrajpur,* pp. 91-93) had difficulty in identifying the object, thinking it may be a *kalaśa,* a *nāgakeśara,* or a *kalpavṛkṣa,* and hence could offer no positive identification for the figure.

[68]Cf. A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, pp. 111-19.

[69]G. Malandra, *op. cit.,* p. 70, n. 29. It also appears for Cintamāṇi Lokeśvara of the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara of the Macchandar Vahal at Kathmandu. See B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* p. 430, fig. 94(A).

[70]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, p. 419.

[71]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* p. 35.

[72]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* p. 131.

[73]P. Granoff, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

[74]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, pp. 164, 320.

[75]R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa,* II, pl. between pp. 408-09.

[76]Cf. Shashibala, *op. cit.,* pp. 130-34; and *Mahāvairocana-sūtra,* pp. 140-41.

[77]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* pp. 94-95.

[78]P. Granoff, *op. cit.,* p. 90; Shashibala, *op. cit.,* pp. 180-81; A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, pp. 245, 381, 386; the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra,* p. 24; and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha,* p. 22.

[79]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* p. 26.

[80]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, p. 413.

[81]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* p. 27, and *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* pp. 89-90, 99. See also W. Clark, *op. cit.,* II, p. 147, fig. 4 B 60.

[82]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, p. 385.

[83]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur,* p. 80, fig. 69.

[84]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* p. 28.

[85]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* p. 131.

[86]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism,* I, p. 169; and the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra,* p. 24.

[87]*Ibid.,* I, pp. 394-95.

[88]P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[89]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[90]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 7, 11, figs. 1 M 2 and 1 A 9.

[91]*Ibid.*, II, p. 52, fig. 2 A 24.

[92]*Ibid.*, p. 274, fig. 199.

[93]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 100, acc. no. 316.

[94]*Ibid.*, p. 96, acc. no. 323.

[95]See Nihar Ranjan Ray, Karl Khandalavala and Sadasiv Gorakshkar, *Eastern Indian Bronzes* (New Delhi, 1986), fig. 225. The Acutrajpur image (fig. 50) is identified as Mañjuśrī.

[96]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 70; and *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra,* trans. Tadeusz Skorupski (New Delhi, 1983), p. 90.

[97]A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, II, p. 712.

[98]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 265, fig. 163.

[99]P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[100]*Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

[101]*Ibid.*, p. 93.

[102]J. Huntington, "Cave Six at Aurangabad", p. 53.

[103]P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 95, n. 16.

[104]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* p. 99.

[105]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* p. 77.

[106]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* p. 131. The only major difference is that Gaganagañja has the *nīlotpala* or blue lotus.

[107]J. Huntington, "Cave Six at Aurangabad", p. 49.

[108]G. Malandra, *op. cit.*, figs. 2, 7.

[109]*Ibid.*, fig. 16.

[110]P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

[111]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[112]P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 90. A. Wayman also identifies the centre figure in the Ratnagiri *maṇḍala* showing *dhyāna-mudrā* as Śākyamuni. See A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana,* p. 37.

[113]See Giuseppe Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond* (Rome, 1956), where a similar iconographic scheme appears at Samding, Iwang, Dolma Lhakang, etc.

[114]L. Chandra, *Buddhist Iconography,* I, pp. 55-56. This alignment of pairs apparently has little to do with their actual placement in the *maṇḍala,* judging by the schema he illustrates showing the eight arranged around Amitābha.

[115]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism,* II, p. 340.

MAÑJUŚRĪ IMAGES

Mañjuśrī occupies a very high position in the Buddhist pantheon and is considered to be the god of transcendental wisdom who confers knowledge, intelligence, retentive memory, etc., on his worshippers.[1] His name first occurs in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and then in *Guhyasamāja-tantra* where there are at least four references to Mañjuśrī and three to Mañjuvajra. He also appears in the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* or the *Amitāyus-sūtra* (in its smaller recension) which was translated into Chinese between A.D. 384 and 417.[2] He is believed to have been a wandering ascetic and the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* records the tradition that he came out of Pratiṣṭhānakūṭāgāra and, "accompanied by Bodhisattvas of his status and other divinities, led his journey to Dakṣiṇāpatha."[3] According to Chinese tradition, Gautama Buddha informed Mañjuśrī that it was his duty to turn the Wheel of Law for the salvation of the Chinese and the place chosen for the manifestation was Pañcaśīrṣa (five-peaked) mountain in Shan-si province. When the time came for the manifestation of Mañjuśrī, Gautama Buddha caused a golden ray to burst from his forehead. It pierced a *jambu* tree which grew from the foundation of the mountain. A lotus sprang from the tree. From the interior of the lotus was born Ārya Mañjuśrī, the prince of sages:

> His color was yellow; he had one face and two arms; in the right hand he brandished the sword of Wisdom; in his left, he carried a book on a lotus of utpala; he was endowed with the superior and inferior marks of beauty; he was covered with many ornaments, and he was resplendent.[4]

This association of Mañjuśrī with China also appears in the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, dealing with the glories of Svayambhū-*kṣetra* in Nepal, where it is stated that Mañjuśrī left his abode at Mount Pañcaśīrṣa to visit the shrine of Svayambhū (Ādi-Buddha), which was on a mountain near lake Kālihrada. Finding the mountain inaccessible because of surrounding water filled with aquatic monsters, Mañjuśrī "opened, with his sword, many valleys on the southern side of the the lake...the waters of the lake rushed through the opening, leaving dry land at the bottom."[5] This dry land is the Nepal valley. Based on this tradition, some scholars propose the view that Mañjuśrī was a historical figure who brought civilization to Nepal from China, or possibly a wandering mendicant Buddhist priest who carried Buddhism into Nepal.[6] Mañjuśrī is thus an extremely popular Bodhisattva in China and Nepal as well as in India.

The earliest descriptions of the iconography of Mañjuśrī as a Bodhisattva appear in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* where he is known either as Mañjuśrī or Mañjughoṣa. Of particular interest is his affiliation with Kārttikeya (Kumāra) of the Brahmanical pantheon. He is frequently

described in the text as Kumāra, Kumārākāra, Kumārabhūta and even Kārttikeya while the peacock, the *vāhana* of Kārttikeya, is enjoined as his mount. Textual references also refer to his *śikhaṇḍaka* or *kakapakṣa* coiffure and his juvenile necklace, both characteristic for his manifestation as a *kumāra* (youth) and equally peculiar to Kārttikeya.[7] This association in respect to body ornaments and coiffure also appears in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* nos. 44, 45, 64, 76, etc.) where he is described "as having ornaments befitting a kumāra" or as being "resplendent with chirakas", *chirakas* referring to "locks of hair".[8] According to the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra* he is to be portrayed as a young child with five tufts of hair and no crown.[9] His popularity is evident in the *Sādhanamālā* where there are forty-one *sādhanas* devoted to his worship.

As the deity of learning and knowledge and one expert in the exposition of transcendental wisdon (*prajñāpaṅkajinīvikāśakaraṇe dakṣa*), the attributes most often associated with Mañjuśrī are the sword and the book. The sword, called *prajñā-khaḍga* in some *sādhanas*, invariably in his raised right hand, is intended to cut asunder the clouds of Ignorance, while the book (*Prajñāpāramitā*), in his left hand, is the *upāya* of attaining knowledge of all *śāstras*, arts, etc.[10] In some early descriptions, however, his only attribute is his flower, the *utpala* or *nīlotpala* (blue lotus), as in the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra* or the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* where we get the following description of him reposing in a palace of gems:

> the Prince in princely form, of yellowish saffron-like hue, tranquil and graceful, with a somewhat smiling expression, holding a blue lotus-flower in his left hand, while his right hand makes the gesture of generosity and holds a myrobalan fruit. He is adorned with all the finery of a youngster and decorated with five crests, while he wears a string of pearls in place of the sacred thread (of a brahman). He wears an upper and a lower garment of fine material, and he is quite splendid, entirely surrounded by a ring of flames, seated in the lotus-posture, as he glances at Yamāntaka, the Lord of Wrath, while facing the main entrance of the maṇḍala with a graceful expression. On his right side below the lotus one should draw Yamāntaka, the Lord of Wrath, terrible in appearance, entirely surrounded by a ring of flames, with his gaze fully directed toward the Great Bodhisattva, on whose command he attends.[11]

In other cases the *utpala* may support a *vajra*, as in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, or the *vajra* may be combined with the sword which he holds in his right hand while his left hand is on his hip, as in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*.[12] In some *sādhanas* an effigy of Akṣobhya is enjoined to be on his head or crown, in other cases the effigy is to be Amitābha while in one *sādhana* (no. 61) all five Tathāgatas are mentioned. He may be accompanied by attendants, such as Yamāntaka and Sudhanakumāra, or by Yamāntaka alone, or by his female consort, or by four divinities—Jālinīprabha, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī—though in Indian texts these four are usually associated with his Arapacana form.[13]

The popularity of Mañjuśrī is particularly evident at Ratnagiri where twenty-nine monolithic *stūpas* from the group at the southwest corner of Stūpa 1 have an image representing him in five different forms. Of the twelve or so independent images in various states of preservation, the largest and most impressive is the standing one serving as the presiding deity of Temple No. 5 in front of Monastery 2 (fig. 164). From the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur there are four icons which can definitely be identified as representing Mañjuśrī, three of which are identical in respect to iconography.

A. TWO-ARMED IMAGES WITH A BOOK

Although the Siddhaikavira form of Mañjuśrī, whereby he displays *varada* with his

right hand while his left hand holds a *nīlotpala*, is popular in textual accounts, there being four *sādhanas* (nos. 57, 67, 71, 72) in the *Sādhanamālā*,[14] there are very few surviving Orissan images of this simple form, one of which is a small bronze uncovered at Ratnagiri.[15] He stands on the circular pericarp of a lotus with his left hand holding a *nīlotpala*. The damaged right hand was probably in *varada*. He has a pot-belly which possibly symbolizes his *kumāra* aspect. There is also a small seated image of Siddhaikavīra inserted into a niche of a votive *stūpa* found among the group near the southwest corner of Stūpa 1 at Ratnagiri.[16] He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. His right hand holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. It is possible that one of the two rock-cut Bodhisattvas on the western spur at Udayagiri represents this form of Mañjuśrī. He displays *varada* with his right hand while the left hand, raised chest-high, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* (fig. 191). Due to the poor condition of the image, partially obfuscated by fungus, it is difficult to see if the *nīlotpala* supports an attribute.

By far the most popular form of Mañjuśrī in Orissan sculpture, standing or seated, depicts him displaying *varada* with his right hand while his left hand holds the stalk of *nīlotpala* which supports a manuscript, a generalized form which does not conform exactly to any one textual description. This is the form he usually adopts when serving in a *maṇḍala*, as discussed earlier, though in Set A at Lalitagiri one of his attendants additionally holds a sword. In this simple two-armed form with a book, seated images are far more popular than standing images.

1. Standing Images

In addition to his role as one of eight Bodhisattvas in sculptural *maṇḍalas*, there are a few examples where Mañjuśrī serves as an attendant to Buddha, as on an image of Akṣobhya from Lalitagiri where he stands on the right while Lokeśvara is on the left (fig. 75). His broken right hand probably held a *caurī* while his raised left hand holds an *utpala* supporting a book. The image possibly formed part of a *stūpa-maṇḍala* of four Tathāgatas and eight Bodhisattvas. On the *stūpa* excavated at Udayagiri he stands on the right side of Vairocana while on the left side is Kṣitigarbha (fig. 145c). Mañjuśrī holds a *caurī* in his lowered right hand while his raised left hand holds an *utpala* supporting a book. He wears a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure of three meshed loops, a jewelled diadem, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and a *vyāghraṇakha* necklace, the "ornament befitting a *kumāra*". In the example from a destroyed *stūpa* at Udayagiri he stands on the left of Amitābha while Lokeśvara is on the right (fig. 131b). He holds the *caurī* over his right shoulder while his left hand holds the *utpala* supporting a book. He also stands on the left of Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* in a sculpture from Udayagiri now in the Patna Museum (fig. 76). Possibly the earliest example of this generalized standing form is the image presently set up under a tree in the village, midway between the terrace and the western spur, just off the main road (fig. 162). His right hand, in front of his chest, holds a badly damaged *caurī* while his lowered left hand rests on a tall *nīlotpala*. A second *nīlotpala*, blooming above his shoulder, supports a book. He wears conventional ornaments and the *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. At his lower right is a diminutive Yamāntaka.

The largest of the standing images in this two-armed generalized form is the presiding deity of Temple No. 5 at Ratnagiri, though unfortunately his head, left forearm and the *utpala* blossom above his left shoulder are missing so it is difficult to determine if the blossom supported a book or if this represents his Siddhaikavīra form. His right hand shows *varada* and his body ornamentation includes the *vyāghraṇakha* necklace. Above his right shoulder is a lotus designed as a *viśvapadma* but the object being supported is mostly obliterated (fig. 164). Near the stem of this lotus is the Buddhist creed inscribed in nine lines in characters of the 9th century.[17] Another lotus rises above the missing head of Mañjuśrī and supports an image of the Tathāgata Amitābha, not Akṣobhya as prescribed for Siddhaikavīra in *sādhana* no. 67.[18] The upper part of the back-slab is rounded. Mañjuśrī is flanked at the base by two

female figures, possibly Keśinī and Upakeśinī, who hold a *caurī* in one hand and a lotus in the other. In the centre of the pedestal is a lotus rhizome flanked on either side by a kneeling *nāga* holding a *ghaṭa*. On the right corner is a kneeling monk facing a stand while on the left corner are vessels with offerings. Stylistically the image can be dated to the late 8th or early 9th century.

Equally impressive and better preserved is another large standing image, found with other loose images in a banyan grove southeast of the stair leading to Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri (fig. 165). He stands in a slightly flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* with his right hand in *varada* and the left, now broken off above the wrist, holding a *nīlotpala* which supports a book. His body ornamentation includes a *vyāghranakha* necklace and *pātra-kuṇḍalas*. He wears a tall crown, is ornately bejewelled, and his head is framed by an elongated-oval halo, the upper part (now missing) being carved of separate stone. A lotus stalk rises up on either side of Mañjuśrī and blossoms into a *viśvapadma* supporting a Tathāgata at the top corners of the surviving back-slab, the one on the right being Akṣobhya while Amitābha is on the left. Mañjuśrī is flanked on either side at the base by a standing female figure, possibly Keśinī and Upakeśinī, who each hold a *caurī* and a *nīlotpala*. There is no pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma*, otherwise, if we include the missing top portion of the halo, the image would be even larger than the image serving as the presiding deity in Temple No. 5. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

Other standing images of Mañjuśrī at Ratnagiri include one found a short distance to the west of the Mahākāla temple and now removed to the store-room.[19] The feet have flaked off and the face is partially damaged. His right hand is extended in *varada* while the left hand holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* supporting a book. He is richly adorned and wears the *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. The image can be dated to the 9th century. Also at Ratnagiri is an architectural slab from the facade of a destroyed temple with Mañjuśrī being one of six figures in a frieze. He stands in a pronounced *tribhaṅga* pose with his right hand in *varada* and his left hand at his thigh holding a *nīlotpala* supporting a book.[20] He is richly adorned and has a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. The frieze can be dated to the late 7th or early 8th century.

Later in date is an image placed on the front porch of the Raghunātha temple at Solaṁpur (fig. 163). He is somewhat rigid in stance. His right hand shows *varada* while his left hand, chest-high, holds the meandering stalk of a *nīlotpala* that blossoms above his shoulder. His body ornamentation includes the *vyāghranakha* necklace, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. A *nīlotpala* rises up on each edge of the back-slab to blossom opposite his coiffure. A manuscript rests on each blossom. The head of Mañjuśrī is framed by a heavy garland arching upwards from the *nīlotpalas*. At the centre of the back-slab above the garland are two vessels which are flanked on either side by a miniature *stūpa* (?). At each upper corner of the back-slab is a seated Bodhisattva, Lokeśvara on the right and Vajrapāṇi on the left. Mañjuśrī is flanked at the base on either side by a standing female, possibly Keśinī and Upakeśinī, each holding a *caurī* and a *nīlotpala*. The centre of the pedestal is decorated with two lions facing away from the lotus stalk. On the right corner is a three-headed Yamāntaka (Yamāri) seated on a buffalo while on the left corner is a small female figure standing behind a kneeling devotee. The image can be dated to the early 11th century.

In the image at Ayodhyā, now flanking Mārīcī along with an image of Lokeśvara, it is not clear if the Bodhisattva is Mañjuśrī or Vajrapāṇi as the attribute on the *nīlotpala* is partially broken. It could be either a book or a *vajra*, though it looks more like the latter. He delicately holds a lotus or small flower in front of his chest with his right hand, a pose duplicated by two attendants, Sudhanakumāra on the right and Yamāntaka on the left (fig. 260). Although Mañjuśrī is sometimes prescribed a *vajra* in early texts, the body ornamentation and crown deviate from convention so that I discuss this image in more detail with Vajrapāṇi images.

2. Seated Images

The most popular way of representing Mañjuśrī in this conventional mode with two hands is a seated version where he is in *lalitāsana* with his right leg pendent, again a form which deviates from textual descriptions but which even more closely associates him with Kāttikeya, who is depicted in a similar pose in early Orissan sculpture. Of the twenty-nine images identified as Mañjuśrī on monolithic *stūpas* from the group near the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri, sixteen of them depict this popular mode[21] as do three of the four bronze images in the hoard from Acutrajpur.[22] In this mode Mañjuśrī extends his right hand in *varada*, the hand resting on his knee, while his left hand is on his seat behind his thigh. A *nīlotpala* supporting a book issues up from the left hand. Invariably his body ornamentation includes his characteristic *vyāghraṇakha* necklace, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. Although there are no textual descriptions which conform exactly to this form, R. Vira and L. Chandra have published labelled illustrations which correspond to the *mudrā* and attributes except the figure, identified as *Kāśmīra-mahāpaṇḍita-krama* Sita Mañjughoṣa in one instance and as Sita Mañjughoṣa in another, is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* rather than in *lalitāsana* as in the case of the Orissan images.[23] A rare Orissan example of Mañjuśrī of this conventional mode where he is in *vajraparyaṅka* appears on a small bronze found at Ratnagiri.[24] His right hand is on the knee in *varada* while his left hand, slightly raised rather than being placed on the seat, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* supporting a book. He wears a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure and his body is framed by a horseshoe-shaped halo. The image can be dated to the late 8th or early 9th century.

Invariably, however, he is seated in *lalitāsana* and there are additional examples of him in this mode on other monoltihic *stūpas* at Ratnagiri, including nos. 30, 45, 48, 168 and 196.[25] Among the larger images in this mode at Ratnagiri, the best surviving image is that found near the southwest corner of the porch of the Mahākāla temple (fig. 166). His *vyāghraṇakha*-necklace, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure are clearly visible. The upper part of the back-slab is broken off. Beneath his lotus seat are two kneeling *nāgas*, each holding a *ghaṭa* in front of their chest, and a spouted water-pot. The image can be dated to the 7th century. Later in date is an example which was discovered in two fragments near cell 11 of Monastery No. 1. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while a monk kneels on the right corner of the pedestal and a tripod heaped with offerings is on the left corner. On the back of the image is the Buddhist creed in four lines inscribed in characters of the 11th century.[26] There is also a small image of Mañjuśrī in this mode serving as an attendant figure on the left side of a *stūpa* carved in relief, housing in its niche an image of Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā*, while an image of Mañjuvara is on the right side.[27] In this small example the right hand of Mañjuśrī is raised near the shoulder rather than being lowered in *varada*. There are two examples of this seated form of Mañjuśrī in the site museum at Lalitagiri. Iconographically they are nearly identical, both displaying the conventional ornaments of Mañjuśrī though in one example, housed in a shallow niche, a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. In the larger second image, a seated female deity replaces each *vidyādhara*. The right one, with her left hand on the seat holding the stalk of an *utpala*, displays *varada* with her right hand while the left goddess, possibly four-armed, has her principal set of hands in *dhyāna-mudrā*. The lotus seat of Mañjuśrī is supported by a stiffly posed lion at either end similar to those supporting the lotus seat of the sanctum Buddha of Monastery 4 (fig. 167). It can be dated to the 8th century.

Also dating to the 8th century is an image presently placed under a tree next to the shrine housing two images of Indra in the compound of the Amarāvatī fort near Chaudar (fig. 168). Unfortunately the surface is badly corroded with fungus and other debris. The *vyāghraṇakha*, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure are clearly visible, however, as is the book resting on the *nīlotpala*. The upper corners of the back-slab are unembellished while

the pedestal is missing. At Soro an image of Mañjuśrī in this mode, now headless, is placed under a tree along with numerous broken images, including a torso of Avalokiteśvara and a doorframe (fig. 169). His right hand is in *varada* and the left, placed on his seat behind his thigh, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* supporting a book. The image probably dates to the 9th century.

Better preserved and larger in size is the image from Vajragiri which has been shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 170). As indicated earlier, the image when discovered was broken into two parts but has been set back together. The palm of his right hand and the sole of his left foot both are decorated with a lotus rosette. He wears *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure of three looped-meshes with loose curls cascading down to his shoulders. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. His *viśvapadma* seat is supported at each corner by a *gaja-krānta* motif of a lion leaping on the back of a crouching elephant. On the left side of the lotus rhizome is a kneeling monk with his hands in *añjali.* The image can be assigned to the 8th century.

Three of the four images of Mañjuśrī from the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur, as mentioned, correspond to this generalized form. The earliest of the three images,[28] as mentioned previously, probably belonged to a *maṇḍala* set of eight Bodhisattvas dating to the 8th century. Of the other two images, both dating to the 10th century, the best preserved is illustrated here (fig. 171). His body ornamentation includes his characteristic *vyāghraṇakha* necklace, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. He has a youthful body and smiling face. The palm of his right hand is decorated with a lotus-rosette or a small pellet. His circular halo is edged with flames while fixed to its back is a disc inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the 10th century.[29]

At Brahmavāṇa, where the images are refashioned with modern plaster, the lower part of the image is partially buried (fig. 37). Mañjuśrī is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the left on the seat behind his thigh where it holds the stalk of an *utpala* supporting a book. He wears *pātra-kuṇḍalas*, a *vyāghraṇakha* necklace and the *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure, the latter mostly obfuscated by his modern coiffure. He is flanked by standing images of Keśinī and Upakeśinī. The *vidyādharas* at the upper corners of the back-slab are covered with plaster. The image can be dated to the late 9th-early 10th century.

B. SEATED MAÑJUŚRĪ IN RELAXED POSE/MAHĀRĀJALĪLĀ MAÑJUŚRĪ

Closely related to this generalized two-armed form is another form in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhanas* nos. 69, 70) where Mañjuśrī, named Vāgīśvara in the *mantra,* is seated in *mahārājalīlā* or "royal ease" with the right knee raised while the left leg is placed on the lotus seat in the conventional manner,[30] a pose also referred to as *ardhaparyaṅka.* The right arm sportively rests on the raised knee while the left hand, placed on the seat, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala.* He may sit on a lion or a lion throne and he is to have all five Tathāgatas on his crest.[31] According to *sādhana* no. 69 he has a yellow complexion while in *sādhana* no. 70 no colour is mentioned. In a third *sādhana* (no. 50) a god of identical description but of red complexion is invoked by the same *mantra.*[32]

This form of Mañjuśrī appears not to have been popular in Orissan art though three examples have survived at Ratnagiri. As in the case of the two-armed form discussed above, the images do not conform exactly to the textual descriptions as a book is again placed on the *nīlotpala.* The first example appears in a niche of a drum-slab which originally formed part of a small votive *stūpa.*[33] Mañjuśrī is seated in *mahārājalīlā* with his right arm sportively stretched over his raised right knee, the hand holding an indistinct object, possibly a flower. His left hand is placed on the seat behind his thigh where it holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala*

supporting a book. Though his facial features are badly worn, his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure is clearly visible. The second image, better preserved appears in a niche of *stūpa* no. 69 in the area of Stūpa No. 1. Iconographically the image is identical to the preceding one, the right hand again holding a flower (?) while the *nīlotpala* held in the left hand supports a book.[34] The third example is a bronze image which was found on top of the bricked-up passage leading to cell no. 17 of Monastery No. 1 (fig. 172). Mañjuśrī is in *mahārājalīlā* with his right arm extended artistically over the raised knee. His left palm, resting on the seat behind his knee, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* which supports a book. His body ornamentation includes the *vyāghranakha*-necklace and a tall *mukuṭa* crowned by a floral motif. Behind his head is an eight-petalled lotus serving as a halo. His back-slab, partially cut-out, is shaped like an elongated horseshoe edged with flames while the finial at the apex is in the form of a *stūpa*. The image can be dated to the 10th century.[35]

What may be the largest Mahārājalīlā Mañjuśrī image is the fragment from Bhubaneswar in the Orissa State Museum (fig. 173). He is seated in *mahārājalīlā* with both arms broken off though it is apparent that the right one crossed in front of his body. His ornate body adornment includes a *yajñopavīta*, arm-bands and an elaborate necklace which is partially defaced. His head and back-slab are broken off so that his identity can only be tentative. The image can be dated to the late 10th-early 11th century.

There is also a small image in the compound of the Paścimeśvara temple at Talcher which may represent this form of Mañjuśrī though it is badly worn and the upper right corner of the back-slab is broken off (fig. 7). He is seated with his right knee raised and supporting his right arm. The left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holds a *nīlotpala* which supports either a book or a *vajra*, suggesting the figure represents either Mañjuśrī or Vajrapāṇi. Body ornamentation and coiffure are indistinct so that exact identification is difficult to determine.

C. SEATED MAÑJUŚRĪ IN DHARMACAKRA-MUDRĀ/MAÑJUVARA/MAÑJUGHOṢA

One of the most popular forms of Mañjuśrī in Orissan art is that known as Mañjuvara in the *Sādhanamālā* where he displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* while sitting on a lion. As indicated by S.K. Saraswati, this is one of four manifestations of *Vādirāṭ* Mañjuśrī, considered to be the "receptable for the increase of wisdom", who is referred to in eight *sādhanas*.[36] Whereas Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara and Mañjuvajra are both multi-headed and multi-armed, two of the manifestations—Mañjuvara and Mañjughoṣa—are nearly identical except for the presence or absence of the book on the *nīlotpala* flowering near his left shoulder. In *sādhana* no. 49, Mañjughoṣa is described as being yellow in colour and as sitting in *lalitāsana* on a lion throne. He displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* and a *nīlotpala* rises up from his left hand. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Akṣobhya appears on his crest.[37] The description in *sādhana* no. 52 reads as follows:

> The worshipper should meditate himself as the deity Mañjughoṣa who rides a lion, and is of golden colour. He is decked in all ornaments, and his hands are engaged in forming the vyākhyāna (teaching) mudrā. He displays the night lotus in his left, and bears the image of Akṣobhya on his crown. On his right there is Sudhanakumāra and on the left Yamāntaka.[38]

Mañjuvara is described in three *sādhanas*. According to *sādhana* no. 48 he has a ruddy complexion like saffron and is seated in *lalitāsana* on a lion over a lion throne. He displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* and a *nīlotpala* rises up from under his left arm. The flower is to be decked with "rays of *viśvakṛn-mantra*, possibly a figurative way of suggesting a sacred text."[39] In *sādhana* no. 51, where he is of yellow complexion, he is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a

lion. He displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* and an *utpala* passing by his left arm supports the *Prajñāpāramitā* book. He is richly ornamented and has the form of a *kumāra*. To his left is Yamāntaka, of blue colour and fierce mien, holding a staff in one hand while touching with the other the left shin of Mañjuvara by way of adoration. As noted by S.K. Saraswati, the *sādhaka* (worshipper) is required to meditate upon himself as having the form of Mañjughoṣa, "by which may be a figurative way of saying that the form described in the *sādhana* is to resemble that of Mañjughoṣa."[40] In *sādhana* no. 54, where Mañjuvara has the colour of molten gold, he is seated in *lalitāsana* on a lion. He displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* and a *nīlotpala* supporting the *Prajñāpāramitā* book by his left hand. He has the form of a *kumāra* and has five Tathāgata images on his crest. The *sādhaka*, after uttering the *mantra*, "*auṁ Mañjuvara huṁ!*", is required to think upon himself "as possessing the nature of Mañjuvajra and this may possibly imply that Mañjuvara belongs to the same category as that of Mañjuvajra, apparently an allusion to both being manifestations of Vādirāṭ Mañjuśrī."[41]

Aside from the fact that Mañjughoṣa has an effigy of Akṣobhya on his crest, while Mañjuvara in one *sādhana* has all five Tathāgatas, the two forms are nearly identical except Mañjuvara has a book on his *nīlotpala*. They may be seated on a lion or a lion throne. Although the *āsana* is not mentioned in all of the *sādhanas*, in three cases it is *lalitāsana* while in one example it is *ardhaparyaṅka*. Either form may be accompanied by Yamāntaka on his left while in one *sādhana* Mañjughoṣa is also accompanied on his right by Sudhanakumāra.

In Orissan sculpture, as in the case of the generalized two-armed form just discussed, a book invariably is placed on the *nīlotpala* so that the image corresponds to that of Mañjuvara in textual accounts. Of the six images of Mañjuśrī showing *dharmacakra-mudrā* on monolithic *stūpas* found at the southwest corner of Stupā No. 1 at Ratnagiri, for example, five of them carry a book to indicate they represent Mañjuvara (fig. 176) while only one, without a book, represents Mañjughoṣa. Of the five images of Mañjuvara, curiously, only one is in *lailtāsana* while one is in *sattvaparyaṅka* and three in *bhadrāsana* with both legs pendent.[42] This latter pose, which does not appear in textual accounts of either Mañjuvara or Mañjughoṣa, is also employed with a headless image found mostly buried a short distance nothwest of the Mahākāla temple (fig. 174). In that the *nīlotpala* is also broken off it is impossible to discern if the image represents Mañjuvara or Mañjughoṣa. He wears a *vyāghranakha*-necklace and, as in the case with all of the small *stūpa* images, he is seated on a lion throne. The image can be dated to the 8th century.

The largest surviving image of Mañjuvara, originally from Vajragiri and now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, is broken in two with only the upper half surviving so that the *āsana* is not known (fig. 175). His hands are in *dharmacakra-mudrā* with a *nīlotpala* supporting a book passing over his left shoulder. He wears a *vyāghraṇakha* necklace, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Mañjuvara is flanked by a seated attendant opposite each shoulder though due to the badly-worn condition of the stone it is difficult to identify them. The image can be dated to the 8th century.

One of the latest images of Mañjuvara is that at Nāgaspur where he is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* though contrary to convention it is his left leg that hangs pendent. Both hands, partially broken, display *dharmacakra-mudrā*. A *nīlotpala* supporting a book passes over his left shoulder. He wears a tall crown and his head is framed by an ornate *toraṇa* design. Kneeling devotees appear on the right corner of the pedestal while vessels heaped with offerings appear on the left corner. Lions are not visible though the lower portion of the pedestal is broken away. Surface details are badly worn but the image appears to date to the 11th century.

There are three surviving images of Mañjuśrī seated on the back of a lion, all probably dating to the 10th century, with at least two of them representing Mañjuvara. The example at Khiching, retrieved from a tank along with images of Kārttikeya some twenty years ago, depicts Mañjuvara seated in *lalitāsana* on the back of a lion (fig. 177). His hands are placed in front of his chest in a variation of *dharmacakra-mudrā*[44] while a *nīlotpala* supporting a book passes under and over his left arm. His body ornamentation includes *pātra-kuṇḍalas* but his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure is combined with a jewelled crown producing a tiered effect capped by a knob-like lotus-finial (fig. 485).[45] His head is framed by an ornate *toraṇa* with an effigy of Akṣobhya at the apex. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The throne sides are decorated with a *gaja-virāla* motif. The second example, dug up along with other Buddhist images while dredging a canal near Tārāpur, has the arms broken off at the elbows (fig. 178). A thin book is visible on the *nīlotpala*. His rich body ornamentation includes *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and a tall jewelled crown though most of the latter is obfuscated by applications of paste, the image being in active worship as a Hindu deity. His head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa*. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. He is flanked on either side at the base by an attendant though again they are too badly worn or obliterated to be identified.

The third image, preserved in the Dondua-*maṭha* near Kalyānapur, is also in worship as a Hindu deity and surface features are badly worn from *pūjā* rituals. The *nīlotpala* is completely covered with accumulations of paste so it is not possible to determine if the image represents Mañjuvara or Mañjughoṣa (fig. 179). Surface details are almost non-existent though the three meshed loops of his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure are visible. His head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab.

The only examples which can positively be identified as Mañjughoṣa such as described in later texts, i.e., without a manuscript on the *nīlotpala*, include the image from a small *stūpa* found near the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1[46] and another in a niche of *stūpa* no. 110, a minor *stūpa* in the vicinity of Stūpa No. 1.[47] In both cases Mañjughoṣa is seated in *lalitāsana* with his hands in *dharmacakra* and there is no trace of a book on the *nīlotpala*. There is no lion on the pedestal. It is thus evident that the form of Mañjughoṣa seated on a lion never achieved much popularity in Orissa as Mañjuśrī invariably is associated with a book. Mañjughoṣa, of course, is a popular name for Mañjuśrī, as in the lists of eight Bodhisattvas in *maṇḍalas*, so it is possible that other early forms may have originally been named Mañjughoṣa. In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 18), as indicated earlier, Mañjughoṣa is associated with both the book and the sword.

There are also a few cases where Mañjuvara serves as an attendant deity, as on a slab relief at Ratnagiri where he and Mañjuśrī flank an image of Buddha housed in a *stūpa* niche[48] or on an image of Jambhala with his Prajñā seated on his lap where Mañjuvara is seated on the right (fig. 396).

D. SEATED MAÑJUŚRĪ WITH BOOK AND SWORD/ARAPACANA/VAJRATĪKṢṆA

Although the two-armed seated form of Mañjuśrī bearing a sword and a book is generally referred to as representing Arapacana by art historians, as pointed out by D. Mitra there are other two-armed manifestations bearing the same two attributes, including Sthiracakra, also called Mañjuvajra and Vāgīśvara in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 45) where his *āsana* is not specified though the *yogi* is noted as *sukhāsanopaviṣṭa*.[49] In the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* he is labelled as "Sthiracakra-Mañjughoṣa" and is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*[50] while elsewhere in this same Chinese manuscript another figure with identical *āsana* and attributes is labelled "Kumārabhūta-Mañjuśrī".[51] An identical image of Kumārabhūta-Mañjuśrī is included

in the pantheon of three-hundred figures composed by the Chang-Chia Hutuktu Lalitavajra during the reign of Ch'ien-lung (A.D. 1736-39) as well as a similar figure labelled "Raktapīta-Mañjughoṣa".[52] An identical figure labelled "Pūrṇamatistotra-sādhana-kīrita-Mañjughoṣa" has been published by R. Vira and L. Chandra.[53] In all of these illustrations, as noted by D. Mitra, the left palm and the book are displayed horizontally.[54] Other examples refer to this form of Mañjuśrī as Vajratīkṣṇa. Although he holds only the sword in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, in most later *Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas* he holds the sword and a lotus supporting a book.[55] In the *Vajratīkṣṇa-bhaṭṭāraka-sādhana* (no. 74) of the *Sādhanamālā* the *āsana* is not given though W. Clark furnishes us with two illustrations, one from the collection of bronze icons in the Pao-hsiang Lou and the other from the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* where he is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* and *lalitāsana* respectively.[56] In the former he again holds the book horizontally on his left palm while in the latter it is held vertically in the left fist. In two *maṇḍalas* (nos. 19, 22) in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where he accompanies Amitābha, Vajratīkṣṇa is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*.[57]

In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā*, as indicated, Mañjughoṣa bears the sword and the book while in the *Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri-sādhana* (no. 277) Mañjuvajra is described as holding a book in his left hand and a raised sword in his right hand while seated in *vajraparyaṅka*.[58] In *sādhana* no. 80, the two-armed Prajñācakra, white in complexion, raises a sword with his right hand while carrying a book in his left palm held at the heart. He is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*. His *mantra* is "*Oṁ Vajratīkṣṇa muḥ*" and, though Arapacana is mentioned, the worshipper is enjoined to conceive himself as Mañjuśrī.[59] In the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan*, Prajñācakra-Mañjughoṣa holds a sword in his raised right hand while the left hand holds the book horizontally at the chest. He is seated in a relaxed pose with the left knee slightly raised.[60] A Tibetan image of Sita Prajñācakra-Mañjughoṣa is similar except he is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*.[61]

There are thus various names for Mañjuśrī holding a sword in his raised right hand and a book in his left hand while in a seated pose. As suggested by D. Mitra, we cannot be positive in identifying the image when the colour is lost and there is no accompanying label.[62] In respect to Arapacana, there are four *sādhanas* (nos. 55, 56, 58, 65) named specifically after him in the *Sādhanamālā* and in each case he is accompanied by four attendant divinities. In *sādhana* no. 55 where he is also called Mañjughoṣa and *kumāra*, he is white in complexion, richly ornamented, and wears a *pañca-cira*. His *āsana* is not mentioned. He is surrounded by Jālinīprabha (front), Candraprabha (back), Keśinī (right) and Upakeśī (left), originating from the four syllables *ra*, *pa*, *ca* and *na*, the first syllable *a* being meant for Arapacana himself.[63] In *sādhana* no. 56, where he is also called Mañjughoṣa and Mañjuśrī, he is white in complexion, richly ornamented and is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. The four attendant deities—Jālinīprabha, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī—are similar to Arapacana in colour and attributes, i.e., the sword and book.[64] In *sādhana* no. 58, where he is called Sadyo'nubhava-Arapacana and Mañjughoṣa, he is seated in *baddhaparyaṅka* (?) or *ardhaparyaṅka* and the four attendant deities are similar to him in attributes.[65] In *sādhana* no. 65, in which Mañjughoṣa, Mañjuśrī and Mañjuvara are also mentioned, he is again seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. Sūryaprabha, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī are at his front, back, right and left sides respectively.[66]

In none of the surviving Orissan images of this form of seated two-armed Mañjuśrī are there four attendant divinities so that their identification as Arapacana can only be tentative. Among the Mañjuśrī images on monolithic *stūpas* found near the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri, five of them depict this two-armed form seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with a sword in the raised right hand and a book in his left hand held at the chest. In one case the stalk of a *nīlotpala* passes over his left arm.[67] Somewhat larger in size is the image on *stūpa* no. 13, a small monolithic *stūpa* to the east of Stūpa No. 1, where he is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his right hand holding a sword over his head. His left

fist holds the book vertically in front of his chest as on most Orissan examples. Five bowls of offerings appear on his pedestal. The image is carved of chlorite.

Only one image of Arapacana is included among the bronzes from Acutrajpur (fig. 180). He is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* and holds a sword diagonally above his head. The left hand makes a fist in front of his chest but the book is now missing. His body ornamentation includes a *vyāghraṇakha*-necklace, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure of three looped meshes. His solid halo has a beaded border and is edged with flames. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

Of the few surviving stone images, the small example in the Jhadamalli shrine at Kusinga is badly worn and the head is obfuscated by accretions of paste (fig. 8). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* (?) with his right hand raising a sword over his head. The left fist holds a book vertically in front of his chest. Surface details are mostly obliterated by *pūjā* details, the image being worshipped as a Hindu deity. Better preserved is the image housed in a modern shed on the east side of highway No. 5 at Durgāpur (fig. 181). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his raised right hand holding a sword above his head. His left fist, the arm partially broken off, holds a book vertically in front of his chest. He is richly ornamented, wears *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and has a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure of three looped meshes. A kneeling devotee appears on the right corner of the pedestal and a vessel heaped with offerings is on the left corner. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

In the image from Khiching, now in the Baripada Museum, the left arm is broken off at the elbow (fig. 182). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his raised right hand holding a sword above his head. The stalk of a lotus meanders up on the left side, passing under and over his arm, to blossom just above his shoulder. Although surface details are badly worn, the looped meshes of his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure are clearly visible. The back-slab is partially cut out behind his body. His head is framed by a *toraṇa* and a lotus rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal is decorated with a lamp (?) and bowl of offerings in the centre and four kneeling devotees, two on either side, with their hands folded in *añjali*. The image can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

There are other two-armed forms associated with both the sword and the book though these two objects are not held in the hands, as in the form described in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. G. 8055, fol. 28A): "Mañjuśrī has one face with a smiling expression. His colour is red. He is two-handed. His right hand holds a lotus over which is placed a book. A sword is there on a lotus having a stalk."[68] Most likely, as D.C. Bhattacharyya observes, the latter is the attribute of the left hand. Elsewhere in the same manuscript (fol. 37b) we are told that in some cases a lotus rises up on either side of Mañjuśrī with one of them supporting a sword and the other the Book of Knowledge.[69] In the standing Mañjuśrī from Set A at Lalitagiri, as mentioned earlier, whereas Mañjuśrī holds a *nīlotpala* which supports a book, the attendant at the lower left holds a sword so that both attributes are included, though both are on the same side (fig. 155a).

E. SEATED MAÑJUŚRĪ IN DHYĀNA MUDRĀ/VAJRARĀGA/AMITĀBHA/ DHARMAŚAṄKHA-SAMĀDHI

Two *sādhanas* (nos. 66, 68) in the *Sādhanamālā* are devoted to a rare form of Mañjuśrī who is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* (*samādhi-mudrā*). As such he is known as Vajrarāga, Vāk, Amitābha-Mañjuśrī or Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī. He is called Vajrarāga on "account of his having purified all attachments" while as Vāk he is described "as the lord of speech and to radiate the world of speech. His worship is said to confer proficiency in speech, mastery in composing prose and poetry and over all the śāstras

and the arts. He is also spoken of as the personification of the essence of all the Buddhas."[70] He is to be of red colour and have the form of Amitābha, sitting in *vajraparyaṅka* on a lotus "which originates from the letter *paṁ*, in the orb of the moon emanating from the letter *a* and within rays that originate from the letter *huṁ*."[71] He is almost identical with the Tathāgata Amitābha except for his ornaments and dress, and even more closely identical with Abhisambodhi-Vairocana as described in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and in various commentaries on this early text.

In Orissa there are two related forms in which a Buddhist figure conforms closely, or partially, to this manifestation of Mañjuśrī, or Vairocana—one in which he is ornately bejewelled in the manner of a Bodhisattva, in keeping with the tradition of Amoghavajra (*Taizō kyū zuyō*) for Vairocana, and a second in which he wears the robes of a Buddha and is without body ornamentation other than a diadem to control his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure, in keeping with the tradition of Śubhākarasiṁha (*Taizō zuzō*). Three examples of the first or ornamented form appear at Ratnagiri. In the first example, now installed in the courtyard of the school at the base of the hill, Vajrarāga Mañjuśrī (or Vairocana) is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 183). He is richly ornamented and his hair is matted in a chignon on top of his head with loose curls cascading down either shoulder. He wears a rope-like diadem at the base of his coiffure and his head is framed by an elongated-oval shaped halo with an umbrella at the apex, the latter mostly obliterated. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

The second example is fixed to the west wall within the sanctum of Temple No. 4, the other images in the sanctum being Vajradharma and Vajrasattva. The deity is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his hands on his lap in *dhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 184). He is richly ornamented and his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is fastened by a jewelled strand while his upward projecting tiara has three *kirīṭa* designs. His head is framed by a halo rounded at the top. On the upper right corner of the back-slab is a small seated Tathāgata (headless), either Akṣobhya or Ratnasaṁbhava, while this area on the left is broken away. Below the Tathāgata on the right is the Buddhist creed in five lines inscribed in characters of about the 10th century.[72] The pedestal is decorated with two kneeling devotees on the right, facing the centre lotus rhizome, and a vessel on a tripod on the left. To the left of the pedestal, on a separate slab of stone, is an image of Yamāntaka (or Acala) in *pratyālīḍha* striding towards Vajrarāga Mañjuśrī. His uplifted right hand wields a sword (?) while his left hand, partially damaged, is at the chest.

The third example is the centre figure of a *maṇḍala* (fig. 141).[73] He is in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā*. He is richly ornamented and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* fastened by a jewelled diadem with a tall crest. His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo. He is flanked by eight Bodhisattvas, four superimposed one above the other on either side, each seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*. In contrast to Akṣobhya-*maṇḍalas*, as indicated, the alignment of Bodhisattvas is shifted one position counterclockwise. A *gaja-krānta* motif is at each corner of the pedestal while the centre lotus stalk is flanked by a kneeling monk on the right and a tripod supporting a conch on the left. The image can be dated to the 9th century. In that all three of these ornamented figures display *dhyāna-mudrā*, rather than the "space" *mudrā*, and appear like Bodhisattvas, it is difficult to determine if they represent Vairocana or Vajrarāga/Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī, both of whom are popular, and sometimes identical, as the centre deity in *maṇḍalas* of surviving Indian texts, as in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. In the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) of the latter text, for example, Mañjuvajra is of the nature of Vairocana.

Identification is more certain with the second form, without ornamentation, where the figure appears like a Buddha except for his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure. A similar image appears

at Nālandā though in this case the letters *ā, a, huṁ*, and *r* are inscribed on the back-slab so that its identification as Vāk seems well substantiated.[74] Of the two Orissan images in this form, both discussed earlier, the first example appears on the north side of the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri (fig. 130). He is bereft of body ornamentation except for a jewelled *kirīṭa* worn at the base of his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. Loose locks of hair spread down his shoulders and his head is framed by an unembellished circular halo. He is flanked by Mañjuśrī and Kṣitigarbha. Due to its placement on the *stūpa*, and the fact that Mañjuśrī is a flanking attendant, there seems little doubt that this image represents Vairocana as described in the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, especially as recorded in the commentary (*Taizō zuzō*) of Śubhākarasiṁha, even though he does not display the "space" *mudrā*.

The same is true in respect to the second example in this non-decorated form, a detached image at Lalitagiri which R.P. Chanda considered to be a Jain image: "within the village Kesraipur, under a tree, and worshipped as a village godling, is a curious image of Jina Ṛṣabha with the Buddhist creed engraved on the back."[75] The *mantra*, as indicated earlier, appears in chapter six of both the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Mahāvairocanā-bhisambodhi*, reading: "*namaḥ samantabuddhānām A vīra Hūṃ Khaṃ.*" Vairocana is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* supported at each corner by a lion. He has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure and his head is framed by an unembellished halo.

There are also four-armed images in which the major set of hands are in *dhyāna-mudrā*, including an example from Aragarh, now shifted to Haripur along with companion images of Akṣobhya, a six-armed, three-headed Vajradharma, and an eight-armed, three-headed Vajrasattva/Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara. This four-armed deity has three heads and is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 185). His uplifted back hands hold a *vajra* and a *kalpadruma/cintāmaṇi* having three jewel- or *stūpa*-shaped buds. He is richly ornamented and a *caitya*-finial crowns his gem-studded *mukuṭa*. These images from Aragarh can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

The four-armed image from Udayagiri shifted to the compound of the Solapuamā temple at Cuttack is flanked on the left by a trident entwined by a serpent to suggest he probably represents a form of Avalokiteśvara and is discussed in the next chapter.

F. TWO-ARMED MAÑJUŚRĪ WITH BOW AND ARROW/VAJRARĀGA (MĀRA)

Vajrarāga is also one of numerous forms of Mañjuśrī associated with the bow and arrow. In the group of sixteen great Bodhisattvas in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* he represents the third birth or stage and "personifies the love for all beings that flows from the Great Compassion (*mahā-karuṇa*) invested in the Bodhicitta, the love characterized by selflessness, impartiality and renunciation."[76] As the great Bodhisattva Māra (Love) he is called Vajrarāga because of passions within and he bestows universal bliss by slaying the absence of passion with passion. In the texts he may be depicted holding the flowered-arrow (of great compassion) in front of his chest with both hands or he may be depicted holding an arrow and bow or dispensing an arrow from a bow. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on the left (south) of Akṣobhya and is two-armed.[77]

In the two examples of the Akṣobhya-circle possibly belonging to *stūpas* displaying the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* from Ratnagiri, the two-armed Vajrarāga is depicted as the bottom Bodhisattva on the left (fig. 132a). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and is dispensing an arrow from a bow as prescribed in the *dharma-maṇḍala* of the graphic *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*.[78]

Four-armed forms of Mañjuśrī with a bow and arrow include Nāmasaṅgiti, who additionally holds the book and sword, and Vajrānaṅga, the Buddhist god of love, worshipped especially in the Tantric rite of *vaśīkaraṇa* (bewitching), who may have four or six arms, the additional attributes being a sword, mirror, lotus and *aśoka*-bough. I know of no examples in Orissa of these two forms.

G. SIX-ARMED MAÑJUŚRĪ WITH BOW AND ARROW/MAÑJUVAJRA

Of the six-armed forms of Mañjuśrī with a bow and arrow, Mañjuvajra is the most popular. According to *sādhana* no. 47 of the *Sādhanamālā* he is of red colour, including his centre face, while his right face is blue and his left face is white. His principal set of hands embrace his Prajñā. His other four hands hold the sword, arrow, bow and *nīlotpala*. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on the moon supported by a *viśvapadma*.[79] Mañjuvajra also appears in two *maṇḍalas* from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. As the principal deity in the *Tricatvāriṁśadātmaka-Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) he is described as follows:

> God Mañjuvajra is seated on the back of a lion, is of beautiful golden colour and resembles Vairocana. His three faces have yellow, blue and white colour. He is six-armed. In the three right hands he holds the sword, the *varada-mudrā* and the arrow. In the three left likewise he carries the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript, the blue lotus and the bow.[80]

He is also the principal deity in a second *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 1) in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where his *kuleśa* is Akṣobhya and he is identified with the sixth Tathāgata, i.e., Vajrasattva:

> The god Vajrasattva in the form of Mañjuvajra is red like vermilion. His right face is blue and the left white. With the two principal hands he embraces his Prajñā; in the others he carries the sword, the arrow, the lotus and the bow.[81]

According to A. Getty, Mañjuvajra is of red complexion with the right head of blue colour and the left one white. He is represented with his Prajñā and carries two *vajras*, a sword and lotus, bow and arrow.[82] A similar description is given by A. Gordon who adds that he holds his Prajñā with one hand while touching her face with the other.[83] Clark includes an illustration of a Chinese bronze of Mañjuvajra where his principal set of hands, embracing his Prajñā, display *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā*, i.e., the wrists are crossed at the chest with the hands holding a *vajra* and a *ghaṇṭā* (bell), the hands turned inward.[84]

The only known Orissan image of Mañjuvajra is secluded in a wooded area near Amaraprasādgarh in the Prācī valley (fig. 186). Though the image is identified as Trailokyavijaya by N.K. Sahu,[85] and is locally referred to as Vajraghaṇṭā due to his *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā*, iconographically it corresponds to *Guhya-Mañjuvajra*, except the Prajñā of textual accounts is replaced by the crossed hands holding the *vajra* amd *ghaṇṭā*. A similar substitution appears on two bronze images from Kashmir identified as *Guhya-Mañjuvajra* by P. Pal, the prefix *guhya*, meaning secret, suggesting this form was regarded as esoteric.[86] Although *yab-yum* images are rare in Orissa, the *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā* is often the *mudrā* displayed by a Buddhist deity when embracing his Prajñā, as in the case of Vajradhara and Vajrahūṅkāra in their six-armed forms who likewise are sometimes represented without their Prajñā.[87] In the Orissan image Guhya-Mañjuvajra is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his principal set of hands, holding the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*, crossed in front of his chest in *vajrahūṅkāra*. His other right hands hold arrows and a sword while the left hands hold a bow and an *utpala*. He wears a conical crown wtih a lotus-finial. Although facial features are badly worn, N.K. Sahu suggests that the right face exhibits loud laughter and is awe-inspiring while the left one shows complete absorption in meditation. The centre face accordingly expresses tranquil

Chart 11

MAÑJUVAJRA TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right hands 1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1 left hands	Name
Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala (20)	sword	varada	arrow			bow	nīlotpala	book	Mañjuvajra
Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala (1)	Prajñā	sword	arrow			bow	nīlotpala	Prajñā	Mañjuvajra
Sādhanamālā (no. 47)	Prajñā	sword	arrow			bow	nīlotpala	Prajñā	Mañjuvajra
Vajrasattva-maṇḍala	Prajñā/vajra	sword	goad			noose	kapāla	Prajñā/bell	Vajradhara
Vajrahūṅkāra-maṇḍala	Prajñā/vajra	noose	goad			kapāla	khaṭvāṅga	Prajñā/bell	Vajrahūṅkāra

MAÑJUVAJRA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

									Pose
Amaraprasādgarh	vajra	arrow	sword			bow	nīlotpala	bell	vajraparyaṅka

Chart 12

DHARMADHĀTU VĀGĪŚVARA DESCRIPTIONS FROM TEXTS

Text	right hands 1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1 Left hands	Name
Sādhanamālā (no. 46)	vajra	sword	goad	arrow	bow	noose	book	bell	Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara
Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara	dharmacakra	sword	vajra	arrow	bow	bell	book	dharmacakra	Mañjughoṣa
Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha	gem-pot	sword	arrow	vajra	trident	bow	axe	vindu-mudrā	Vairocanāvatāravādirāṭ
Pao-hsiang Lou 4 M 1	dharmacakra	vajra	arrow	sword	book	bow	bell	dharmacakra	Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara
Pao-hsiang Lou 4 A 31	dharmacakra	vajra	arrow	sword	book	bow	bell	dharmacakra	Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara
Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng 67	dharmacakra	vajra	arrow	sword	bow	bell	book	dharmacakra	Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara

DHARMADHĀTU VĀGĪŚVARA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

									Pose
Aragarh	vajra	sword	goad	arrow	bow	noose	x	bell	lalitāsana

bliss and contentment.[88] The image can be dated to the late 10th-early 11th century.

Other six-armed forms, such as Vajrakumāra, are unknown in Orissa.

H. EIGHT-ARMED MAÑJUŚRĪ WITH BOW AND ARROW/DHARMADHĀTU-VĀGĪŚVARA

Whereas Mañjuvajra is six-armed and has three heads, Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara is eight-armed and has four heads, though in sculpture invariably only three heads are visible. While Mañjuvajra may or may not be represented with his Prajñā, textual accounts of Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara do not mention his Prajñā, even though the leading sentiment displayed by him is one of *śṛṅgāra* (amour). With the added set of arms he holds a goad and a noose in one form and in a second form he displays *dharmacakra-mudrā*. The first form, as described in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 46), is as follows:

> The worshipper should think himself as the god Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara who is eight-armed, four-faced and of reddish-white colour. His right face is red, the face behind is of lotus-red colour, and the left is of yellowish-red colour. He holds the bow and the arrow in one pair of hands, the noose and the goad in another pair, the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript and the sword in the third and the ghaṇṭā and the vajra in the fourth. He displays the sentiment of śṛṅgāra (amour), and sits on the moon on a double lotus in the lalita attitude. He is decked in celestial garments and ornaments and bears on his jaṭā-mukuṭa (crown of matted hair) the effigy of Amitābha.[89]

The goad and noose are the conventional second pair of weapons for Kāma, the Brahmanical god of love, so that the iconography, combining the attributes of Kāma (bow, arrow, goad, noose) with those of Mañjuśrī (sword, book, *vajra, ghaṇṭā*), parallels developments in Hinduism where Kāma is similarly absorbed into Viṣṇu in his Puruṣottama-Trailokyamohana form.[90]

His second form appears in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where, as Mañjughoṣa, he is the principal deity of the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21):

> Mañjughoṣa sits in the vajraparyaṅka attitude...is of golden colour...His four faces show the yellow colour in the first, blue in the right, red behind, and white left. He is eight-armed. With the two principal hands he exhibits the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. The remaining right hands show the sword, the arrow and the vajra, while the remaining left carry the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript, the bow and the bell.[91]

A. Gordon includes a description of this second form where he shows *dharmacakra-mudrā* though she has him seated in *lalitāsana* and includes the *kalaśa* as one of his attributes of which there may be variations.[92] W. Clark includes three Chinese illustrations of this form, two in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon[93] and one in the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* manuscript, though the latter example shows five heads.[94] M.T. de Mallmann illustrates a bronze image from Nepal in this second form except a Prajñā is included. She is seated on the left thigh of Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara.[95]

One example from Orissa possibly represents the first form of Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara as indicated earlier. It is one of four images from Aragarh which were recently shifted to a modern shed (Bhāgavata-ghara) in Haripur (fig. 118). He is eight-armed with three visible heads and sits in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. Seven of his attributes match those of the text while the eighth attribute is missing. The empty hand, held in *vitarka*, quite likely held a manuscript as it is nearly identical to the *mudrā* holding the book in the Chinese examples.

The effigy in the coiffure of the centre head, however, is Akṣobhya to suggest his affiliation with Vajrasattva, as in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where he is in the Vajrasattva-*kula*, while Akṣobhya is in his *kula* and Vajrasattva is in the Akṣobhya-*kula*.[96]

In the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. G. 8055) is a description of another form with eight arms and three heads, named Vairocanā-vatāravādirāṭ Mañjuśrī,[97] though I know of no such images in Orissa.

References

1S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XVIII.

2B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 100.

3S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XVIII.

4A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 110; see also A. Grunwedel, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme basee sur la Collection du Prince Oukhtomsky* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 138.

5A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 111; see also R. Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (Calcutta, 1882), p. 249.

6A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 111; B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 101; and S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XVIII.

7D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 74-75.

8S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XIX.

9P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

10D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 75-76.

11D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, p. 194; and A. MacDonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 105ff.

12P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Shashibala, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-81; the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 24; and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, p. 22.

13B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 102. For examples with even more attendants see the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 24, and A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 378-87.

14B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 113.

15D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 360-61, pl. CCLXXXIII(A).

16*Ibid.*, I, p. 121, pl. LXX(B).

17*Ibid.*, II, p. 313.

18D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 76.

19D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 461, pl. CCCLVI(B).

20*Ibid.*, I, p. 242, pl. CLXXXV(B).

21*Ibid.*, I, p. 117.

22D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 76.

23See Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, 20 parts (New Delhi, 1962-64), part 8, p. 62, b and part 9, p. 143, c.

24D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 377-78, pl. CCXCIX(A).

25*Ibid.*, I, pp. 55, 58, 59, 82 and 88.

26*Ibid.*, I, p. 226, pl. CLXXII(B); see also pls. XCI(A), CLXXIII(A) and II, pl. CCCXLIII(A).

27*Ibid.*, I, p. 240, pl. CLXXXIII.

28D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, fig. 69, acc. no. 311.

29*Ibid.*, p. 81, acc. no. 321.

30B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 116-17.

31A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, part I, p. 115.

32S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXII.

33D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 105, pl. LII(D).

34*Ibid.*, I, p. 65.

[35] *Ibid.*, II, p. 360.

[36] S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. XXIII-XXV.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. XXIII.

[38] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 113.

[39] S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXIII.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. XXIII.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. XXIV.

[42] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 117. He is also seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on an image on *stūpa* no. 7 in the group in front of Monastery 2 (*Ibid.*, II, p. 295).

[43] *Ibid.*, II, p. 436.

[44] In the *mudrā* of the Six Elements the index finger of the left hand is clasped by the five fingers of the right. See A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[45] See also Thomas Donaldson, "Coiffure in Orissan Sculpture: Part II: Brahmanical Female Figures and Buddhist Images", *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (Sept.-Oct., 1985), p. 79, fig. 68.

[46] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 120, pl. LXIX(B).

[47] *Ibid.*, I, p. 71.

[48] *Ibid.*, I, p. 240, pl. CLXXXIII.

[49] D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 77.

[50] W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 261, fig. 147.

[51] *Ibid.*, II, p. 261, fig. 146.

[52] Sergei Fedórovich Oldenburg, "Sbornik Izobrazhenii 300 Burkhanov", *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Vol. 5 (St. Petersburg, 1903), pp. 30-31, figs. 88, 93.

[53] R. Vira and L. Chandra, *op. cit.*, part 8, p. 63(A).

[54] D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 77.

[55] Cf. *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha*, p. 22; and Shashibala, *Comparative Iconography of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, and the Tattva-saṅgraha*, pp. 180-84.

[56] W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 142, fig. 4 B 43; and p. 270, fig. 184.

[57] D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 78.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[60] W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 263, fig. 156.

[61] R. Vira and L. Chandra, *op. cit.*, part 8, p. 63(C). See also Marie-Therese de Mallmann, *Etude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī* (Paris, 1964), pl. II.

[62] D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 80.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 79. See also B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 120-21; and S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. XX-XXI.

[64] D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 79.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[67] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 121, pl. LXX(A).

[68] D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 20-21.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[70] S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXI.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. XXI.

[72] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 290. She identifies the figure as Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī while M. Yoritomo (*op. cit.*, 51-81) identifies it as Vairocana.

[73] A. Wayman identifies the centre figure as Bhagavat Śākyamuni, lord of the Tathāgata family, who is said, in the pure abode (*śuddhāvāsa*), to be seated on a lion throne formed by the eight great Bodhisattvas (of the 10th stage) who had magically transformed themselves into lions. See A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, p. 37.

[74] S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXI, fig. 28.

[75] R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 9.

[76] A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, II, p. 606.

[77] *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha*, pp. 18-19; and Shashibala, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-45.

[78]Shashibala, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[79]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 118.

[80]*Ibid.*, p. 119.

[81]*Ibid.*, p. 119.

[82]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[83]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[84]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 45, fig. 2 M 4.

[85]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 217.

[86]P. Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir*, pp. 158-61, figs. 57-58.

[87]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, fig. 16. As noted by Getty, this is the special *mudrā* of Vajradhara, Sambara, Trailokyavijaya and most of the gods when embracing their *śaktis*. See A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[88]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 217.

[89]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 104.

[90]His function and form is also taken over by the four-armed Śiva in his Kāmeśvara form where he holds the bow, arrow, goad and noose, while in Śaktism it is assumed by the Mahāvidyā Ṣoḍaśī-Tripurā who holds the same four weapons.

[91]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 104.

[92]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[93]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 115, fig. 4 M 1; p. 124, fig. 4 A 31.

[94]*Ibid.*, II, p. 262, fig. 151.

[95]M.T. de Mallmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique*, pl. XVIII(1).

[96]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 67.

[97]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 21.

AVALOKITEŚVARA IMAGES

Avalokiteśvara, the second Bodhisattva to be mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures, is by far the most popular deity in the Buddhist pantheon. He is said to have emanated from Tathāgata Amitābha and his Prajñā (Pāṇḍarā) and to be the ruling divinity during the present *kalpa*, i.e., *bhadrakalpa*, which began with the disappearance of Gautama Buddha and is to end with the advent of Maitreya, the future Buddha. The *Karaṇḍavyūha* gives an account of his moral teachings, character and miracles, and from it we learn that he refused *nirvāṇa* until all created beings were in possession of supreme knowledge and were free from worldly miseries. This Mahāyāna attitude, as noted by S.K. Saraswati, "made him the most popular among the Buddhists of all persuasions and for this he is considered to be the lord of infinite compassion (*paramakāruṇika*) and mercy, embodying, in a manner, the teachings of the Master."[1] In addition to being considered as the guardian of the Buddhist faith until Maitreya should appear on the earth as Mānuṣī Buddha, another reason for his popularity, Getty observes, "is that he is believed to have created the fourth world, which is the actual universe, and he is therefore our creator."[2] A passage in the *Karaṇḍavyūha* characterizes him as "taking the shape of all gods of all religions, nay, even the shape of the father and mother, —in fact, the form of the worshipped of any and every worshipper, to whom he might impart knowledge of Dharma."[3] His forms are thus many and, according to Buddhist legend, he manifested himself 333 times on earth for the purpose of saving mankind, "and that all the manifestations were human, with the exception of the miraculous horse Balaha, and masculine, with the exception of the female forms of Kuan-yin in China and Kwan-non in Japan."[4]

The popularity of Avalokiteśvara is evident in the *Sādhanamālā*, having as many as thirty-eight *sādhanas* which describe some fifteen forms of the deity, while two manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, one in the Cambridge University Library (Ms. no Add. 1643) copied in A.D. 1015 and the other in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (Ms. no. A. 15) copied in A.D. 1071, bear paintings of a variety of forms, each under a separate designation, including some which are not mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā*.[5] By the 18th century his forms had increased to at least 108 in number in painted versions on the wooden panel surrounding the main temple of the Macchandar Vahal, a *vihāra* in Kathmandu, Nepal, each bearing distinct features and distinct names.[6] His popularity is also evident at Ratnagiri where, among the 535 monolithic *stūpas* discovered near the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1, forty-two have his image in their niche[7] while among the hoard of bronzes discovered at Acutrajpur, at least ten represent one of his forms.[8] In addition to his independent images, Avalokiteśvara is included within the popular group of eight Bodhisattvas forming *maṇḍalas*, discussed previously, and serves as an attendant to Buddha and other Buddhist divinities.

As an attendant to Vajrāsana Buddha in the *Sādhanamālā*, for example, where he is called Lokeśvara, he holds the *caurī* in his right hand and the lotus in his left.[9] Good examples of Avalokiteśvara in this role include the image on the right of the sanctum Buddha of Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri (fig. 188) and the image from Khaḍipadā now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 187). The latter has an inscription dating to the reign of Śubhākaradeva as mentioned earlier.[10]

A. TWO-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA IN VARADA-MUDRĀ/LOKANĀTHA OR LOKEŚVARA

The most popular form of Avalokiteśvara, whether seated or standing, is a simple two-armed form in which his right hand is lowered in *varada* and the left hand holds a lotus, his major attribute. The iconography is essentially the same as for his form when included in a *maṇḍala* of eight Bodhisattvas, as in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.[11] As the Bodhisattva attached to the *padma* or lotus family which is presided over by the Tathāgata Amitābha, he is known as Padmapāṇi and is red in colour with a full-blown lotus as his symbol.[12] Invariably, however, he is white in colour and this simple form is generally referred to as Lokanātha or Lokeśvara. There are four *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* devoted to the worship of Lokanātha.[13] In three of the *sādhanas* he is alone while in the fourth (*sādhana* no. 18), which gives his complete *maṇḍala,* he is accompanied by Tārā and Hayagrīva. In the *sādhanas* he is given three different seated poses—*lalitāsana, vajraparyaṅka* and *sattvaparyaṅka.* In *sādhana* no. 18, for example, he is seated in *lalitāsana*, is resplendent like the moon and wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*:

> He has within his matted hair the figure of the god, Vajradharma, is the destroyer of all diseases, exhibits the varada-mudrā in the right hand and carries the lotus in the left.
>
> ...To his right is Tārā, who has a peaceful appearance, exhibits the varada-mudrā and carries the lotus.
>
> To the left is Hayagrīva, who displays the gesture of bowing and carries the staff in his two hands. He is red in colour, appears terrible and is clad in the garment of tiger-skin.[14]

In sculptural representations Tārā and Hayagrīva occasionally are included and in some cases Hayagrīva is replaced by Bhṛkuṭī. In other cases Sūcīmukha may appear on the right corner of the pedestal where, with his outstretched and clasped hands, he drinks the nectar of mercy said to be pouring down from the right hand of the god.

The *varada-mudrā*, the gesture of granting wishes, is especially associated with Avalokiteśvara's role as a saviour, as Mahākāruṇika, who extends his ever-helping hand to supplicants in dire distress, such as the Eight Great Perils (*aṣṭamahābhaya*), and even includes those in hell. One whole chapter (XXIV) of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* is devoted to the glorification of this aspect of Avalokiteśvara.[15] There are, however, no known Orissan examples of Aṣṭamahābhaya-Avalokiteśvara, this function having been assumed by Tārā.

In later Orissan art, from the 10th century onward, the seated form of Lokanātha is replaced in popularity by the more complex iconographical form of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara who is invariably placed in a mountain landscape and is flanked by four companion deities, two female and two male. Precursors to this more complex iconographic programme appear in numerous standing two-armed and four-armed images, including a broken image at Baudh where only his head and the four companion deities with pedestal have survived (figs. 419, 496) and examples from Udayagiri where Bhṛkuṭī and Sudhanakumāra are placed in caves in the mountain landscape (figs. 229, 230, 495). While the same four companions are also

prescribed for Amoghapāśa, in numerous examples, particularly with four-armed images, the four companions are female, though their identities are often varied. This appears to be an experimental stage which culminates in the badly-worn image at Ganjam where the four-armed Avalokiteśvara is flanked by five goddesses in addition to Hayagrīva (fig. 192).

1. Standing Images

Standing images of this simple form of Avalokiteśvara, whether representing Lokanātha or Padmapāṇi, are not as popular as seated images and invariably, as indicated, serve as an attendant figure in a Buddhist triad or are included within a group of eight Bodhisattvas functioning as a *maṇḍala*. The best examples of the latter function are the large images at Lalitagiri, discussed in chapter IV, though many of the other Bodhisattvas from these sets are erroneously labelled as Avalokiteśvara by scholars. In that very few Buddhist triads with individually carved figures have survived intact, it is not always possible to determine whether the surviving images of Avalokiteśvara functioned in a triad or were conceived as independent images, except when the right hand carries a *caurī* as in the sanctum images from Ratnagiri and Khaḍipadā previously mentioned. The surviving images thus will be grouped together irrespective of their original function or placement.

The largest of the standing images in this simple form is the Padmapāṇi in the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur (figs. 189-90). Even without its feet, pedestal or upper back-slab, the image, more than sixteen feet in height, is the largest surviving Buddhist image in Orissa. The image was discovered half-buried and broken into two pieces in A.D. 1869 at Santamādhava, on the outskirts of Jājpur, and moved three years later to its present location.[16] Unfortunately, due to the construction of a small pavilion around the image, lying on its back, it is difficult to get a good overall view. The deity was originally standing in a slightly flexed pose with his left hand placed at the thigh holding the stalk of a lotus. The right arm is broken off at the elbow. Traces of a lotus stalk near the damaged right knee suggest there may have been a similar lotus issuing up on this side though the hand most likely was in *varada*. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his matted hair. His facial features are badly eroded. The image can be dated to the 8th century. It is not known if the image originated from Jājpur or was shifted there from some other site, such as Udayagiri in the nearby Asia hills.

Another large image, nearly eight feet in height, is *in situ* at Udayagiri and has an inscription of the donor (Śubhāgupta) inscribed on the back-slab in characters assigned to the 7th or 8th century.[17] Four figures kneel on the right at the base while Hayagrīva stands on the left. Also *in situ* are two rock-cut images at Udayagiri. The first, to the right of a standing Buddha and beginning the series, stands in a pronounced *tribhaṅga* pose with his right hand in *varada* and the left hand, raised chest-high, holding the stalk of a flower (fig. 190). Unfortunately the flower is covered with fungus so that positive identification is impossible. He is richly adorned and wears a tiara at the base of his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* which is similar to the colossal image now at Jājpur. The second image, placed between Kurukullā and a Mañjuśrī-*maṇḍala*, is similar though the flexion of the right arm is more pronounced (fig. 191). The flower is again covered with fungus but possibly is a *nīlotpala*, suggesting the image could be Vajrapāṇi or Mañjuśrī. The images date to the 8th century.

At Kapila, placed under a tree, is a large image of Avalokiteśvara standing on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 193). He wears a heavy lower garment which hangs to his ankles. His right hand, extended in *varada*, is partially obliterated while the left hand, held chest-high, is broken off at the elbow but the full-blown lotus flower opposite his shoulder is intact. Surface details are badly worn. His hair is matted in a chignon on top of his head which is framed by an unembellished halo. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab with the one on

the right being mostly obliterated. Avalokiteśvara is flanked at the base by images of Tārā on the right and Bhṛkuṭī on the left. Tārā, seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*, is opening the petals of a lotus while the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī is seated in *lalitāsana*. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

Placed under a tree with other fragments in the compound of the Thākurāṇī temple at Solaṁpur is an image of Avalokiteśvara, the portion below his knee broken off (fig. 194). His right hand is in *varada* while the left hand, raised chest-high, holds a lotus-stalk, the blossom now mostly obliterated. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by an unembellished halo and there is no decoration on the back-slab. The image can be dated to the late 10th century. In the compound of the Nārāyaṇa shrine at Singhapur are two broken images of standing Avalokiteśvara though surface details are partially obscured by accretions of whitewash (figs. 195-96). Their right hand is extended in *varada* while the left hand, raised chest-high, holds the stalk of a lotus. In the best preserved image, each upper corner of the back-slab has a Tathāgata, this portion missing from the other image. The images can be dated to the 10th century.

An example of this simple variety of standing Avalokiteśvara, referred to as Lokanātha or Lokeśvara by N.K. Sahu and S.C. De,[18] has also been found at Bhubaneswar and is now in the Orissa State Museum (fig. 462). The image, carved of sandstone, is completely missing below the upper thighs while the sides and top of the back-slab are broken away. The body is richly adorned with two types of necklaces and a jewelled girdle in addition to a triple-strand *yajñopavīta*. A *kīrtimukha*-clasp ornaments his tiara though the upper portion of his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is broken off. He has a very pleasing and warm countenance. The image, unearthed in Jharapada, a northern suburb of Bhubaneswar, can be dated to the 11th century. Even more impressive is the fragment in the Sevasadana compound outside of Chaudar (fig. 463). In addition to the exquisite detail of the *yajñopavīta*, necklace and girdle, the band of the upper garment, worn in *upavītī* fashion, is minutely rendered with four registers of fabric designs. Judging from the broken left hip area, it is possible that this was a seated image but due to its fragmented state it cannot be positively identified either as Avalokiteśvara or Viṣṇu.

The image in the Rāmeśvara compound at Baudh is broken into fragments with the torso and limbs missing so it is not known if Avalokiteśvara had two or four arms (figs. 419, 496). His circular halo is edged with lotus petals and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Below the right *vidyādhara* is a small *stūpa* while this area is missing on the left side. He is flanked at the base by standing images of Sudhanakumāra, Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva, the four companions usually associated with Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. Two kneeling figures are on the right corner of the pedestal, one possibly representing Sūcīmukha, while on the left corner is a seated Vajrasattva and a stand with a manuscript. Surface details are badly worn due to the soft nature of the stone. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

2. Standing Lokeśvara as "Giver of Prosperity"/Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara

Found buried near the precincts of the Mahākāla temple at Ratnagiri is a small, badly damaged image of a standing Bodhisattva with his right hand lowered in *varada*. His broken left hand held the stalk of a flower which blossoms into a cluster of blooms and foliage near the top left corner of the back-slab. His face is mostly obliterated. Coiled locks of hair spread down both sides of his head and down his shoulders. Below his right palm are four stalks issuing from a foliated stem. A devotee with hands folded in *añjali* is seated in front of this stem. The image can be dated to the 9th century. Although D. Mitra suggests the flower could be a *nāgakeśara*, which would identify the figure as Maitreya,[19] more likely it

represents the *kalpavṛkṣa* as it appears to rise from a *ghaṭa* at the lower left corner, indicating it could represent an incipient form of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara, i.e., Avalokiteśvara as a "giver of wealth". This interpretation is strengthened by the stalks beneath the hand in *varada* which appear to be tipped with gems.

More developed in iconography is a fragmented image discovered buried in a plot of land near the Brahmeśvara temple in the Baḍagada area of Bhubaneswar (fig. 197). The image, carved of chlorite, is now headless and missing the upper portion of the back-slab. Lokeśvara stands in a slightly flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* with both arms broken off at the elbow. A huge stalk on the left side of the back-slab is probably the trunk of a *kalpavṛkṣa* which may have arched around his head like a canopy. He is richly adorned and is flanked at the base by standing images of Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. On the right side of the pedestal are five *pretas,* including Sūcīmukha, with their raised hands clasped to receive gems or riches. Behind Bhṛkuṭī, standing on two vessels stacked at the base of the huge stalk, is another *preta* who lifts an axe over his head, suggesting his intent to cut down the *kalpavṛkṣa* so as to more easily acquire its jewels (fig. 410). Stylistically the image can be dated to the 10th century.

This concept of Lokeśvara as a god of wealth is more fully developed on an image at Ayodhyā placed within the sanctum of the modern Khuṭiā temple along with Vajrapāṇi/ Mañjuśrī, both of whom flank the larger image of Mārīcī (fig. 198). Lokeśvara stands in a slightly flexed pose with his right hand lowered in *varada.* His left arm, bent at the elbow, is raised above his head where it holds a full-blown lotus. He is richly adorned and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa.* He is flanked at his lower left by an image of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara seated in front of a huge *ghaṭa.* Issuing from the *ghaṭa* is a large stalk of a *kalpavṛkṣa* or wish-granting tree which arches over the head of Lokeśvara and reaches half-way down the opposite side. Dispersed along the meandering creeper are the *sapta-ratnas*[20] while additional jewels drip from the tips of its branches. Beneath the branches and the right hand of Lokeśvara are five *pretas* with their raised hands clasped to receive the riches dripping from the *kalpavṛkṣa.* On the left side is another *preta* who is attempting to scale the trunk of the *kalpavṛkṣa.* On the pedestal beneath the impetuous and wildly gesticulating *pretas* on the right is a family of four kneeling devotees piously paying homage to Lokeśvara. Beneath Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara is a squatting, two-armed Hayagrīva, a censer, a lamp, and two bowls heaped with offerings. The image can be dated to the late 10th century.

Although there are no surviving textual descriptions in India of this concept of Lokeśvara, in the Tibetan *Rin-lhan* is an illustration of Pañcātmaka Cintāmaṇi Avalokiteśvara consisting of a four-armed seated Avalokiteśvara who is flanked at each corner by a two-armed seated Avalokiteśvara.[21] L.A. Waddell mentions a twelve-armed standing form of Avalokiteśvara as a god of wealth, Amoghavravṛtāvalokita, who is attended by wealth divinities:

> He is adorned with silks and jewels, and is standing. On his right is Vasundhari devī and on his left Nāga rājas Nanda and Upananda, and under the vara hand sits the preta rāṇī with mouth agape.[22]

There is a multi-armed image in the *jagamohana* of the Siddheśvara temple at Jājpur which may represent a similar form of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara with lush foliage streaming from his principal set of hands though it is not known how many arms he has (fig. 502). This image is more fully described in chapter XI.

Iconographically, with the *kalpavṛkṣa* forming a canopy and dripping gems, the two-armed Orissan image serves as a precursor to the later image of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara so

popular in Nepal, though he stands with both feet on the *viśvapadma* rather than crossing one leg. In this special form, as noted by Pal, Lokeśvara "acts essentially as a god of wealth. The word *cintāmaṇi* specifically means the 'wishing gem' and, from the iconography of the representation, it is obvious that what the devotee desires is affluence."[23] This concept "as giver of prosperity" is also extended to Tārā—as Cintāmaṇi Tārā, Kalyānada Tārā or Mahāśānti Tārā—of which Orissan examples survive at Adasapur and Nāgaspur.

Conceptually the image is based on the earlier motif of the Cakravartin, as in the example from Jagayyapetta where he is surrounded by the *sapta-ratnas* and is inundated by the "shower of wealth (*vasor-dhārā*), the limitless, inexhaustible food of the god" falling from the cloud touched by his hand.[24] The clouds of the Jagayyapetta work, however, are replaced by the *kalpavṛkṣa* while the shower of gold coins is replaced by gems being shaken from the tree.

3. Seated Images

The seated pose for this simple two-armed form of Avalokiteśvara/Lokeśvara is far more popular than the standing pose. Thirty of the forty-two monolithic *stūpas* displaying images of Avalokiteśvara from the group near the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri, for example, depict him seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada-mudrā* and the left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holding the stalk of a lotus. In addition his image in this form is on five other monolithic *stūpas* (nos. 52, 55, 148, 169, 201) in the Stūpa area along with several dislocated images. This form is also housed in an upper niche of the western flank of the front porch of Monastery No. 1 (fig. 199) while two dislodged images were found buried among debris in the verandah.[25] Numerous other examples are scattered throughout the monastery area, including images in monolithic *stūpa* nos. 3, 65, 85, a fragment east of Temple No. 4, examples moved to the Patna Museum[26] and the Indian Museum at Calcutta,[27] as well as broken fragments, two well-preserved images in the village[28] and a bronze image.[29] In some cases he may be accompanied by Hayagrīva or Bhṛkuṭī, or kneeling Sūcīmukha on the pedestal. In an image found partially buried in the area in front of Monastery No. 2, images of Akṣobhya and Amitābha appear on the upper right and left corners of the back-slab respectively.[30] Among surface finds in a banyan grove a short distance south-east of the stair leading to Monastery No. 1 is a headless image, identified as Lokanātha by D. Mitra, flanked by two Bodhisattvas on either side juxtaposed one above the other, which must have originally been a *maṇḍala* with eight Bodhisattvas.[31] As indicated earlier, however, the centre figure could also represent Mañjuśrī though positive identification is precluded by the missing head and the flower with attribute.

Under a *nox-vomica* tree off a dirt road leading into Vajragiri is a badly worn image, partially broken, of Avalokiteśvara in this simple form (fig. 200). His right hand, in *varada*, is mostly missing as is the lotus rising up from his left hand, placed on his seat. Facial features are mostly obliterated. On his right, carved upside down and at an angle, is a figure seated in *vajraparyaṅka* though it is not clear how it is associated with Avalokiteśvara. The image can be dated to the 8th century. At Kapila is another small image of Avalokiteśvara in this conventional two-armed form with the large lotus flower depicted in profile. Avalokiteśvara wears the circular *pātra-kuṇḍala* in his right ear and the more standard *puṣpa-kuṇḍala* in his left ear. His facial features and coiffure are mostly obliterated. His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century. Another small image is kept within the Bāṇeśvara temple at Balasore (fig. 205). He is richly adorned and a second full-blown lotus rises up on his right while a similar rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be placed in the 10th century.

More complex in iconography is the image in the Patna Museum (acc. no. 1357) from

Cuttack (?). He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the left hand, on the seat behind his thigh, holding the stalk of a lotus (fig. 203). He is richly ornamented and an effigy of Amitābha is in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. In addition another Tathāgata appears at each rounded upper corner of the back-slab while to the right of Lokeśvara is a standing Bodhisattva, his lower garment hanging to his ankles, holding the stalk of a flower in his left hand. Sudhanakumāra, his head obliterated, kneels on the right corner of the pedestal while the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī occupies the left corner. A Buddhist *dhāraṇī* is inscribed around the edge of the slab. Iconographically the image is midway between this simple form of Lokeśvara and the more complex Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. The image can be dated to the late 8th-early 9th century.

Eight of the ten images of Avalokiteśvara from the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur depict him in this conventional two-armed form with his right hand in *varada*. In seven of the eight images he is seated in *lalitāsana* and in one example he is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. In seven of the eight images an effigy of Amitābha appears in his coiffure. The images can be dated from the 9th to the 12th century.[32] Whereas both hands are placed at the knees in the image seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, in the images seated in *lalitāsana* there are two slightly varying iconographic modes based on the placement of his left hand. In five of the images it is placed on the seat behind his thigh (mode A) as on the stone images previously discussed. In the example illustrated here, dating to the 10th century, the petal-shaped eyes are inlaid with silver and he wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* (fig. 201). His torso is particularly slender. In the second mode (B), of which there are two examples, the left hand is raised slightly with palm facing outward, the thumb and forefinger touching the swaying stalk of the full-blown lotus. In the example illustrated, the body of Lokeśvara is shorter and stouter than the previously illustrated image and is more elegantly poised (fig. 202). His *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is conical in shape, sumptuously decorated and crowned by a lotus finial. In all cases the lotus held by Lokeśvara from this group of bronzes, when present, is of the full-blown variety. In two cases a second full-blown lotus is included opposite his right shoulder though it appears primarily as a decorative device to cover a strut connecting the halo with the back side of the image rather than having iconographic significance (fig. 206, C-11).

There is also a large stone image of Lokeśvara now fixed within a niche of the wall of a stepped well within the compound of the Dakṣaprajāpati Śiva temple at Banpur which may have been shifted from Acutrajpur. He holds a full-blown lotus in his slightly raised left hand (fig. 204). An effigy of Amitābha is visible in his tiered *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. He is flanked by three *stūpas* on his right and four on his left, superimposed one above the other in a vertical row. Three kneeling devotees and an emaciated Sūcīmukha appear on the pedestal. The image can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

At Khiching only the pedestal, lotus seat and lower torso of Avalokiteśvara have survived intact (fig. 209). He is seated in *lalitāsana*, the right foot now broken off, and traces of fingers from his right hand are visible on his knee to suggest it was in *varada*. He is richly ornamented and his *viśvapadma* seat has two rows of petals. A small image of Tārā appears at the base of the back-slab on his right. The pedestal, *pañca-ratha* in design, is decorated with lotus rhizomes on the top register of the outside *rathas* while the lower register has four kneeling figures (a king with three wives?) and a kneeling pot-bellied Sūcīmukha on the left along with vessels heaped with offerings. On the base of the centre *ratha* is an inscription dating to the reign of Rāyabhañja, stating "this (image) of the Lord Lokeśa of Rāja Śrī Rāyabhañja is made with distinction by Śrī Dhāranivarāha."[33] The image can thus be dated to the 11th century.

Additional images of this conventional two-armed form are scattered throughout the countryside in various states of preservation, including a badly-worn image at Manitri with a Tathāgata at each upper corner of the back-slab. In a small example from Solampur the upper corners of the back-slab are broken off.

B. TWO-ARMED SEATED PENSIVE BODHISATTVA/CINTĀMAṆICAKRA AVALOKITEŚVARA

Another simple two-armed form depicts Avalokiteśvara seated in a pensive mood with his right hand displaying the meditation *mudrā*, i.e., the elbow rests on the raised knee while the hand touches the face. This form, identified by various scholars as a two-armed variation of the six-armed Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, apparently evolves from the earlier "pensive Bodhisattvas" popular in Gandharan sculpture, an elemental type of meditating Bodhisattva variously identified as Maitreya, Śākyamuni, Nyoirin, Meditating Bodhisattva and Mahāsattva, depending upon the setting or the attributes, if any.[34] Though popular in other Buddhist countries, this form of Avalokiteśvara is quite rare in India.[35] There are possibly three small examples in Orissa with the earliest being the image in the centre of the pedestal of a multi-armed Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara (?) image presently affixed to an interior wall of the *jagamohana* of the Siddheśvara temple at Jājpur (fig. 421). He is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* or *mahārājalīlā* with his left hand on his thigh for support and his right arm supported by his raised knee. The indistinct object in his right hand may be a *cintāmaṇi* jewel or *kalpavṛkṣa*. Facial features and coiffure are mostly obliterated. He is framed by a spoked disc/*cakra*, the outer edge rimmed with flames or foliage (jewels). He is flanked by four kneeling figures with hands folded in *añjali* who are arranged around the *cakra* rather than in a horizontal alignment. The multi-armed Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara (?) could represent a form of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara as lush foliage permeated with jewels streams from the palms of his principal set of hands to suggest an outpouring of wealth and prosperity as mentioned earlier.

The other two examples are even more closely associated with the dispensing of prosperity to suggest a common heritage in respect to the basic concept of both Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara and Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, each associated with a wish-granting attribute, i.e., the *cintāmaṇi* jewel and the *kalpavṛkṣa*. In the Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara image at Ayodhyā, as mentioned earlier, Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara is seated in front of the *ghaṭa* out of which emerges the *kalpavṛkṣa* (fig. 208). He is in *mahārājalīlā* with his right hand in the *mudrā* of meditation while his left hand, placed near his seat, holds the stalk of a lotus. He is richly adorned and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. In the niche of *stūpa* no. 97 in the area east of Temple No. 6 at Ratnagiri is a small image of seated Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, his right knee slightly raised and the foot resting on the thigh of his pedent left leg (fig. 207). His right hand is in the meditation *mudrā* while his left hand, placed near his *viśvapadma* seat, holds a *ghaṭa* out of which rises a *kalpavṛkṣa* that arches above the head of the deity and half-way down the other side. A full-blown lotus branches out from the stalk above his left shoulder. In essence the image combines the "pensive Bodhisattva" motif of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, meditating upon the cause of suffering, with the munificence of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara, symbolized by the *kalpavṛkṣa*. The image can be dated to the first half of the 10th century.

Māra is also occasionally represented in a pensive or "dejected mood" after his defeat by Buddha and in some cases, aside from his placement on the pedestal, he is difficult to distinguish from a Bodhisattva. One of the best Orissan examples appears on the pedestal of the broken Crowned Buddha image in the small museum at Salipur (fig. 92). This theme is dealt with in detail in chapter X.

C. TWO-ARMED KHASARPAṆA LOKEŚVARA

More complex in respect to accessory figures and residence is the Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara form of Avalokiteśvara. According to textual accounts he is of white complexion and may sit either in *lalitāsana* or *ardhaparyaṅka.* He displays *varada-mudrā* with his right hand and holds the lotus in his left hand as in the simple form of Lokanātha just discussed. The major distinguishing feature in this more complex form is that he is accompanied by four companions. In the *Sādhanamālā* there are six *sādhanas* (nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 24, 26) dedicated to this form, one of which gives the following description:

> The worshipper should think himself as the god (Khasarpaṇa) from whose body radiate rays of a crore of moons. He wears the jaṭā-mukuṭa, holds the image of Amitābha on his head, and sits on the moon over a double lotus in the ardhaparyaṅka attitude. He is decked in all sorts of ornaments, has a smiling face, is aged about twice eight years, exhibits the *varada* pose in the right hand, and holds the lotus with a stem in the left. He is an expert in distributing the stream of nectar that flows from his hand, and Sūcīmukha who stands below with an uplifted face, a protruding belly and very pale appearance receives the same. He resides in the womb of the mount Potalaka, looks beautiful with compassion, is full of the sentiment of śṛṅgāra (amour), is extremely peaceful and is endowed with various auspicious marks.[36]

Before him is green Tārā, causing a lotus to blossom with her hands, and to his right is Sudhanakumāra with his hands in *añjali* and a book under his left armpit. To his west is the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī, resplendent like gold, while to the north is the two-armed Hayagrīva, red in colour with a protruding belly.

In Orissa the variant mode (B) of Lokanātha with his left hand slightly raised, rather than being placed on his seat (A), becomes the conventional pose of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara who replaces the earlier simple form in popularity from the 10th century onward as indicated earlier. He is always seated in *lalitāsana* and his lotus is full-blown. Invariably five Tathāgatas are placed on the upper part of the back-slab which generally contains a landscape setting, symbolizing Mount Potalaka, with each Buddha being seated in a cave or *caitya. Sapta-ratnas,* indicative of the treasures pouring from the right hand of Avalokiteśvara, are usually carved on the pedestal. The four attendant deities may be placed either on the back-slab or on the pedestal, or two may be placed on the back-slab and two on the pedestal.

One of the earliest examples of this Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara form is found at Acutrajpur, presently affixed to the wall of a Śiva temple (fig. 210). He is in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the raised left hand, the arm now broken off at the elbow, holding the stalk of a full-blown lotus, the latter mostly obliterated. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears on top of his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* which is badly worn from *pūjā* rituals. Four Tathāgata images are aligned around his flame-edged, oval-shaped halo. Khasarpaṇa is flanked on his right by two seated figures, Tārā above and an indistinct figure below. On his left is a single figure seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā.* The right and left corners of the lower register of the pedestal contain seated images of Sūcīmukha and Bhṛkuṭī respectively. A small image by the foot of Khasarpaṇa, seated in a frontal pose with hands in *añjali,* possibly represents Sudhanakumāra. Next to him are two kneeling devotees. The image can be dated to the early 10th century. Iconographic peculiarities are just being developed to suggest the incipient nature of the image.

Another image which appears to have an incipient iconographic programme is one found a short distance west of the southwest corner of the Mahākāla temple at Ratnagiri (fig. 211). This is the only example in which the left hand is placed on the seat in mode

(A) as in the simple form of Lokanātha. There are also no Tathāgata images and no landscape setting. Khasarpaṇa is richly adorned and has a tall, tiered *jaṭā-mukuṭa* with an ornate diadem at the base. His head is framed by an oval-shaped halo edged with flames while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. He is flanked on the right and left by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī respectively, each seated on a lotus. Sudhanakumāra is seated on the right corner of the pedestal while Hayagrīva is on the left corner. The image can be dated to the late 10th century. A second and smaller image of Khasarpaṇa, carved in chlorite, is contained in the house of Aniruddha Jena in the village. The left hand holding the full-blown lotus is raised (mode B) and the halo is replaced by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* around which are dispersed the five Tathāgatas. Khasarpaṇa is flanked on the right and left by seated images of Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva respectively while Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī appear on the right and left corners of the pedestal.[37] As in the previous image Sūcīmukha is absent.

An image of Khasarpaṇa which may have originated at Ratnagiri was collected by R.P. Chanda from Kendrapara and presented to the Indian Museum at Calcutta (fig. 212).[38] The iconographic programme is now fully developed. Khasarpaṇa is richly adorned. *Aśoka* leaves hang from the top of his *puṣpa-kuṇḍalas* and ribbons flutter up from the jewelled diadem at the base of his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. A small effigy of Amitābha appears in his coiffure which is crowned by a lotus finial. His head is framed by a pentafoil-shaped *toraṇa* supported on each side by a *stambha* carved in low-relief. The upper part of the back-slab contains the landscape of Mount Potalaka with the five Tathāgatas, each housed in a cave or *caitya*, and two Buddhist mendicants. Khasarapaṇa is flanked by standing images of Tārā on his right and Bhṛkuṭī on his left. The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* seat is divided into two registers with the top one containing the *sapta-ratnas*, each *ratna* separated from another by a meandering creeper. The lower register contains Sūcīmukha and Sudhanakumāra on the right side of Khasarpaṇa's pendent foot while on the left are two vessels with offerings, a pot-bellied Hayagrīva and two kneeling devotees. The image can be dated to the 11th century (fig. 498).

Nearly identical to this image is one at Nāgaspur though it is less well preserved and most surface details are partially obfuscated by accretions of paste from *pūjā* rituals (fig. 213). The pentafoil-*toraṇa* is likewise supported on each side by a *stambha* but the flanking figures at the base are obliterated. The top register of the pedestal is decorated with a meandering creeper housing the *sapta-ratnas*. The lower register is broken off or is buried under the floor of the modern cement pavilion where it is placed. The image can also be dated to the 11th century. Slightly earlier in respect to iconographic features, but not as elaborate, is the image from Chaudar in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.[39] The raised left hand is broken off but the full-blown lotus is intact. The *stambhas* on the sides of the back-slab are not as developed and the *toraṇa* has only a trefoil design. The five Tathāgatas are seated in caves in the mountain landscape. Khasarpaṇa is flanked at the base by Sudhanakumāra on the right and Hayagrīva on the left. The top register of the pedestal has the *sapta-ratnas* while Tārā and Sūcīmukha are on the right side of the lower register. The left side contains two kneeling devotees and Bhṛkuṭī. The image can be dated to the early 11th century.

The image of Khasarpaṇa from Rāṇibandh, now in the Baripada Museum, shows some unique iconographic peculiarities (fig. 214). He is seated in *lalitāsana* but his pose appears more rigid than relaxed. His right hand was in *varada* while the raised left hand held a lotus but both arms and the lotus are broken off. He is richly adorned and wears a tall, tiered *jaṭā-mukuṭa* with an effigy of Amitābha near the base. Most of the decoration of the upper part of the back-slab is missing, including the Tathāgatas, but the manner in which the landscape fragments arch around the head of Khasarpaṇa suggests the womb of a cave rather than an ornate *toraṇa* supported by *stambhas*. He is flanked by a seated Tārā (above)

and a standing Sudhanakumāra on the right and by Bhṛkuṭī (above) and Hayagrīva on the left. The top register of the pedestal is mostly obliterated except for Sūcīmukha on the right and possibly a devotee on each corner. The *ratnas* are shifted to the narrow lower register where they are aligned next to each other in a horizontal manner. The number of figures is increased with the addition of Vajrasattva on the right corner along with a garland-bearer and two kneeling devotees on the left corner. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

Two of the largest images of Khasarpaṇa appear presently in Balasore town though they may have been shifted there from Kasbā as indicated earlier. The first example, fixed to a compound wall within the town, is missing both arms below the elbow and portions of the right leg (fig. 215). The full-blown lotus is intact. Khasarpaṇa is richly adorned and wears a jewelled *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by a trefoil-*toraṇa* supported on each side by a *virāla* motif. The five Tathāgatas are dispersed in caves in the mountain setting while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Khasarpaṇa is flanked at the base by Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva while Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī are on the corners of the recessed top register of the pedestal. In the centre of this top register, encircled by lotus rhizomes, are the *sapta-ratnas*. The projecting lower register contains devotees and offerings carved on the face of its *pañca-ratha* design. The second image, presently placed within the compound of the Fakir Mohana College, is not as well preserved (fig. 216). The right arm is obliterated, the left arm is broken off at the elbow, and the pedestal, including the pendent right leg of Khasarpaṇa, is missing. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha is at the centre of his tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* with a trefoil design crowned at the apex by a *kīrtimukha*. The other four Tathāgatas are housed in miniature *stūpas* dispersed in the landscape around the *toraṇa*. There is also a Buddhist mendicant in the landscape while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab (fig. 497). The deities at the base flanking Khasarpaṇa are obliterated. Traces of lotus rhizomes are visible on the pedestal fragment. Both of these images at Balasore can be dated to the 11th century. There are also two smaller images, badly worn and partially broken, in the museum in the Śāntikanan area of the town which depict Khasarpaṇa.

Two images of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara are located near Anandapur in Keonjhar district, one set up in the centre of the village Bañchua along with numerous other images and the second housed in the southern *pārśva-devatā* shrine of the Kosaleśvara temple at Deogaon, both being nearly identical and probably from the same original site (figs. 217-18). The image at Bañchua is badly worn due to *pūjā* rituals and its left arm is broken off at the elbow while the image at Deogaon appears to have been restored, especially noticeable with the crudely carved right hand. In both cases Khasarpaṇa wears a jewelled diadem and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. Five Tathāgata images, each housed in a cave or *caitya*, are dispersed in the landscape around the *toraṇa* with Amitābha appearing above the *kīrtimukha*. The series begins with Akṣobhya on the Bañchua image and with Vairocana on the image at Deogaon. Animals and mendicants are scattered throughout the landscape while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Khasarpaṇa is flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva while Tārā, Sūcīmukha and Bhṛkuṭī are on the pedestal along with kneeling devotees, vessels, lamp and a stand supporting a manuscript in various combinations. Both images can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.

In two other late images of Khasarpaṇa the alignment of the five Tathāgatas varies from the conventional manner of dispersing them around the *toraṇa* framing his head. In the first image, from Mudupur, the *toraṇa* is deeply carved to simulate the ceiling of a cave. Animals are dispersed throughout the mountain landscape and there is a Tathāgata image at the base of the *toraṇa* on either side, Akṣobhya on the right and Amoghasiddhi on the left, each seated in a cave or *caitya* (fig. 219). The other three Tathāgatas are aligned horizontally

at the top of the back-slab with Amitābha in the centre. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The four companions are carved on the back-slab, two on either side of Khasarpaṇa placed one above the other. The top two represent Hayagrīva and Sudhanakumāra on the right and left respectively, a rare instance where their alignment is reversed, while the bottom two are Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. *Sapta-ratnas* appear on the top register of the pedestal while the bottom register has an image of Sūcīmukha on the right corner and three kneeling devotees on the left corner facing a lamp, a vessel heaped with offerings and a stand supporting a manuscript. Beneath the pendent foot of Khasarpaṇa is a figure trampling a serpent. The serpent is frequently associated with Avalokiteśvara in certain forms and, in his conception as a saviour from Eight Great Perils (*Aṣṭamahābhaya*), one of the dangers is from serpents (*sarpa-bhaya*).[40] The image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.

In the second image, originally from Bāṇeśwarnāsi and now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, the *toraṇa* is eliminated and the entire figure of Khasarpaṇa is contained within a niche simulating the womb of Mount Potalaka (fig. 220). The surface details of the mountain landscape are mostly obliterated and the five Tathāgatas are aligned horizontally at the top edge of the back-slab, each housed in an arched niche, with Amitābha at the centre and Vairocana concluding the series on the left. Khasarpaṇa is flanked by standing images of Tārā on the right and Bhṛkuṭī on the left. Sūcīmukha and Sudhanakumāra kneel on the right side of the pedestal while pot-bellied Hayagrīva is seated on the left. The *sapta-ratnas* are eliminated. The image likewise can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.

There are two surviving images which deviate slightly from this conventional form by the addition of a second full-blown lotus issuing up on the right side of Khasarpaṇa, the flower visually balancing the composition as on Sūrya images. In the first example, from Vajragiri but now shifted to the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, the upper part of the back-slab has been partially restored with masonry so that many of the surface details of the mountain landscape are now obliterated (fig. 221). Four of the Tathāgatas are still intact and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A *virāla* motif at either side supports the lintel of the trefoil *toraṇa* framing the head of Khasarpaṇa. He is flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva. The *sapta-ratnas* are on the top register of the pedestal while the bottom register contains images of Tārā and Sūcīmukha on the right and Bhṛkuṭī along with two devotees on the left. In the centre of the bottom register is a cross-legged stand supporting an indistinct object. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

The second image, in the Ḍākeśvarī-*pīṭha* at Orasāhi, is broken with the top portion, including the coiffure of Khasarpaṇa, the mountain landscape and the five Tathāgatas, now missing. He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada* and the left, holding the full-blown lotus, broken off (fig. 222). The full-blown lotus on his right issues up from behind his knee. A *stambha* carved in low-relief on either side supports the lintel of the *toraṇa* which framed his head. Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī appear on the upper register of the pedestal (fig. 418). On the smaller lower register are three kneeling devotees and Sūcīmukha on the right, a lamp and censer in the centre and two vessels heaped with offerings on the left. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

In a second image from Vajragiri, also in the Orissa State Museum, the right side of the back-slab and the head of Khasarpaṇa are broken off. Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī are intact on the left side of Khasarpaṇa while the lower register of the pedestal contains a row of four kneeling devotees on the left facing a *sūtra* on a stand, a lamp, a vessel, a kneeling female and Sūcīmukha. The upper half of the back-slab has a medley of figures in the landscape, including *ṛṣis* and Bodhisattvas, arranged around the *toraṇa*. The *toraṇa* is surmounted at the apex by a *kīrtimukha* while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab.

Chart 13 KHASARPAṆA LOKEŚVARA: TATHĀGATA BUDDHA ALIGNMENT

Site	right 1	2	3 centre	4	5 left
Acutrajpur	Akṣobhya	Ratnasaṁbhava	Amitābha	?	?
Balasore	?	Vairocana	Amitābha	?	?
Balasore (FM College)	?	Vairocana	Amitābha	Amoghasiddhi	?
Bañchua	Akṣobhya	Vairocana	Amitābha	Ratnasaṁbhava	Amoghasiddhi
Bāṇeśwarnāsi	?	?	Amitābha	?	Vairocana
Chaudar (Calcutta)	Akṣobhya	Vairocana	Amitābha	?	?
Deogaon	Vairocana	Akṣobhya	Amitābha	Ratnasaṁbhava	Amoghasiddhi
Mudupur	?	?	Amitābha	Vairocana	Amoghasiddhi
Nāgaspur	?	?	Amitābha	?	?
Ratnagiri (Calcutta)	?	?	Amitābha	Vairocana	?
Vajragiri	?	?	Amitābha	?	Vairocana

KHASARPAṆA LOKEŚVARA: ATTENDANT DEITY ALIGNMENT

Site	Tārā	Sudhanakumāra	Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Sūcīmukha
Acutrajpur	right upper	centre pedestal	right lower	left pedestal	right pedestal
Balasore	right pedestal	right	left	left pedestal	right pedestal
Bañchua	right pedestal	right	left	left pedestal	right pedestal
Bāṇeśwarnāsi	right	right pedestal	left pedestal	left	right pedestal
Baudh	right inside	right outside	left outside	left inside	right pedestal
Chaudar (Calcutta)	right pedestal	right	left	left pedestal	right pedestal
Deogaon	right pedestal	right	left	left pedestal	right pedestal
Mudupur	right lower	left upper	right upper	left lower	right pedestal
Orasāhi	right pedestal	right pedestal	left pedestal	left pedestal	lower pedestal
Rāṇibandh	right upper	right lower	left lower	left upper	right pedestal
Ratnagiri	right	right pedestal	left pedestal	left	x
Ratnagiri village	right pedestal	right	left	left pedestal	x
Ratnagiri (Calcutta)	right	right pedestal	left pedestal	left	right pedestal
Vajragiri	right pedestal	right	left	left pedestal	right pedestal
Vajragiri	x	x	left upper	left lower	right pedestal
*Ayodhyā	right	right pedestal	left pedestal	left	
*Udayagiri	right	right upper	left	left upper	x

*four-armed Lokeśvara

This complex iconographic programme consisting of four companion deities and/or a mountain setting also appears on several early standing images, including a broken image at Baudh, discussed earlier, which may have been a rare example of a standing Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (figs. 419, 496). Unfortunately the middle portion of the image is missing so his specific form is unknown at the present. He is flanked by standing images of the four attendant deities. In three colossal images from Udayagiri, mentioned earlier, including a fragment now in the Musee Guimet, Paris (fig. 494) and two four-armed Avalokiteśvara images, one now in the Patna Museum (fig. 230), Sudhanakumāra and Bhṛkuṭī are housed in caves in the mountain landscape opposite the head of Avalokiteśvara while Tārā and Hayagrīva flank him at the base. Rather than five Tathāgatas in the landscape setting, however, we have an alignment of the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas at the top of the back-slab. In the image in the Patna Museum the head of Avalokiteśvara and the upper portion of the back-slab are missing while in the image at the site the feet and pedestal are broken off (figs. 229, 495).

D. TWO-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA IN DHARMACAKRA-MUDRĀ

Although there are no textual accounts of Avalokiteśvara in his two-armed form displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā*, it is a popular motif in art[41] and there are both two-armed and six-armed forms among the 108 painted images of the Macchandar Vahal at Kathmandu, the two-armed form being known as Harihara Lokeśvara.[42] Only a few images of this two-armed form have survived in Orissa and they are all damaged or fragmented. The largest image must have been the fragment in the Sevasadana compound outside of Chaudar (fig. 35). All that remains intact is the torso and the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. He is richly adorned though his original pose cannot be determined due to the missing lower part of the image. The same is true of the image at Kulanagiri which is missing below the waist while the upper corners of the back-slab are broken off (fig. 3). An effigy of Amitābha is visible in his tall coiffure. Better preserved is the large image in the University museum at Balasore (fig. 223). He is seated in *bhadrāsana* with both legs pendent though the feet and most of the back-slab are missing. His hands are placed in front of his chest in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha is visible in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

There is also a small, richly bejewelled figure displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā* fixed to the *sandhi-sthala* of the rebuilt Vinode Behari temple at Kendrapara, along with a bejewelled figure in *dhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 33). It is not possible to determine if the image represents Avalokiteśvara or Vajradhātu Vairocana.

E. RAKTA-LOKEŚVARA/VAJRADHARMA

There are two nearly identical two-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara in which he causes a lotus to blossom in front of his chest, the only major differences in textual accounts being the peacock vehicle enjoined for Vajradharma along with five Tathāgatas in his crown while Rakta-Lokeśvara is provided with no vehicle and bears the effigy of Amitābha. The *sādhana* for Rakta-Lokeśvara in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 2) states that he is of red colour, wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* bearing an effigy of Amitābha and carries the red lotus in his left hand while his right hand opens its petals.[43] In the *Genzō-taizō-mandara*, where he is referred to as Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, he assumes a similar form whereas in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Gobushinkan*, where he is one of the sixteen great Bodhisattvas, he is named Vajradharma and rides a peacock.[44] For Vajradharma in the *Sādhanamālā*, *sādhana* no. 10 reads:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as excellent Vajradharma, of reddish white complexion, bright as the Padmarāga gem, who bears the effigies of the five Tathāgatas on the crown. His eyes beam with delight; and he holds with pride the stem of a lotus with sixteen petals in his left hand and with the right causes it to blossom

against his chest. He sits on the moon over the lotus on the back of a peacock, enjoys his seat of the animal and displays the delightful sentiment of amour. He moves in the sanctum of the caitya, the place for great performances. He (the worshipper) certainly receives the Bodhi who meditates (upon him) in this manner.[45]

Though rare, there are a few widespread examples, with or without the peacock vehicle, ranging from Nālandā in the east[46] to the Swāt valley and the western Himalayas in the northwest.[47] There are also a few examples in Orissa, including a small image from a drum-slab at Ratnagiri in which the peacock identifies the figure as Vajradharma.[48] There are also two monolithic *stūpas* from the group at the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1 which have an image of Vajradharma, identified again by the peacock on his pedestal, and another image either of Vajradharma or Rakta-Lokeśvara.[49] The most impressive image, however, is the one on the northern wall of the sanctum of Temple 4 (fig. 225). He is richly adorned and wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* bearing the effigies of the five Tathāgatas, like Vajradharma, but there is no peacock-*vāhana*. A goddess is seated at each upper corner of the back-slab, the left one possibly representing Ārya-Sarasvatī as she supports a book on her lotus. Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī are on the right and left corners respectively of the pedestal while next to the lotus rhizome is a seated male with a censer. The sides of the back-slab are carved with the Buddhist creed in two lines inscribed in characters of the 10th century.[50]

An image of Rakta-Lokeśvara is also included among the bronze hoard found at Acutrajpur (fig. 224). He is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on the pericarp of a lotus with his hands in front of his chest, his left hand holding the lotus stalk and the right opening its petals. There is a solid halo behind him with a raised rim of three mouldings edged by flames. The image can be dated to the late 9th century. On the pedestal of the broken image of Avalokiteśvara at Aragarh, below his right knee, is a small image of Tārā or Vajradharma opening the petals of a lotus (fig. 5).

In the image from the Siddheśvara compound at Jājpur, as indicated, it is not clear if the figure has two or four arms, if he displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* or is opening the petals of the lotus (fig. 227). There is a peacock (?) on the pedestal, however, and there are multiple Tathāgata images in his crown so it could represent Vajradharma. The uplifted back right hand holds a flaming disc. Although a four-armed Rakta-Lokeśvara is described in the *Sādhanamālā*, he does not open the petals of a lotus but rather holds the noose, goad, bow and arrows. He is red in complexion, wears red garments and is flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī.[51] W. Clark illustrates two Chinese four-armed Rakta-Lokeśvara images which conform closely to this textual description[52] while D. Barrett illustrates a four-armed bronze from the Swāt valley, now in the Metropolitan Museum, which, if the birds supporting the lotus-seat are peacocks, would represent Vajradharma.[53] In this four-armed Vajradharma image the principal set of hands are opening the petals of a lotus while the uplifted back hands hold an arrow and a bow, weapons closely associated with Mañjuśrī and Kāma, the Hindu god of love.[54]

In the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* is a painting of a six-armed Vajradharma who has three heads. He holds the arrow, noose, goad and bow while embracing his Prajñā.[55] One of the four images from Aragarh shifted to Haripur, as indicated, depicts a three-headed Bodhisattva with six arms who is in the act of causing a lotus to bloom with his principal set of hands (fig. 226). His uplifted back right hands hold a rosary and a *vajra* while one of the corresponding left hands holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. The object from the other left hand, held in *vitarka-mudrā*, is missing as in the eight-armed image next to this one. An effigy of Amitābha appears in the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* of the centre head to suggest this probably represents an esoteric form of Vajradharma.

F. FOUR-ARMED ṢAḌAKṢARĪ-LOKEŚVARA

Four *sādhanas* (nos. 6, 7, 11, 12) in the *Sādhanamālā* are devoted to the form of Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara, believed to be the embodiment of the mystic *mantra* of six syllables, "*oṁ maṇipadme huṁ*." In two of the *sādhanas* he is described in a *maṇḍala* where he is flanked by Maṇidhara and Ṣaḍakṣarī-Mahāvidyā on his right and left respectively while in a third *sādhana* he is accompanied only by Ṣaḍakṣarī-Mahāvidyā and in a fourth he is represented alone. All four are nearly identical in respect to the iconography of Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara who is white in colour and is four-armed. His principal set of hands are clasped in *añjali* while his other right and left hands carry the rosary and lotus respectively. Maṇidhara and Ṣaḍakṣarī-Mahāvidyā are identical in form though a slight deviation in respect to attributes appears in one alternative form where Lokeśvara holds also the lotus bearing the jewel and the book while Maṇidhara may hold the jewel and the lotus but should be without the book and Ṣaḍakṣarī-Mahāvidyā may hold the book and the lotus but should not have the jewel.[56]

The concept of Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara appears not to have been very popular in Orissa and only a few small images have survived at Ratnagiri, each single figures without the companion deities. Three of the images are housed in niches of small monolithic *stūpas*, two of which are found among the group near the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1. In the best preserved of these two examples, Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. His major hands are in *añjali-mudrā* while the uplifted right and left hands hold the rosary and lotus as prescribed. He is richly adorned and wears a high crown. On the pedestal are three kneeling devotees, an incense-burner and a stand with offerings.[57] The third example is on *stūpa* no. 121 from the area east of Temple No. 6. He is again seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* and conforms to the textual iconography. He wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. On the pedestal is a lamp on a stand, an incense-burner, a bowl with offerings, and a kneeling female devotee with hands in *añjali*.[58]

The largest surviving image is the one found within the shrine of Monastery 2 at Ratnagiri (fig. 228). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his principal set of hands clasped in *añjali-mudrā*. His uplifted back hands hold the rosary and the stalk of a full-blown lotus. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears on his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The top portion of the back-slab is irregularly fashioned. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

G. FOUR-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA/JAṬĀ-MUKUṬA LOKEŚVARA/ MAHĀKARUṆA

One of the most popular forms for Avalokiteśvara throughout the 8th-10th centuries is a four-armed image which does not conform to any of the textual descriptions in the *Sādhanamālā* or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. In this form he shows *varada* and holds a rosary with his two right hands while his left hands carry a *kamaṇḍalu* and a lotus. Iconographically the image thus conforms to the Jaṭā-mukuṭa form of Lokeśvara from among the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara painted in the Macchandar Vahal at Kathmandu,[59] or to the image of Mahākaruṇa as translated from the Tibetan by L.A. Waddell. Though not mentioning his source, L.A. Waddell includes two descriptions—Mahākaruṇa (*Thugs-rje-chhen-po*), a standing image holding the four attributes, and Trimaṇḍala Amogha Vajra Mahākaruṇa (*Thugs-rje-chhen-pe-don-yod-rdorje-gtse-hkhor-gsum-pa*) who additionally is accompanied by Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, and an elephantine dwarf (*Tshogs-bdag-glang-sna*).[60] As we do not know the name applied to this iconographic form in India during the 8th-10th centuries, *jaṭā-mukuṭa* being the name of a particular matted coiffure and Mahākaruṇa (the Great Pitier) being a general epithet for Avalokiteśvara, the name Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa will be employed here.[61]

In addition to these images conforming to the iconography of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/

Mahākaruṇa, there are numerous examples, especially standing images, which vary slightly in respect to iconography whereby a noose is included. In one case it replaces the rosary while in two cases it is held in the uplifted left hand, the *kamaṇḍalu* being shifted to a fork in the lotus stalk. Most often, however, the noose is held in the same uplifted right hand that carries the rosary so that there are thus five attributes/*mudrās* for four hands to suggest that these images reflect a transitory stage in iconographic development leading to six/eight-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara. Although the noose appears as an attribute on several forms of Avalokiteśvara, it is especially associated with his Amoghapāśa form which may have from four to twelve arms.[62] There are also examples of four-armed images where a trident encircled by a serpent, obviously borrowed from the Brahmanical Śiva, is associated with forms of Avalokiteśvara, including the Siṁhanāda and Hālāhala forms, though in these examples it may again reflect a transitory stage leading to the development of multi-armed forms such as Amoghapāśa or the six-armed Sugatisandarśana, both of whom carry a *tridaṇḍī* (three-pronged staff) as one of their attributes.[63] In standing images these four-armed deities may be flanked by companions, usually Tārā and Hayagrīva though in some cases Bhṛkuṭī and Sudhanakumāra may be added or all four may be female while in the badly-worn image at Ganjam, as indicated, there are five female companions in addition to Hayagrīva (fig. 192). These companion goddesses are discussed in detail in chapter IX.

1. Standing Images of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa

Standing images of this four-armed form of Avalokiteśvara were especially popular at Udayagiri and Ratnagiri. In three of the earliest examples, from Udayagiri, the background iconography serves as a precursor to the mountain residence conventional on later images of the two-armed and seated Khasarpaṇa form discussed earlier. In the lone example still at the site the feet and pedestal are missing (fig. 229). Avalokiteśvara stands in a slightly flexed pose with his principal right hand extended in *varada* while the raised back hand holds a rosary. The corresponding left hand, raised chest high, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus while the uplifted back hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. He is richly ornamented and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. He is flanked at the base on the right by a seated Tārā opening the petals of an *utpala* and on the left by a four-armed Hayagrīva striding in *pratyālīḍha*. The head of Avalokiteśvara is framed by an oval-shaped halo carved into the back-slab like a cave or *caitya* in a manner consistent with Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara images. On the right of the halo is a kneeling Sudhanakumāra while on the left is a seated, four-armed Bhṛkuṭī, each placed within a *caitya* or cave which is flanked above by a pair of Buddhist mendicants (fig. 495). At the top of the back-slab is a row of seven Mānuṣī Buddhas, each seated in a shallow niche, with the centre one showing *dharmacakra-mudrā*. On the back of the image is a long inscription in nail-headed characters of *circa* late 8th century invoking Tārā, Padmasaṁbhava, etc.[64] A fragment of a similar large image in the Musee Guimet contains the head of Avalokiteśvara, the full-blown lotus, Bhṛkuṭī seated in a cave flanked above by a Buddhist mendicant on either side, and five of the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas (fig. 494). In a third image, now in the Patna Museum, the lower two hands and the head with the upper portion of the back-slab are broken off (fig. 230).[65] The uplifted hands hold the rosary and the *kamaṇḍalu*. He is flanked by a seated Tārā opening the petals of an *utpala* and a four-armed Hayagrīva on the right and left respectively. Rocks interspersed with deer and monkeys appear on the back-slab to suggest the mountain landscape. Thogh similar to mount Potalaka as depicted on later Khasarpaṇa images, the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas of these early images are replaced on the latter by the five Tathāgata Buddhas who are dispersed in the mountain setting while Sudhanakumāra and Bhṛkuṭī are placed at the base along with Tārā and Hayagrīva. The images can be dated to the late 8th century.

On another image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa still at Udayagiri, now lying on its back, the back-slab is devoid of ornamentation except for a thick lotus stalk rising

Chart 14

4-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right 1 hands	2	2	left 1 hands	Pose	Name
Amoghapāśa-sādhana (Bengal)	noose	vajra	goad	rosary	standing	Amoghapāśa
Amoghapāśa-pañcadeva-stotra	noose	vajra	goad	rosary	standing	Amoghapāśa
Ba ri Rin chen grags	noose	vajra	goad	rosary	standing	Amoghapāśa
Sādhana-samuccaya	varada	noose?	tridaṇḍī	noose		Amoghapāśa
Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	noose	vajraparyaṅka	Amoghapāśa
Shosonzuzō (A.D. 1858)	vitarka	kamaṇḍalu	noose	lotus	vajraparyaṅka	Amoghapāśa
Genzu-taizō maṇḍala	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	noose	lotus	seated	Amoghapāśa
Macchandar Vahal (Nepal)	varada	rosary	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa
Tibetan (Waddell)	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus	standing	Mahākaruṇa
Viśvakarma-śilpa	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	abhaya	seated	Lokeśvara
Sādhanamālā 6, 7, 11, 12	añjali	rosary	lotus	añjali		Ṣaḍakṣarī

Site — 4-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site	right 1 hands	2	2	left 1 hands	Pose	Name
Ayodhyā	varada	rosary	x	x	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Cuttack (Baniāsāhi)	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/Hayagrīva	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Kendrapara	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/hip	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Naṭara	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Ratnagiri (2)	varada	x	x	lotus/Hayagrīva	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Udayagiri (2)	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Udayagiri (Patna)	x	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	x	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Cuttack (Solapuamā)	varada	rosary	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Ganjam	varada	rosary?	lotus	x	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Ratnagiri	varada	rosary	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Ratnagiri stūpa 151	varada	x	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Zurich (Rietberg) bronze	varada	rosary	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Baḍa-Tārā	varada	x	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Kuruma	varada	x	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Paradipgarh	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Ratnagiri (2)	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Ratnagiri stūpas (12)	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Tārāpur	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Udayagiri	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Kayima	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Acutrajpur bronze	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/thigh	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Avana	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/thigh	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Ratnagiri	varada	rosary	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Aragarh	varada	rosary	x	x	lalitāsana	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa
Ratnagiri (2)	varada	rosary/noose	kamaṇḍalu	lotus	standing	Amoghapāśa
Ratnagiri (2)	varada	rosary/noose	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/Hayagrīva	standing	Amoghapāśa
Udayagiri	varada	rosary/noose	kamaṇḍalu	lotus	standing	Amoghapāśa
Ratnagiri*	varada	rosary	noose	lotus/kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa
Ratnagiri*	varada	rosary	noose	lotus/kamaṇḍalu	lalitāsana	Amoghapāśa
Solaṇapura	varada	noose	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Amoghapāśa
Udayagiri (Patna)	varada	rosary	trident	lotus	standing	Sugatisandarśana
Cuttack (Solapuamā)**	(dhyāna)	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	(dhyāna)/lotus	vajraparyaṅka	Sugatisandarśana
Baudh bronze	varada	conch	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/seat	lalitāsana	Śaṅkhanātha
Udayagiri (San Francisco)	rosary	conch	kamaṇḍalu	lotus/Hayagrīva	standing	Śaṅkhanātha
Ratnagiri (4)	añjali	rosary	lotus	añjali	vajraparyaṅka	Ṣaḍakṣarī

*kamaṇḍalu in lotus stalk on left

**trident entwined by serpent is on the left

up on the right side to flower behind the lower right hand of Avalokiteśvara. He stands in a slightly flexed pose with his principal right hand lowered in *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds the rosary. The principal left hand, raised chest-high, is now broken off but the full-blown lotus is intact. The uplifted back left hand holds the *kamaṇḍalu*. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by an unembellished halo, There are no companion deities. The image can likewise be dated to the late 8th century.

One of the most beautiful images, its surface details well-preserved and only the uplifted right arm and the pedestal missing, is the example housed in a modern shrine at Natara, near Kendupatna, where it is collectively worshipped along with other images as the Grāmadevatī of the village (fig. 231). His lower right hand is extended in *varada* while the principal left hand, raised chest high, holds the full-blown lotus. The back left hand, however, is now lowered rather than being uplifted while still holding the *kamaṇḍalu*, so that an overall balance and greater clarity in respect to attributes is achieved. Avalokiteśvara is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. A flying *vidyādhara* appears on each side of his head while the upper corners of the back-slab are rounded. He is flanked at the base by seated Tārā on the right and the pot-bellied, four-armed Hayagrīva on his left. The image can be placed in the 9th century.

Included among numerous images corresponding to this four-armed form at Ratnagiri is a small example housed in the niche of *stūpa* no. 151, a short distance south of Stūpa No. 1.[66] He stands in a *samabhaṅga* pose with his lower right hand extended in *varada* while the corresponding left hand holds a vessel. The uplifted left hand holds the stalk of a lotus while the right hand is broken off but presumably held the rosary. A devotee kneels near the right foot of the deity. Iconographically, with the vessel held in the lowered left hand, the image thus corresponds with the image at Naṭara. In other cases the hand holding the *kamaṇḍalu* is uplifted, as on the earlier images at Udayagiri and in the example discovered in the verandah of the Mahākāla temple (fig. 232). He stands in a gracefully flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* with his lowered right hand in *varada*, the hand resting on a lotus with its stalk rising up on the right lower edge of the back-slab. His principal left hand, raised chest high, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus while the uplifted right and left hands carry a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu* respectively. He is richly adorned and loose coils of his *jaṭā-mukutā* cascade down on either side of his head and down his shoulders. The Tathāgata image in his coiffure is badly worn. The elongated-oval halo of Avalokiteśvara is inscribed with the Buddhist creed.[67] A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the late 9th century. Among other fragments of images of four-armed standing Avalokiteśvara, the most notable is the lower portion of a sculpture found on the slope of a hill west of *stūpa* no. 4 from the group in front of Monastery No. 2.[68] The uplifted back hands with their attributes are both missing so the exact iconographic form can only be tentative. The lowered right hand, in *varada*, is again resting on a lotus while the left hand, also lowered as at Naṭara, is placed on the head of a four-armed Hayagrīva while the lotus stalk issues up from between the thumb and forefinger. Hayagrīva crosses his principal set of hands in front of his chest while his uplifted right hand displays *vandanābhinayī* and the back left hand rests on a staff. Tārā, seated near the right leg of Avalokiteśvara, is in the act of blossoming forth a lotus. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

This pose, with the lowered left hand placed on the head of Hayagrīva, is repeated on an image presently placed in the Thākurāṇī compound at Baṇiāsāhi in the city of Cuttack, which may have been shifted to Cuttack by J. Beams as indicated earlier (fig. 414). He stands in a slightly flexed pose with his lower right hand in *varada*, the hand resting on a lotus, while the uplifted back hands hold the rosary and *kamaṇḍalu*. He is richly adorned but surface details are badly worn and the Tathāgata in his coiffure is obliterated. A *vidyādhara* is at

each upper corner of the back-slab. Tārā is seated at the lower right, opening the petals of a lotus, while Hayagrīva stands at the left but has only two hands which hold a lotus and rest on a staff. A kneeling donor is partially intact beneath Tārā but most of the pedestal is broken off. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

In two other examples of this four-armed iconographic form the *vidyādharas* are replaced by Tathāgatas while the *kamaṇḍalu* is held in the lowered left hand, the vessel being additionally supported by a lotus issuing up next to Hayagrīva. The first example, apparently moved to Cuttack by J. Beams from Udayagiri, is situated in the Solapuamā compound (fig. 236). He stands in a slightly flexed pose with his lower right hand in *varada*, framed by a lotus, while the uplifted hand holds a rosary. A second rosary hangs from the meandering stalk immediately above, opposite the halo. The lower left hand holds the *kamaṇḍalu* while the uplifted back hand holds a lotus stalk, the blossom facing inward towards the pleasing countenance of Avalokiteśvara. He is richly adorned and wears a thin *antarīya* that extends down to his knees. An effigy of Amitābha is visible in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The oval halo framing his head has a beaded border and is inscribed with a Buddhist *dhāraṇī*. The Tathāgatas in the upper corners represent Akṣobhya and Ratnasaṁbhava. A pair of *vidyādharas* hold a jewelled crown above the halo of Avalokiteśvara. Tārā, with her hands causing a lotus to blossom, is seated at the lower right while four-armed Hayagrīva stands in *pratyālīḍha* to the left. A kneeling devotee is carved on the face of the *viśvapadma* beneath Tārā. The pedestal below the *viśvapadma* is missing. A long inscription is etched on the back of the image. The image can be dated to the 9th century. The second image, in a niche of the west wall of the front porch of Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri, is nearly identical in respect to iconography except that the jewelled crown and *vidyādharas* are eliminated, there is only one rosary, Tārā is replaced by a kneeling, emaciated *preta* beseeching a boon, and the staff of Hayagrīva is replaced by a noose (fig. 235). The *antarīya* worn by Avalokiteśvara is heavy and hangs to the ankles. At the base of his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is a diadem of twisted-rope design. The image, which is a companion to the four-armed Vajrapāṇi on the east wall of the porch (fig. 263), both facing one another, can be dated to the second-half of the 8th century.

On the inscribed image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa-Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa in the Baṇiāmala area of Kendrapara,[69] the principal left hand is placed at the waist where it bends the long stalk of a lotus while the *kamaṇḍalu* delicately hangs from the uplifted left hand (fig. 233). He is flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva. N.N. Vasu illustrates a standing image from Ayodhyā though only the lower right hand, in *varada*, is intact.[70] He is flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī below and by a miniature *stūpa* on either side of his head. A seated figure (goddess?) is on each corner of the pedestal. In the Museum Rietberg at Zurich, Switzerland, is a four-armed standing image of a similar iconography which may be from Orissa. His principal left hand is lowered and holds the *kamaṇḍalu* while the back left hand is uplifted and holds the lotus. The bronze image can be dated to the late 11th-early 12th century.[71]

The concept where both major hands are lowered so that the image is better balanced and the *āyudhas* are more clearly discernible, along with the addition of a lotus on the right which frames the hand displaying *varada*, suggests the influence of Brahmanical images, such as the four-armed standing Viṣṇu. This is also evident in images where the lowered left hand holding the lotus is placed on the head of Hayagrīva, a placement conventional on early images of Viṣṇu where the standing attendants are *āyudha-puruṣas* as prescribed in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (third khaṇḍa, 85.2-15) and as represented in numerous images at Jājpur dating to the 7th-9th centuries (fig. 234). The kneeling devotee, especially when carved on the face of the *viśvapadma*, is reminiscent of Garuḍa kneeling at the feet of Viṣṇu. Reciprocal influence, as indicated, appears in the iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical images throughout the Bhauma period. The jewelled crown carried by *vidyādharas* over the

head of the Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa image at Cuttack also appears on several later images of the Brahmanical deity Lakulīśa, as at Jayati and on the Megheśvara temple.

2. Seated Images of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa

The largest and most beautiful image of this four-armed seated form of Avalokiteśvara conforming to Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa iconography is the example housed in the Lokanātha temple at Paradipgarh where it is presently being worshipped as Viṣṇu (fig. 238). He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his right leg pendent. His principal right hand, in *varada*, rests on his knee while the uplifted back hand holds a rosary. The principal left hand, holding the stalk of a full-blown lotus, is placed on the seat behind his thigh. The back left hand, raised shoulder high, holds the *kamaṇḍalu*. He is richly adorned. A braided diadem is at the base of his matted coiffure. An effigy of Amitābha appears in his coiffure while his head is framed by a large elongated-oval halo decorated with a flying *vidyādhara* near each upper rounded corner and an effigy of Akṣobhya at the apex. Only part of the pedestal is visible above the sanctum floor and it is decorated with lion motifs at the corners and a bowl heaped with offerings on a tripod at the centre. Stylistically the image is similar to examples at sites in the Asia hills and may have originated there or was carved by a sculptor from the same workshop. The image can be dated to the 8th century.

This pose, with the major left hand holding the lotus being placed on the seat behind the thigh, is the conventional pose for most of these four-armed seated images. Numerous small examples are found at Ratnagiri including one in the northern niche of monolithic *stūpa* no. 226 from the group south of Stupa No. 1,[72] two images from drum-slabs,[73] examples on six monolithic *stūpas* from the group southwest of Stūpa No. 1,[74] a detachable chlorite image inside the niche of *stūpa* no. 15 from the area in front of Monastery No. 2,[75] and images in the niche of *stūpa* nos. 20 and 107 in the same area.[76] Probably the best surviving large example still at Ratnagiri is the image found near the brick Temple No. 7 at the northeast corner of the Stūpa-area (fig. 240). The image conforms to the conventional iconography as outlined with the image at Paradipgarh. An effigy of Amitābha is visible in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* though it is partially defaced. His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo while near the upper corners of the back-slab are images of Ratnasaṁbhava on the right and Akṣobhya on the left. A *gaja-krānta* motif appears at each corner of the pedestal while to the left of the lotus rhizome is a lidded vase. On the back of the image, in characters of about the 9th century, is the Buddhist creed and a *dhāraṇī*.[77] There are numerous other examples of this iconographic form of Avalokiteśvara at Ratnagiri though in some cases, as in a small image found on the verandah of the Mahākāla temple, a noose is added to suggest the image probably represents an incipient form of Amoghapāśa.[78] Another image was discovered when exposed by rain on the eastern slope of the hill close to Temple No. 7. The double-petalled lotus held in his raised back left hand faces Avalokiteśvara, rather than being full-blown, and the Tathāgatas at the upper corners of the back-slab are replaced by *vidyādharas*. The pedestal, badly worn, has a lion at each corner. The image can be dated to the late 8th or early 9th century.[79] Fixed to the wall of the *saptaghara* attached to the Gopāljī temple belonging to the family of Aniruddha Jena within the village is the upper part of an Avalokiteśvara image carved in chlorite which has been converted with plaster by the local populace into the fish *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (fig. 475). All four original arms are missing, as well as the body below the chest, so it is impossible to tell the exact pose or iconographic form. An effigy of Amitābha appears within his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* while Akṣobhya and Ratnasaṁbhava are on the upper right and left corners of the back-slab. The back-slab is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in three lines in characters of the 11th century.[80]

One of the earliest of the seated images of this four-armed form is the headless image discovered at Udayagiri (fig. 239). His iconography conforms to the conventional form though

the lotus flower is now missing along with the upper part of the back-slab. The pedestal is decorated with a lion at each corner. The plastic modelling of the body is somewhat flat and the hands and feet are rather clumsily executed. The body ornamentation, though crisply carved, lacks refinement. The image can be dated to the late 7th or early 8th century.

10th century examples of this form are found at Tārāpur, Kuruma and Baḍa-Tārā. The upper corners of the back-slab are missing on the image at Tārāpur while the images on the pedestal are badly worn though the figure on the left corner carrying a staff probably represents Hayagrīva. In the image at Kuruma, Avalokiteśvara wears a tall tiered *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and his head is framed by a pointed halo (fig. 241). A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A devotee kneels on the right corner of the pedestal, next to a lamp, while on the left corner is a vessel on a tripod and an indistinct image. At Baḍa-Tārā the objects held in the uplifted back hands along with the upper back-slab are missing so that exact identification is not possible though the image is virtually identical with the image from Kuruma and most likely held the same objects (fig. 242). Surface details are badly worn as are the images on the pedestal which include Tārā (?) on the right corner while on the left side is a pot-bellied seated Hayagrīva and a kneeling devotee. It is possible that this image was shifted from the Buddhist complex at Kuruma as indicated earlier.

In addition to examples in this conventional pose with the principal right hand placed on the seat where it holds the stalk of a lotus, there is a variant mode in which the arm rests on the thigh, as in a bronze image from the hoard discovered at Acutrajpur (fig. 243). Avalokiteśvara is seated in an uneasy *lalitāsana* pose on a lotus seat with a single row of petals. His lowered right hand, in *varada*, rests on the right knee while the uplifted back hand holds the rosary. His uplifted back left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu* while the left hand, on the left knee, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his conical *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by a solid *caitya*-shaped halo supported by a horizontal lintel with a hanging pedant on either end. In the centre of the hollow, oblong pedestal is a seated man with folded hands fronting a serpent stretched along the front side of the pedestal, possibly an allusion to Avalokiteśvara's role as a saviour from the *Aṣṭamahābhaya* or Eight Great Perils, specifically danger from snakes as stated by D. Mitra.[81] On the right corner is a kneeling devotee with hands folded in *añjali*. The image can be dated to the late 10th century.

Nearly identical in respect to iconography is a small stone image at Avana (fig. 244). The lower left arm, the *kamaṇḍalu* and the lotus-flower are mostly obliterated, the upper corners of the back-slab are broken off, and the facial features are badly worn. A kneeling devotee appears on the right corner of the pedestal while on the left side is a bowl heaped with offerings along with a second kneeling devotee. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

In a chlorite image found among debris above the verandah floor in front of Cell 22 of Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri the lowered left hand resting on the knee holds the *kamaṇḍalu* by its neck while the raised back left hand holds the stalk of a lotus, the flower badly damaged. Avalokiteśvara is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears at the base of the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* (fig. 245). The halo framing his head is richly embellished with beads and flower bands while edged with flames. The slightly-rounded back-slab is pointed at the top and is decorated with an effigy of Mañjuśrī near the top right and with Maitreya on the left. Avalokiteśvara is flanked at the right by Tārā and on the left by Bhṛkuṭī. On the right corner of the pedestal is a pot-bellied Sūcīmukha while on the left side is the stalk of the lotus aligned in scrolls. On the base of the pedestal is the Buddhist creed inscribed in two lines of characters of the 10th-11th century.[82]

H. FOUR-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA WITH A CONCH/ŚAṄKHANĀTHA AVALOKITEŚVARA

In a small bronze image of a four-armed Avalokiteśvara illustrated by N.K. Sahu and identified by him as a form of Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara,[83] the uplifted right hand holds a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell rather than the rosary as conventional on Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa images. This identification is based mainly on the painted two-armed standing image from the Macchandar Vahal in Kathmandu.[84] In the image from Baudh the major right hand is lowered in *varada*. It appears that the principal left hand, placed on the seat, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus while the uplifted left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu* as in images of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa.[85] Avalokiteśvara is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* and is richly adorned. His horseshoe-shaped halo is edged with flames. The footed pedestal is unembellished. The image can be ascribed to the 10th century.

A standing version of this iconographic form, most likely from Udayagiri and formerly in the Ghosh collection, is now in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (fig. 247). Avalokiteśvara stands in a rather rigid *samabhaṅga* pose with his principal right hand holding a rosary though it appears that the arm below the elbow may have been restored at a later date, the hand itself being clumsily executed.[86] The uplifted back right hand holds a *śaṅkha*, partially obliterated, while the raised back left hand holds the *kamaṇḍalu*. The lowered left hand, resting on the head of a pot-bellied Hayagrīva, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus. Avalokiteśvara is richly adorned and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. Surface details are badly worn due to the poor quality of stone and the upper corners of the back-slab are broken off. The deity is flanked by a standing image of Tārā on his right, her hands in *añjali* with a lotus issuing from under her left armpit, and Hayagrīva on the left who holds a lotus in his right hand while his left hand rests on a staff. The face of the *viśvapadma* seat and the pedestal are broken off. Stylistically the image appears to date to the 9th century.

I. FOUR-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA WITH A NOOSE/AMOGHAPĀŚA LOKEŚVARA

A more popular attribute for four-armed Avalokiteśvara images in Orissa is the noose. Although the noose is an attribute for several different forms of Avalokiteśvara, including a four-armed Rakta-Lokeśvara as indicated earlier,[87] it is especially associated with his Amoghapāśa form, i.e., the Bodhisattva with the "unfailing rope". The widespread popularity of this form is evident in the many translations of the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-mahāyāna-sūtra* into Chinese, varying in date from A.D. 587 to the end of the 10th century.[88] In the text the munificent qualities of Amoghapāśa are stressed and it is told that those who honour him and recite the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya* seven times without speaking another word will obtain the twenty *Dharmas* as blessings in this life and eight other *Dharmas* at the hour of death.[89] As the great Compassionate One who realizes the hopes of all beings, Avalokiteśvara is characterized in this text as one "who brings the stream of life of many beings to maturity, ...who atones for every obstruction due to past actions", and as one who "delivers from all diseases."[90] Although the text does not contain a complete description of Amoghapāśa, and no descriptions appear in surviving Indian texts such as the *Sādhanamālā* or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, descriptions do survive in Tibetan, Nepalese, Chinese and Japanese texts, labelled images or *paṭa* paintings with the number of arms varying from two to twelve or more.[91] In Indian sculpture, however, the most popular forms are those which depict him with six or eight arms.[92] In numerous examples from Japan the principal set of hands are in *namaskāra* or *añjali* (*kimyo-gassho*), which P. Pal suggests may be an aspect of the earliest form of the god,[93] though this *mudrā* is absent on images elsewhere except for the multi-armed images mentioned by Gordon[94] and Getty.[95] In that no multi-armed images have as yet been discovered in Orissa, discussion here will be limited to four-, six-, and eight-armed descriptions.

R. Meisezahl furnishes us with various descriptions of Amoghapāśa preserved in the *Tanjur*, originally from India, which can be divided into two traditions, i.e., (1) the red Amoghapāśa as *māṇḍalika* in the role of Ruler of the East, from the *maṇḍala* of Avalokiteśvara, and (2) the white Amoghapāśa as *maṇḍaleśa*, i.e., "Lord of the Maṇḍala".[96] The iconographic descriptions of the four-armed red Amoghapāśa as prescribed in the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Sahajalalita and the *Amoghapāśa-pañcadeva-stotra* of Candragomin, representing the Bengal school,[97] and in the Tibetan school (Ba ri Rin chen grags),[98] are nearly identical with the deity holding a noose and *vajra* in his right hands while his left hands hold a goad and a rosary. He is an emanation from the red letter *ha* and stands in *samabhaṅga* on the lunar disc over a white lotus. He faces east while the other deities in the *maṇḍala* are Hayagrīva (south), Ekajaṭā (west) and Bhṛkuṭī (north). In the Tibetan version of the *Sādhana-samuccaya*, the four-armed white Amoghapāśa displays *varada* and holds a lasso (?) in his right hands while his left hands have a *tridaṇḍī* and the "unfailing noose". He is surrounded by Amoghāṅkuśa, Hayagrīva, Ekajaṭā and Bhṛkuṭī as the rulers of the four quarters.[99] W. Clark includes an illustration from the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* of a four-armed Amoghapāśa seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with the right hands showing *varada* and holding a rosary while the left hands hold a *tridaṇḍī* and a noose.[100] Four-armed images also appear in Japan[101] while G. Roerich describes a *thang-ka* of Amoghapāśa in which he is four-headed and four-armed, his hands holding the trident, the lotus and the noose.[102]

There is also a six-armed version of Amoghapāśa from the Tibetan version of the *Sādhana-samuccaya* preserved in the *Tanjur*. According to this description his first right hand displays *varada* while the other two hold a *tridaṇḍī* and a round ewer. His left hands hold a red lotus, a noose and a rosary consisting of jewels. He is surrounded by the same deities as rulers of the quarters.[103]

The most popular are eight-armed descriptions which appear in various texts, including a Nepalese manuscript of *Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā* preserved in the University of Cambridge Library,[104] an elaborate *sādhana* composed by the Kaśmīrī *mahāpaṇḍita* Śākyaśrībhadra (A.D. 1127-1225) now lost but with a Tibetan translation by Vibhūticandra (Vibhūti), a *mahāpaṇḍita* from the Jagaddala Monastery in Bengal, being preserved in the *Tanjur*,[105] and the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* written and translated by Vibhūticandra himself.[106] In each case he stands rigidly on the disc of the moon over a lotus and wears a tiger-skin round his waist in addition to a white *dhotī* or other lower garment. In two of the descriptions an antelope-hide hangs from his left shoulder serving as a sacred thread and in two of the descriptions an effigy of Amitābha appears in his coiffure. Two of the right hands display *abhaya* and *varada* while the other two hold a rosary and noose. His left hands carry a book, *tridaṇḍī*, lotus-stalk and a *kamaṇḍalu* or ewer. In the two longer descriptions he is included in a *maṇḍala* surrounded by Green Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva, though their placement varies slightly. In a second and more elaborate *maṇḍala* in the Nepalese *Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā*, a second directional circle is added which consists of eight Bodhisattvas headed by Maitreya situated in the southeast corner.[107] Included among various elaborate *paṭas* which illustrate Amoghapāśa are examples in Calcutta, Leiden, Paris[108] and London.[109] Although these agree generally with the texts in respect to *mudrās* and weapons, the placement of the latter may vary with the noose sometimes appearing on the left and the *tridaṇḍī* on the right, while in one case a goad replaces the *tridaṇḍī* and in another the lotus is eliminated in favour of *vandanābhinayī*. In stone images identified as Amoghapāśa by art historians the images vary far more in contrast to textual descriptions,[110] though the "unfailing noose" must, as his name implies, be one of his weapons.[111] In the late painted version of the Macchandar Vahal at Kathmandu, where he has four heads, his right hands hold a bow, goad, sword and *vajra* while his left hands carry a bell, *tridaṇḍī*, noose and arrow.[112] A nearby four-headed image, named Mahāvajranātha, is more closely aligned to textual accounts of

Amoghapāśa except his lower left hand is placed at the navel rather than holding a *kamaṇḍalu*,[113] and it is possible, as suggested by P. Pal, that the artist responsible for copying the icons had the labels mixed up.[114] The bow and arrow do appear on a labelled image of Amoghapāśa from a Nepalese *paṭa* depicting *Upoṣadha Avadāna*, dating to A.D. 1801 and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), replacing the *tridaṇḍī* and lotus,[115] however, and the bow and arrows are attributes carried by Amoghapāśa in his ten-armed and twelve-armed forms described in the Tibetan version of the *Sādhana-samuccaya* preserved in the *Tanjur*.[116]

In analyzing textual accounts, even in four-armed images the noose may be in a right hand (red form) or in a left hand (white form) while in the single account of six-armed images it is in a left hand and in the eight-armed forms, which are all identical in the surviving accounts, it is in a right hand. In the later labelled eight-armed images, in contrast, the noose invariably is held in one of the left hands. In that the surviving eight-armed textual accounts appear to be copies of a single earlier *sādhana*, one of the most characteristic aspects in descriptions of Amoghapāśa is the inconsistency of placement in respect to the noose, his most distinguishing aspect, a peculiarity which suggests local traditions in formulating textual prescriptions. The same is true in respect to the *tridaṇḍī*, not included with the red form of Amoghapāśa, which appears in a left hand of four-armed images (white form), in a right hand of the six-armed account, and in the left hand of eight-armed descriptions. The *kamaṇḍalu*, absent on all four-armed forms, appears in a right hand of the six-armed account and in the left hand of eight-armed descriptions. In four-armed descriptions the rosary is held in a left hand for his red form, in a left hand for the six-armed form, and in a right hand for the eight-armed accounts. The lotus appears in a left hand of both six- and eight-armed accounts while the book, appearing only with eight-armed descriptions, is always in a left hand. *Abhaya-mudrā*, also appearing only with eight-armed accounts, is displayed by a right hand. *Varada-mudrā*, though absent on the four-armed red forms of Amoghapāśa, associated with Vairocana rather than with Amitābha, appears with a right hand in all of the white forms and testifies to his munificence and charitable nature, intrinsic to the very nature of Avalokiteśvara and equally associated with his ability to save and protect, implied by the "unfailing noose" or "rope of compassion"[117] with which he catches sentient beings and leads them to enlightenment.

In that the red form of Amoghapāśa, limited to a four-armed description repeated in several texts, is basically conceived as a directional deity rather than a central figure, even being transformed into Amoghāṅkuśa in descriptions from the *Sādhana-samuccaya* for four/six/ten/twelve-armed icons of Amoghapāśa, for the purpose of this study there are only three iconographic forms of importance, irrespective of which hands hold the object: (1) a four-armed form displaying *varada* and holding a noose, *tridaṇḍī* and a rosary or a second noose; (2) a six-armed form with the added objects being a lotus and a *kamaṇḍalu*; and (3) an eight-armed form with the extra set of hands displaying *abhaya* and holding a book.

Although four-armed images of Amoghapāśa are rare in India, there are several examples in Orissa of images holding a noose in one of their hands which may tentatively be identified as Amoghapāśa though none of them conform exactly to any known texts in respect to iconography. There are only a few sculptures, in fact, where the noose is a major weapon wielded by the Bodhisattva, in one case being held in a right hand and in other cases being held in a left hand. In the remaining cases the noose is one of two objects being held in the uplifted back right hand, the other object being a rosary, so that overall the iconography is nearly identical with that of the Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa images just discussed. The first image where the noose is held as the major weapon in the uplifted back right hand is the only seated example. The image is presently placed on the porch of the modern Śānteśvarī Thākurāṇī temple at Solampur (fig. 246). He is seated in *lalitāsana* on

a *viśvapadma* with his right leg pendent, the sole resting on a lotus pad. His principal right hand is extended in *varada* while the left hand, placed on the seat behind his left thigh, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus that blossoms above his shoulder. The back left hand, raised shoulder-high, holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. Amoghapāśa is richly ornamented and a third eye is visible on his forehead as on many of the Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa images. An effigy of Amitābha is visible in his matted hair above his jewelled tiara. The back-slab is rounded but otherwise is unembellished. A recumbent lion is at each corner of the pedestal. There are no attendant or accessory figures. The image can be dated to the late 8th or early 9th century.

In the four-armed description of Amoghapāśa from the *Sādhana-samuccaya*, a noose is held in one right and one left hand and one wonders if possibly one of these originally was a rosary, both of which are generally held in the same right hand of most of these transitional Orissan images as indicated earlier. In the image from the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan*, this noose of the right hand is replaced by a rosary while the remaining iconography is identical with that of the text. In the Orissan image, however, the noose is held in the uplifted back right hand while the left hands hold a lotus and *kamaṇḍalu*. The *tridaṇḍī* of the textual account and represented in the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan*[118] is conspicuously absent in the Orissan image. Essentially, with *varada-mudrā* and the noose in the right hands while the *kamaṇḍalu* and lotus are in the left hands, this four-armed Orissan image from Solaṁpur is more closely aligned with the iconography of the eight-armed textual form than with either the four- or six-armed textual forms.

This alignment with the eight-armed iconographic form is more noticeable with standing images where the rosary and noose are both held in the uplifted back right hand while the principal right hand is lowered in *varada*, so that only *abhaya* of the eight-armed form is missing in the right hands of these Orissan images. One of the earliest examples of this form is the broken image at Udayagiri (fig. 248). The major left arm, the hand raised chest-high where it held the stalk of a full-blown lotus, is broken off at the elbow. The raised back left hand holds the *kamaṇḍalu*. He is richly adorned and wears a jewelled diadem at the base of his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure. His third eye and the effigy of Amitābha in his coiffure are badly eroded. His head is framed by a plain halo which is flanked on either side by a goddess seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. The right hand of each goddess is on the knee in *varada* while the left hand, placed on the seat behind the thigh, holds a lotus flower. The top edge of the back-slab has an alignment of seven Mānuṣī Buddhas flanked on the right by Vajrapāṇi and on the left by Maitreya, each figure being seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, with the centre Buddha displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā*. The lower part of the image, including the legs above the knees, the attendant deities, and the pedestal, is broken away. The image can be dated to the 8th-9th century.

Images with a similar iconography have been uncovered at Ratnagiri. In the example discovered on the mound between the banyan grove and the Stūpa-area, the deity stands in a strongly flexed *tribhaṅga* pose on a *viśvapadma* with his principal right hand lowered in *varada* and the uplifted back hand holding the rosary and a noose (fig. 249). The principal left hand, raised chest-high, has the stalk of a lotus while the uplifted back hand holds the *kamaṇḍalu*. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha is in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo inscribed with the Buddhist creed. On either side of the halo was a seated goddess, as in the previous image from Udayagiri, though the left goddess is now missing while the upper part of the back-slab, including the head of Amoghapāśa/Avalokiteśvara and the seated goddess on the right, is broken off and placed on the ground nearby.[119] The top edge of the back-slab has a row of five Tathāgata Buddhas, flanked by Maitreya and probably Avalokiteśvara, each seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, though most of the figures on the left half are now missing. A *vidyādhara* was at each upper corner.

Amoghapāśa is flanked at the base by Tārā on the right and Hayagrīva, each provided with their own *viśvapadma*. Tārā is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with her right hand in *varada* and the left hand, on her seat, holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala* (fig. 415). Hayagrīva, in *pratyālīḍha*, rests his left arm on a staff and raises his right hand in *vandanābhinayī* (fig. 411). He has a pot-belly, a mustache, serpent ornaments and a *sarpa-mukuṭa*. The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* seats, most likely carved from a separate stone as in the case of most of these large images, is missing. The image can be placed in the 9th century.

Another image discovered near the banyan grove and the slope of the hill was broken into three parts (fig. 250).[120] Amoghapāśa/Avalokiteśvara stands in a slightly flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* with his four arms disposed as in the previous image with the uplifted back right hand holding both a rosary and a noose, though the lower right hand is mostly obliterated. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. A female deity seated in *vajraparyaṅka* is at each upper corner of the back-slab, the one on the left representing Ārya-Sarasvatī.[121] Amoghapāśa is flanked at the base by Tārā on the right and Hayagrīva on the left while above the latter is an image of Bhṛkuṭī. Tārā, seated in *mahārājalīlā,* is in the act of opening the petals of an *utpala*. The pot-bellied Hayagrīva stands in *pratyālīḍha* with his left arm resting on a staff and his right hand raised in *vandanābhinayī*. The four-armed Bhṛkuṭī is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. A badly damaged inscription of the Buddhist creed and a *dhāraṇī* are inscribed on the back of the image. The image can be ascribed to the late 9th century.

In a third large image discovered in the banyan grove the principal left hand which holds the lotus stalk is placed on the head of Hayagrīva, the latter being increased in size from previous images, similar to the hand pose of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa in the Baṇiāsāhi compound at Cuttack (fig. 251). Amoghapāśa stands in a slightly flexed pose and is richly ornamented. An effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and his head is framed by an elongated-oval halo. At each upper corner of the back-slab is a seated Tathāgata image, Amitābha on the right and Akṣobhya on the left.[122] The pot-bellied, dwarfish Hayagrīva stands in a modified *pratyālīḍha* pose and is four-armed. His major set of hands are crossed in front of his chest while his lowered right hand rests on a staff and the raised back left hand holds a noose, the distinctive weapon of Amoghapāśa, which helps to further establish the identity of the main deity as Amoghapāśa. Although a noose is not specifically prescribed for Hayagrīva in the texts, he is frequently given the *tarjanī-mudrā* in both four-armed[123] and eight-armed forms[124] and this *mudrā* is often used in combination with a noose. He wears serpent-ornaments, a *sarpa-mukuṭa*, and presents a fierce-looking mien with angry eyes, frowning eyebrows, mustache and fangs. Amoghapāśa is flanked at his feet by an effigy of Tārā on his right and Bhṛkuṭī on the left, each seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* seats is again broken off. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

That this four-armed concept was not limited to just colossal images is evident in several fragmented smaller images at Ratnagiri, one of the best being the example found in two fragments in the area in front of Monastery No. 2.[125] As in the previous image, the lowered front left hand of Amoghapāśa rests on the head of Hayagrīva. The surviving iconography is similar and images of Amitābha and Akṣobhya again appear on the upper right and left corners respectively of the back-slab. Hayagrīva, however, has only two arms though only the hand in *vandanābhinayī* is preserved. The entire slab below the knees of Amoghapāśa is missing, including the attendants and the pedestal. The image also can be dated to the 9th century.

There is also a large standing, four-armed image of Amoghapāśa at Ratnagiri where the noose is held as the major *āyudha* in one of the left hands (fig. 252). As indicated earlier

this image was also found in the area of the banyan grove. He stands rather rigidly in a slightly flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* with his principal right hand lowered in *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds the rosary. His principal left hand, held chest-high, holds the stalk of a lotus while the uplifted back hand holds the noose. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. He has a third-eye and his head is framed by an oval halo, the top portion along with the upper part of the back-slab now missing, being carved from a separate slab of stone. The sides of the back-slab each contain a meandering lotus stalk, rising up and branching out from a stalk issuing from the lotus rhizome supporting the *viśvapadma* seat of Amoghapāśa, which blossom opposite the halo of the deity where they each support a Tathāgata, Akṣobhya on the right and Amitābha on the left. The centre branch of the stalk on the right issues a blossom which frames the lower right hand of Amoghapāśa while the centre branch on the left is held in his raised principal left hand to blossom above his shoulder. In the fork made by the two branches of the stalk on the left is placed the *kamaṇḍalu*, replaced in the uplifted back hand by the noose. In this image there are thus three objects on the left side, rather than on the right, though again there are only two arms on this side. Amoghapāśa is flanked at the base by Tārā on the right and Bhṛkuṭī on the left, each seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. The image can be dated to the 8th century.

A similar iconography, with the noose held in the uplifted back left hand while the *kamaṇḍalu* is placed on a leaf branching out from the main lotus stalk, appears on a seated image of Amoghapāśa found on the verandah of the Mahākāla temple at Ratnagiri. He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his major left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holding the stalk of the lotus. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo inscribed with the Buddhist creed in two lines.[125] A Tathāgata is at each upper corner of the back-slab, Akṣobhya on the right and Ratnasaṁbhava on the left. A kneeling monk is on the right corner of the pedestal while a tripod supporting offerings is on the left corner. The image can be dated to the late 8th century.

The placement of the noose in one of the left hands, along with the lotus and the *kamaṇḍalu* (on a branch), more closely associates this iconographic type with six-armed Amoghapāśa images found in the Gaya region dating to the 9th-10th century (Pāla period), except for the missing *cintāmaṇi* held in the third right hand of these images from Bihar.[126] It is thus obvious that there are two major iconographic forms of Amoghapāśa evolving in Orissa at this time, one with a noose in the right hand and the second with a noose in a left hand. The addition of a third object or attribute on one side or the other in a four-armed image suggests the form is transitional leading to one that will have additional hands. A similar transition was noticed by J. Leoshko on some seated six-armed Pāla period images of Amoghapāśa where a book is added on the left side to make four attributes while the *cintāmaṇi* on the right side is replaced by *abhaya-mudrā*.[127] The book and *abhaya-mudrā*, as indicated, are attributes of the eight-armed Amoghapāśa form as prescribed in texts so that the only missing attribute is the *tridaṇḍī*. Orissan images, however, did not evolve this far and the paucity of surviving six- and eight-armed images of Avalokiteśvara so far discovered suggests an abrupt cessation in this line of development, though it is not known at present if this interruption, occurring near the end of the Bhauma period, was the result of changing tenets within the indigenous Buddhist sects[128] or was due to a change in external patronage.

In respect to iconographic details, these incipient Orissan forms of Amoghapāśa evolved primarily from the four-armed image corresponding to Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/ Mahākaruṇa and do not exhibit many of the peculiar features prescribed in the later texts, such as a tiger-skin wrapped around the lower garment or the antelope-hide serving as a sacred thread. As in the case of other multiple-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara evolving in

the 8th-9th century, the number of companion deities varies from two to five and their identity and gender varies, suggesting their iconography has not yet crystallized. Absent is the image of Sudhanakumāra, popular in textual descriptions of Amoghapāśa, while Ekajaṭā appears only once or twice. Tārā, in contrast, seldom appearing in textual descriptions, appears in all Orissan examples. These companion deities are described in detail in chapters IX and X.

J. FOUR-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA WITH A TRIDENT/SUGATISANDARŚANA LOKEŚVARA

Although numerous scholars have pointed out the strong Śaiva influence on the conception of Lokeśvara, especially in his Amoghapāśa form,[129] the *tridaṇḍī* or three-pronged staff, one of his major textual attributes, is conspicuously absent in these four-armed Orissan images where one of his attributes is a noose. There are Orissan examples of a four-armed Avalokiteśvara, however, where the trident entwined by a serpent, the major weapon of Śiva, is present, though the noose is absent so that the images cannot be identified as incipient forms of Amoghapāśa. The *tridaṇḍī* also appears as an attribute for other forms of Avalokiteśvara, such as Sugatisandarśana and Hālāhala Lokeśvara, and more than likely these four-armed Orissan images represent early stages of the formulation of these six-armed forms.

The first example, now in the courtyard of the Patna Museum, is a colossal standing image from Udayagiri (fig. 243). He stands in a slightly flexed pose with his major right hand in *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds a rosary. The major left hand, held chest high, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus while the uplifted back hand holds a trident entwined by a serpent. Except for the trident replacing the *kamaṇḍalu,* the iconography is based essentially on the Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa images mentioned earlier. He is richly adorned and an effigy of Amitābha appears in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by an unembellished halo. The sides of the back-slab are each decorated with a lotus stalk which supports a seated goddess opposite the halo. The top edge of the back-slab is decorated with the seven Mānuṣī-Buddhas, the centre one displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā,* flanked by a Bodhisattva at either end, each seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. Sugatisandarśana is flanked at the base by seated Tārā on the right, opening the petals of an *utpala,* and by Hayagrīva on the left. Hayagrīva rests his left arm on a staff and lifts his right hand in *vandanābhinayī.* He has a pot-belly, a dwarfish stature and a *sarpa-mukuṭa*. The *viśvapadma* seats and the pedestal are mssing. The image can be ascribed to the 9th century.

The second image, possibly removed from Udayagiri by John Beams, is now situated in the compound of the Solapuamā temple at Cuttack (fig. 254). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and at present his major set of hands are in *dhyāna mudrā,* a feature which led N.K. Sahu to identify the image as the Tathāgata Amitābha.[130] It is possible, however, that the placement of these hands are modern restorations, crudely articulated, and the original pose can no longer be identified. The uplifted back right and left hands hold a rosary and a small vessel respectively, as on Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa images. A lotus stalk issues from under his lower left arm to blossom above his shoulder. A trident with a serpent entwined around it stands on the left side of the deity. The deity is richly adorned and a Tathāgata, mostly obscured by plaster and paste, is faintly visible in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by an oval halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A Buddhist *dhāraṇī* is inscribed on the top of the back-slab. Four seated devotees with hands folded in *añjali* appear on the pedestal, two on either side of the lotus rhizome. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

Iconographically, with three attributes on the left, the image again suggests a transitional stage leading to the development of a multi-armed deity though there are no textual accounts helpful in identifying this particular manifestation which parallels developments and newly created iconographic forms in Brahmanical art.

K. SIX-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA WITH A TRIDENT/SUGATISANDARŚANA LOKEŚVARA

Although the evolution of multi-armed images of Avalokiteśvara in Orissa for the most part ceased at a transitional stage with four-armed images, there are a few surviving multi-armed images with the best example being the six-armed image from Dharmaśālā now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. Surface details are badly worn so that its identification as Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara as suggested here can only be tentative. The description of this six-armed form in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 42) is as follows:

> The worshipper should think himself as Bhaṭṭāraka Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara white in complexion, six-armed, showing the varada and abhaya poses and the rosary in the three right hands, and carrying the lotus, the water-pot and the staff with three horns in the three left hands. He is decked in ornaments and jewels, wears the sacred thread and a crown of matted hair. He stands on the moon over lotus and is peaceful in appearance.[131]

This same iconography is repeated in the painting of Sugatisandarśana on the Macchandar Vahal in Kathmandu.[132]

In the image from Dharmaśālā, the deity stands in a slightly flexed but rigid pose on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 256). His principal right hand is lowered in *varada* while the middle hand, parallel to the lower rather than raised, is badly damaged but probably shows *abhaya-mudrā*. The uplifted back hand holds a rosary. The principal left hand, raised chest-high, holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus while the uplifted back hand holds a staff. The middle hand is lowered but the object held (*kamaṇḍalu*?) is mostly obliterated. He wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and a *vidyādhara* is at the upper right corner of the back-slab. An indistinct object is above the full-blown lotus. He is flanked at the base by four standing deities, two on either side. The outside pair appear to represent Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. A kneeling devotee is at each corner of the pedestal, the right one facing a tripod holding offerings. The image can be dated to the late 9th century.

L. SIX-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA WITH A CONSORT/HĀLĀHALA LOKEŚVARA

D. Mitra, as indicated, identified the lower half of a broken chlorite image found with the bronze hoard at Acutrajpur as Hālāhala Lokeśvara, a six-armed manifestation of Avalokiteśvara in which he is represented embracing his Prajñā.[133] There are three *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* which are devoted to the worship of Hālāhala. In two *sādhanas* (nos. 27, 29) he originates from the sacred syllable *hrīḥ*, has three eyes, three faces and matted hair rising upwards in the shape of a crown. The principal face is white, the right is blue and the left is red. He is ornately bedecked with all ornaments, has an effigy of Amitābha within his matted hair and bears on his head the crescent and a *kapāla*:

> He is resplendent like the white lotus and appears beautiful by the sentiment of passionate love he displays. He has six arms, a smiling face and is fond of garments of tiger-skin. He displays the varada-mudrā in the first right hand, the second has the rosary, while the third flourishes the arrow. The first left hand carries the bow, the second the white lotus and the third touches the breast (of his Śakti). He carries the Śakti of his own creation on the left lap. She shows the lotus in the left hand and the right is engaged in the act of embracing the god. Her jaṭā (matted hair) is decorated with flowers. To their right is the triśūla entwined by a snake, and on the left is the kapāla on the lotus, full of fragrant flowers. The god sits in the lalita attitude on the red lotus.[134]

Chart 15

6/8-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right hands 1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1 left hands	Pose	Name
Sadhana-samuccaya (Tanjur)	varada	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu			lotus	noose	rosary		Amoghapāśa (white)
Shosonzuzo (A.D. 1858)	añjali	varada	khakkhara			lotus	rosary	añjali	vajraparyaṅka	Amoghapāśa
*Sādhanamālā (sādhanas 27, 29)	varada	rosary	arrow			bow	lotus	Prajñā	lalitāsana	Hālāhala Lokeśvara
Sādhanamālā	varada	cintāmaṇi	rosary			tridaṇḍī	book	varada	standing	Pretasantarpita
Sādhanamālā (sādhana 42)	varada	abhaya	rosary			lotus	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Sugatisandarśana
Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā	abhaya	varada	rosary	noose	book	tridaṇḍī	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa (white)
Amoghapāśa-sādhana (Bengal)	abhaya	varada	rosary	noose	book	tridaṇḍī	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa (white)
Amoghapāśa-sādhana (Kaśmir)	abhaya	varada	rosary	noose	book	tridaṇḍī	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa (white)
Shosonzuzo (A.D. 1858)	añjali	tridaṇḍī	varada	khakkhara	lotus	varada	noose	añjali	vajraparyaṅka	Amoghapāśa
Amoghapāśa-paṭa (Calcutta)	abhaya	varada	rosary	noose	book	tridaṇḍī	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa
Amoghapāśa-paṭa (Leiden)	abhaya	varada	rosary	vandana	book	tridaṇḍī	noose	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa
Amoghapāśa-paṭa (Paris)	abhaya	varada	tridaṇḍī	rosary	book	noose	lotus	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa
Aṣṭamivrata-paṭa (London)	abhaya	varada	goad	rosary	lotus	book	noose	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa
Upoṣadha Avadāna (London)	abhaya	varada	arrow	rosary	book	bow	noose	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Amoghapāśa
Macchandar Vahal (Kathmandu)	bow	goad	sword	vajra	bell	tridaṇḍī	noose	arrow	standing	Amoghapāśa
Macchandar Vahal (Kathmandu)	abhaya	varada	noose	rosary	book	tridaṇḍī	lotus	near navel	standing	Mahāvajranātha Lokeśvara

6-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Text	right hands 1	2	3	3	2	1 left hands	Pose	Name
Dharmaśālā (OSM)	varada	abhaya	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	lotus	standing	Sugatisandarśana
*Bhubaneswar (Megheśvara temple)	varada	rosary	arrow	x	lotus	Prajñā	lalitāsana	Hālāhala Lokeśvara

*flanked on the right by a trident entwined by a serpent and on the left by a *kapāla*

As in the case of Amoghapāśa, the iconography is strongly influenced by images of Śiva, including the *kapāla*, the crescent, three eyes, the intimate manner in which he embraces his Prajñā, and especially the trident entwined by a snake.

In the image from Acutrajpur, the male deity is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right leg pendent while the goddess is seated on his thigh with her left leg pendent. Whereas all of the arms of the male are missing, the goddess holds a lotus stalk in her left hand while her right hand presumably is embracing the male. On the proper right side of the *viśvapadma* seat stands a trident entwined by a serpent. The trident, along with the lotus held by the Devī, are thus the only two attributes which can help identify the image. Both are likewise included with the Umāmaheśvaramūrti motif of Śiva, where Umā also holds a lotus (or in some cases a mirror) in her left hand, with the trident sometimes standing on the seat, as in the early example on the *jagamohana* of the 7th century Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar,[135] so that identification here has to be tentative.

More positive is the identification of the image within the *jagamohana* of the late 12th century Megheśvara temple at Bhubaneswar (fig. 257), which has been variously identified as Hālāhala Lokeśvara or Umāmaheśvaramūrti.[136] The male figure is six-armed and has three heads. The trident entwined by a serpent stands on the right back corner of the seat while the *kapāla* is at the back left corner. Lokeśvara is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right leg pendent. The upper part of the back-slab and the upper left hand of the deity are missing. He has his principal right hand in *varada*, as prescribed for Lokeśvara, whereas Śiva when depicted with his consort invariably displays *abhaya*, lifts the chin of Uma or holds a *nīlotpala*. The raised middle hand of Lokeśvara holds a rosary while the arrow in the uplifted back hand is partially obliterated and indistinct. One of his left arms embraces his Prajñā, the hand cupping the breast as on images of Umāmaheśvaramūrti. The middle hand holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus. The uplifted hand, now missing, would have held the bow. The *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffures of his three heads merge at the top. Though no effigy of Amitābha is present, it may have been on the missing top portion of the back-slab. The Prajñā, seated on the left thigh of Lokeśvara with her left leg pendent, drapes her right arm around his shoulders while her left hand, partially broken, holds the stalk of a lotus-bud. Her hair is arranged in a tall balloon-like bun on top of her head. The pedestal is decorated from right to left with three kneeling devotees, a *vajra-ghaṇṭā*, a lamp, a full vessel flanked on each side by bowls heaped with offerings, a conch on a stand, and a seated image of Vajrasattva. Though the image thus represents Hālāhala Lokeśvara with his Prajñā, there is little doubt of the reciprocal influence between Buddhism and Hinduism in respect to its iconography. The image most likely came from the Buddhist establishment located in the area of the adjacent Bhāskareśvara temple.

A similar reciprocal influence, possibly resulting in a composite deity, is evident in an image now housed within the *jagamohana* of the Siddheśvara temple at Jājpur, the image combining aspects of Viṣṇu with Lokeśvara (fig. 502). The upper half of the back-slab and portions of the third set of hands are plastered over so that positive identification is difficult. This image is discussed in more detail in chapter XI.

References

[1]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXVI.

[2]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[3]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 124.

[4]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Supposedly he labours to do away with all suffering and all sorrow in all the domains of creation, so that even hell is emptied. See A. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 201.

[5]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXVI.

[6]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 124-25.

[7]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 121.

[8]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 66.

[9]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 78.

[10]A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.

[11]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 88.

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 51.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 130. S.K. Saraswati (*op. cit.*, p. XXVII), in contrast, states that only three *sādhanas* (no. 8, 18, 19) are devoted to Lokanātha.

[14]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 130-31.

[15]*Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, trans. H. Kern, SBE, Vol. XXI (Oxford, 1884), pp. 413-15.

[16]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 2.

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 11, pl. III.1.

[18]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 218; and S.C. De, *OHRJ*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 41-44.

[19]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 438-39, pl. CCCLIV(A).

[20]A similar image with a *kalpavṛkṣa* forming a canopy was found at Badarhati in the Hooghly district of Bengal. See S.L. Huntington, *op. cit.*, fig. 221.

[21]L. Chandra, *Buddhist Iconography*, I, fig. 626.

[22]L.A. Waddell, "The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and his consort Tārā, the 'Saviouress'", *JRAS* (1894), p. 79.

[23]Pratapaditya Pal, *Nepal/Where the Gods are Young* (New York, 1975), p. 75, fig. 20; and *Art of Nepal: Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection* (Los Angeles, 1985), figs. S36 and S71.

[24]Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study* (Varanasi, 1963), p. 390 and illustration.

[25]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 144-45, pls. XCI(B), XCII(A-B), and p. 227, pl. CLXXIII(B-C).

[26]*Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 84, acc. no. 6503.

[27]N.K Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 33.

[28]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 458, 464, pl. CCCXLVIII(A).

[29]*Ibid.*, II, pp. 359-60, pl. CCLXXXII(A).

[30]*Ibid.*, II, p. 446, pl. CCCXXXIX(A).

[31]*Ibid.*, II, p. 333, pl. CCCXXXV(B).

[32]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 66-74.

[33]R.P. Chanda, *ASIAR* (1922-23), p. 128. See also A. Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[34]See Helen B. Chapin, "A Study in Buddhist Iconography", *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, No. 8 (1932), pp. 29ff, 111ff; No. 11 (1935), pp. 125ff and 199ff; John Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 238ff; A.C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona, 1959), pp. 225-26; Sawa Ryuken, *Butsuzō Zuten* (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 68-70; and A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 301-04.

[35]See Pratapaditya Pal, "The Iconography of Cintāmaṇi Cakra Avalokiteśvara", *JISOA*, Vol. II (1967-68), pp. 39-48; and A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

[36]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 129.

[37]This image, along with one of Lokanātha also carved in chlorite, was probably housed in niches of a small *stūpa*. See D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 463-64.

[38]R.P Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 13. Chanda gives different measurements for this image (pl. VI.6).

[39]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 61.

[40]See D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 73.

[41]See S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. XXXII-XXXIII, figs. 83-84.

[42]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 429.

[43]*Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

[44]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 248, 294; II, p. 611; Shashibala, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-77.

[45]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 143.

[46]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXXII, figs. 81-82.

[47]P. Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir*, p. 208, fig. 80.

[48]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 106, pl. LIII(B).

[49]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 123-24, pl. LXXI(C-D).

[50]*Ibid.*, II, pp. 291-92.

[51]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 138.

[52]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 219, fig. 6 B 51, and p. 266, fig. 168.

[53]Douglas Barrett, "Bronzes from Northwest India and Western Pakistan", *Lalit Kala*, No. 11 (1962), pp. 39-40, pl. XXVIII, fig. 16.

[54]See P. Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir*, p. 206; and M.T. de Mallmann, *Etude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, pp. 39ff.

[55]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 265, fig. 163.

[56]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 126-27.

[57]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 122, pl. LXX(C).

[58]*Ibid.*, II, p. 338.

[59]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 395.

[60]L.A. Waddell, *JRAS* (1894), pp. 76-79.

[61]S.K. Saraswati and D. Mitra identify this form as Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara while N. Hock (*op. cit.*, pp. 89-93) and Marie-Therese de Mallmann (*Introduction a l'etude d'Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, 1948, pp. 170-72) identify it as Mahākaruṇa.

[62]See R.O. Meisezahl, "Amoghapāśa, Some Nepalese Representations and Their Vajrayānic Aspects", *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. XXVI (1967), pp. 483-86.

[63]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 141.

[64]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 146; and H.C. Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[65]*Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 84, acc. no. 6490.

[66]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 78.

[67]*Ibid.*, II, p. 432.

[68]*Ibid.*, II, p. 450, pl. CCCXLI(B).

[69]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 56.

[70]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, fig. 39; and N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 66.

[71]*Orissa: Kunst und Kultur in Nordost-Indien*, eds. Eberhard Fischer, Sitakant Mahapatra and Dinanath Pathy (Zurich, 1980), fig. 332.

[72]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 93, pl. XLVI(D).

[73]*Ibid.*, I, p. 106, pl. LIII(A-B).

[74]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 122-23, pl. LXX(D).

[75]*Ibid.*, II, p. 297.

[76]*Ibid.*, II, pp. 298, 335.

[77]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 103-04. It is the *Vimaloṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī.*

[78]*Ibid.*, II, p. 432, pl. CCCXXVIII(B). This image is discussed in more detail below under Amoghapāśa.

[79]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 450, pl. CCCLIV(B).

[80]*Ibid.*, II, pp. 458-59.

[81]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 73, acc. no. 283.

[82]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 228.

[83]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 204, fig. 53.

[84]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 430, fig. 101(A).

[85]I do not know the present location of the image and can only base my description on the rather poor illustration in N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 53.

[86]See R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, pl. between pp. 400-01.

[87]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 138.

[88]See R.O. Meisezahl, "The Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī", *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1-4 (1962), p. 272.

[89]*Ibid.*, pp. 292-94.

[90]*Ibid.*, pp. 297-98.

[91]A.K. Gordon (*op. cit.*, p. 66), for example, mentions a twenty-armed form while A. Getty (*op. cit.*, p. 66, pl. XXIIIc) illustrates an icon with twenty-two arms but, as pointed out by P. Pal (*Oriental Art*, XII, p. 239), mistakenly lists the number of arms as twenty.

For Japanese model drawings see J. Huntington, "Shosonzuzō", pp. 211-14, where the number of arms vary from four to eight; and A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 308-10.

[92]See J. Leoshko, "The Appearance of Amoghapāśa", pp. 128-31.

[93]Pratapaditya Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara—II", *Oriental Art*, Vol. XIII (1967), p. 26.

[94]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[95]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[96]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, p. 470.

[97]*Ibid.*, pp. 472-74.

[98]*Ibid.*, pp. 475-76.

[99]*Ibid.*, p. 486.

[100]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267, fig. 171.

[101]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, pp. 238-39.

[102]G. Roerich, *Tibetan Paintings* (Paris, 1925), p. 59, pl. 14, fig. 20.

[103]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pp. 485-86.

[104]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 234.

[105]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pp. 477-81.

[106]*Ibid.*, p. 482.

[107]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 234.

[108]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XIII, figs. 5-6.

[109]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pl. 1.

[110]See J. Leoshko, "Appearance of Amoghapāśa", pp. 129-31.

[111]The two-armed image illustrated by W. Clark (*op. cit.*, II, p. 220, 6 B 54) has his hands in *dharmacakra* and no *pāśa* is present to suggest, as noted by P. Pal (*Oriental Art*, XII, p. 238), that the identification may be dubious.

[112]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 428 and fig. 71(A).

[113]*Ibid.*, p. 428 and fig. 70(A).

[114]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XIII, p. 22.

[115]*Ibid.*, fig. 7.

[116]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pp. 483-85.

[117]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Nipponica*, XVII, p. 265.

[118]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267, fig. 171.

[119]For a photograph showing the complete image see D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pl. CCCXL. Mitra (p. 448) dates the inscription to the 9th-10th century.

[120]For a photograph of the complete image see *Ibid.*, II, pl. CCCXXXV(A).

[121]*Ibid.*, II, p. 442. N. Hock (*op. cit.*, p. 81) suggests these four female figures may represent the Prajñās of the Tathāgatas.

[122]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 440.

[123]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, p. 484.

[124]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 165. Yamāntaka (Yamāri) also displays *tarjanī-mudrā* with a noose in his left hand.

[125]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 432, pl. CCCXXVIII(B).

[126]See J. Leoshko, "The Appearance of Amoghapāśa", pp. 128-30.

[127]*Ibid.*, p. 131.

[128]According to Leoshko (*Ibid.*, p. 127), multi-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara in Pāla art are confined chronologically to the early period, i.e., the 9th and 10th century, and do not appear later.

[129]See, for example, P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XIII, p. 26.

[130]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 189.

[131]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 141.

[132]*Ibid.*, p. 396, fig. 16.

[133]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 25-26.

[134]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 133.

[135]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, fig. 3656.

[136]Cf. Marie-Therese de Mallmann, "Divinities Hindoues dans le tantrisme bouddhique", *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. X (1964), fig. 5, where it is identified as Hālāhala Lokeśvara; Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism* (New York, 1964), pl. 1, K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar,* fig. 135, and T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, p. 1355, fig. 3676, identify the image as Hara-Pārvatī. I originally thought that the male deity held the *kapāla* in his lower left hand, as Śiva does on numerous bronze images, but it is placed at the back of the lotus seat. I also was not able to identify the arrow.

VAJRAPĀṆI, MALE EMANATIONS OF AKṢOBHYA, AND MAHĀKĀLA

A. VAJRAPĀṆI

As indicated earlier, Vajrapāṇi is included in the *maṇḍalas* of eight Bodhisattvas in which case his colour is white and he is invariably represented in Orissan images with his right hand in *varada* while the left hand holds a *nīlotpala* supporting a *vajra* (figs. 129, 154). As the spirtitual son of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya, the progenitor of the *vajra*-family, he also appears in the list of five Bodhisattvas, in which case his colour is blue.[1] He also serves as a companion deity or attendant in trinities, generally being placed on the left of Buddha while Avalokiteśvara is on the right. He serves a similar role with Avalokiteśvara in *sādhana* no. 211 of the *Sādhanamālā* where the centre deity is the goddess Uṣṇīṣavijayā. Vajrapāṇi is here described as holding a *vajra* on a lotus with his left hand while his right hand holds a *caurī.* Elsewhere in the *Sādhanamālā* he is mentioned in connection with descriptions of Hālāhala Lokeśvara (*sādhana* no. 28) and Yamāntaka (*sādhana* no. 280).[2]

In early Buddhist legends, when mentioned as accompanying Gautama Buddha, Vajrapāṇi is invariably referred to as a minor deity and there is little doubt that, conceptionally, he is a Buddhist adaptation of the Hindu god Indra. From the earliest times Indra was associated with many important events in the life of Gautama Buddha, including his birth, his renunciation, his descent from Trāyastriṁśa heaven, etc. In the incident of the return of Śākyamuni from Kapilavastu, on the other hand, Vajrapāṇi is referred to as multiplying himself into eight *devas* to escort him, while the "divine Śakra, with a multitude of *devas* belonging to Kāmaloka, took their place on the left hand."[3] Hiuen Tsang mentions Vajrapāṇi as being with Buddha when he subdued the gigantic *nāga* in Udayāna. It is also related that when the *nāgas* appeared before the Buddha to listen to his teachings, "Vajrapāṇi was charged by the Tathāgata to guard them from the attack of their mortal enemies, the *garuḍas*, and that, in order to deceive and combat the *garuḍas*, Vajrapāṇi assumed a form with head, wings, and claws like the *garuḍas* themselves."[4] In that the *nāgas* are believed to control the rain-clouds, Vajrapāṇi, as their protector and as one who wields the *vajra*, is looked upon as the rain-god, and "it is to him the Northern Buddhists appeal when rain is needed, or is too abundant."[5]

The white colour of Vajrapāṇi seemingly associates him with Avalokiteśvara and in the painted 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara on the Macchandar Vahal in Kathmandu one is named Vajrapāṇi Lokeśvara. In this form he holds the *vajra* on his head with his right hand while the empty left hand is placed near the navel. He is dancing in the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose.[6] A. Getty describes many of these white forms in various countries, including Nepal and Cambodia where he may have two or four arms, one of his weapons frequently being a *ghaṇṭā*.[7] In most painted representations, as noted by S.K. Saraswati, whether independent or a companion divinity, he is usually shown green in complexion.[8] His blue colour, popular in Tibet, is explained in a myth of churning the ocean with mount Meru to procure the *amṛta* (elixir of life). The evil demons were in possession of the powerful poison *hālāhala* which they were using to wrought destruction upon mankind, the *amṛta* being the antidote. Upon rising to the surface of the water after the churning, the Buddhas put the elixir in the hands of Vajrapāṇi for safe-keeping while they were deciding upon the best means of using it. Vajrapāṇi left it unguarded for a moment and the monster Rāhu stole it. A fearful battle for the possession of the *amṛta* followed and though Rāhu was conquered, the *amṛta* had been defiled. The Buddhas, to punish Vajrapāṇi, forced him to drink it, whereupon he became dark blue from the poison mixed with the *amṛta*.[9]

Vajrapāṇi is thus conceived as the implacable enemy of the demons, of which he assumes numerous forms in Tibet, including (1) a two-armed Ācārya-Vajrapāṇi in *pratyālīḍha* holding a *vajra* in his uplifted hand. He has dishevelled hair standing on end, wears a skull-crown, a serpent-necklace, a belt of heads and a tiger-skin; (2) Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi (Yi-dam) who may have four or six arms. He has a third eye, a skull-crown, and holds two hands at his breast in a mystic *mudrā*. His second right hand, uplifted, holds a *vajra*. He is in *pratyālīḍha* stepping on a crowned person lying on a bed of serpents; (3) Acala-Vajrapāṇi, who has four heads, four arms and four legs. He holds a *vajra*, sword, noose and *kapāla* while treading on demons; (4) Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi (Yi-dam) who has three heads, six arms and two legs. He is blue while the right head is white and the left head is red. He embraces his Prajñā with his major set of arms. In two other hands are a *vajra* and a serpent. His Prajñā holds a *kapāla* and a chopper. He is in *pratyālīḍha* stepping on Brahmā and on Śiva; and (5) as a "spell deity" he is the deified form of a snake charm, the protector against snake-bites. In this form he is seated on a lotus-throne supported by peacocks. He holds the noose in both hands, one at his breast and the other at the hip, with which to catch the snake demons. He may be either white or blue in this form though in the latter the noose-end in the left hand is attached to a *viśvavajra* whereas in the white form this symbol appears on his left above an attendant Bodhisattva. The attending Bodhisattvas are Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin and Samantabhadra.[10] He also has a *garuḍa* form while A. Gordon adds a two-armed Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi form where he holds the *vajra* in his uplifted right hand while the left hand, on the hip, holds a *ghaṇṭā*. The four-armed Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi she calls Bhūtaḍāmara-Vajrapāṇi after the *mudrā* displayed by the principal set of hands. The second left hand is in *tarjanī-mudrā*. She also states that Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi may have eight arms and mentions a two-armed Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi who is in *pratyālīḍha* with a *vajra* in his uplifted right hand while his left hand displays *karaṇa-mudrā*. For the two-armed Ācārya-Vajrapāṇi she mentions that the left hand usually carries a noose.[11]

As the leader of the *vajra*-family, Vajrapāṇi *alias* Vajradhara becomes the most powerful Bodhisattva in Vajrayāna Buddhism, eventually evolving into the expression of perfect enlightenment. In earlier Buddhist texts he was often considered to be a mere guardian, or a *vidyādhara* or a *yakṣa*, being given epithets such as "chief of the *vidyādharas*", a "great general of the *yakṣas*", or "lord of the *guhyakas*".[12] His *yakṣa* lineage is alluded to in the *Trailokyavijaya-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* during the altercation between Maheśvara and the fearful manifestation of Vajrapāṇi, the lord of the *maṇḍala*, who attempts to convert Maheśvara. The wrathful Mahādeva angrily replies: "listen, you Yakṣa, I

am Īśvara, the lord of the threefold world, creator, destroyer, lord of all spirits, god of gods, mighty god. So how should I carry out the orders of a Yakṣa?"[13] By this time Vajrapāṇi obviously occupies a position of preeminence among Bodhisattvas.

1. Two-Armed Images of Vajrapāṇi

In contrast to the description of Vajrāsana Buddha in the *Sādhanamālā*, as indicated, which places Maitreya on the right of Buddha and Lokeśvara on his left, in Orissa, following descriptions in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, the most popular Buddhist triad consists of Avalokiteśvara on the right and Vajrapāṇi on the left, an alignment also popular at Ellora at this time. In the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* the noble Vajrapāṇi is dark in colour, like the hue of a *nīlotpala*, is of graceful appearance and elaborately adorned with jewelry. He holds a *caurī* in his right hand while his left makes the wrathful gesture of the Vajra-Fist.[14] The best surviving Orissan example of this triad alignment appears in the sanctum of Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri where the images are *in situ* (fig. 25). In this simple standing form Vajrapāṇi holds a *caurī* in his right hand while his left hand, raised chest high, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* which supports a *vajra* (fig. 259). He is richly adorned and wears *makara-kuṇḍalas*. He has a diadem of twisted-rope design at the base of his jewelled crown which is marked with three projections. His head is framed by an unembellished elongated-oval halo while the plain back-slab is rounded at the top. He stands on a *viśvapadma*. Stylistically the image can be dated to the 8th century. Similar in respect to iconography and nearly as large is the image from Khaḍipadā, now in the Orissa State Museum with the companion Padmapāṇi (fig. 187), though the image is badly worn and surface details are mostly obliterated.

Later in date and more complex in iconographic programme is the image at Ayodhyā, now in the modern Khuṭiā temple along with Avalokiteśvara as companion deities to an eight-armed Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī as mentioned earlier. The two-armed Vajrapāṇi, frequently identified as Mañjuśrī, stands in a graceful *tribhaṅga* pose on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 260). His right hand is placed in front of his heart where it very delicately holds a lotus. His left hand, placed at the thigh, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* which supports a *vajra* or possibly a book, partially broken. He is richly ornamented and wears a tall, tiered conical crown with an effigy of Akṣobhya on the centre crest. The sides of the back-slab are decorated with a *gaja-krānta* motif and a baluster which support the horizontal lintel. A *kinnara* is perched on either end of the lintel. The head of Vajrapāṇi is framed by an ornate halo edged with flames and surmounted by an umbrella. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while a lotus rosette is on either side of the umbrella. The deity is flanked at the base by Sudhanakumāra and Yamāntaka, each duplicating the pose of Vajrapāṇi with their right hand holding a small lotus in front of their chest. The pedestal, *pañca-ratha* in design, contains two kneeling devotees on the right and a single devotee on the left kneeling before two vessels heaped with offerings, a lamp and a censer. Iconographically the image appears to combine aspects of Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī. Though either may have an effigy of Akṣobhya in the crown, the crown and ornaments are those of Vajrapāṇi while the companion deities are those associated with Mañjuśrī. The key to the identification is the partially destroyed attribute on the *nīlotpala*, either a *vajra* or book. The image can be assigned to the 10th century.

There are two fragmented images of Vajrapāṇi in which the *vajra* is held in the palm of the right hand in front of the chest, one from Udayagiri in the Musee Guimet (fig. 258) and the other under a tree in the Thākurāṇī compound at Solaṁpur (fig. 6). In the example in the Musee Guimet the left hand, now missing, was on the thigh and held the stem of an *utpala*. Vajrapāṇi is richly adorned and wears his conventional *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, flattened at the top. His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo. A Tathāgata, seated on a *viśvapadma*, is

at either upper corner of the square back-slab. The image can be dated to the 8th century. The fragment at Solaṁpur consists of the torso only as the head is mostly missing. He is richly ornamented and the stalk of the *nīlotpala* rises up his left arm.

In seated two-armed images the left hand is invariably placed on the seat behind his thigh where it holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala*, an exception being the small image on a monolithic *stūpa* in the group at the southwest corner of Stūpa 1 at Ratnagiri where the hand is raised chest high. A *vajra* is placed on top of the *nīlotpala* while the right hand is in *varada*. Vajrapāṇi is seated in *lalitāsana*. There is also an image of Vajrapāṇi seated in *lalitāsana* on *stūpa* no. 82 among the group found northeast of Stūpa 1. His right hand is in *varada* while his left hand, holding the *nīlotpala* supporting a *vajra*, is placed on the seat behind his thigh. He is richly adorned and wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. On the pedestal is a kneeling devotee and a bowl of offerings.[15] In the small image in the Paścimeśvara compound at Talcher, as indicated previously, it is not possible to determine if the image represents Vajrapāṇi or Mañjuśrī, though his *mahārājalīlā* pose is sometimes associated with the latter (fig. 7). His right arm rests on his raised right knee while the left hand, placed on the seat behind his thigh, holds a *nīlotpala* supporting either a *vajra* or a book. Surface details are badly worn and his coiffure is indistinct.

One of the best surviving examples of the seated two-armed form of Vajrapāṇi is the image at Lalitagiri (fig. 261). He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his right leg pendent. His right hand, placed on his knee, displays *varada* while the left hand, resting on the seat behind his thigh, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* supporting a *vajra*. He is richly adorned and wears a truncated *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. His head is framed by an unembellished halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A standing attendant appears on the back-slab on either side of Vajrapāṇi, each holding a *caurī* at the waist with their right hand while the left hand, raised chest high, holds a lotus (?). A lion is placed at each corner of the pedestal. The image can be dated to the 8th century. A nearly identical image except for the elimination of the attendant figures is presently housed in the office of the Archaeological Survey of India, Monument section, at Bhubaneswar, being shifted there from Udayagiri.

Included among the recently excavated sculptures still at Udayagiri is an image of Vajrapāṇi seated in *lalitāsana* (fig. 262). His right palm holds an upright *vajra* in front of his chest while his left hand, resting on his seat, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. He is richly ornamented and wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. An inscription is etched around the edge of his elongated-oval halo. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A kneeling devotee faces a fire-altar on the right corner of the pedestal while on the left corner is a tripod supporting a casket and a bowl with offerings. The image can be dated to the 8th century (C-12).

Basically there are thus two iconographic modes for these two-armed images of Vajrapāṇi, whether seated or standing. He may either hold the *vajra* in front of his chest with his right hand or it is supported by a *nīlotpala* held in his left hand.

2. Four-Armed Images of Vajrapāṇi

Although four-armed images of Vajrapāṇi are rare in India, there are two well-preserved examples in Orissa. The first example, on the east wall of the front porch of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri, forms a set with a four-armed image of Avalokiteśvara on the west wall (fig. 235). Iconographically they correspond to the image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa except the full-blown lotus is replaced on the Vajrapāṇi image by a *nīlotpala* supporting a *vajra* (fig. 263). Vajrapāṇi stands in a slightly flexed pose with his major right hand, framed by a lotus, displaying *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds a rosary. The lowered left hand holds

a *kamaṇḍalu* while the uplifted hand holds the *nīlotpala* supporting a *vajra*. He is richly adorned and wears a jewelled crown with three projections. His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo and a Tathāgata appears on each upper corner of the back-slab, Akṣobhya on the right and Ratnasaṁbhava on the left. Kneeling near the right foot of Vajrapāṇi is an emaciated *preta* with hands folded beseeching boons while on the opposite side is a four-armed, pot-bellied attendant in *pratyālīḍha* with his major set of hands crossed in front of his chest. The latter, with his uplifted hands displaying *vandanābhinayī* and holding a noose, is thus identical with the image of Hayagrīva on the companion Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa image and is discussed in more detail in chapter X. The image of Vajrapāṇi can be dated to the second-half of the 8th century.

The second example, now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, is from Vajragiri (fig. 264). Vajrapāṇi stands in a slightly flexed pose with his major right hand lifted chest high where it holds a damaged object, possibly a *caurī*. The uplifted back right hand holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* supporting a *vajra*. The principal left hand is lowered to rest on the head of a four-armed male attendant while the uplifted back hand holds a manuscript. Vajrapāṇi is richly adorned and wears a jewelled tiara at the base of his *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*. He has a third eye and his head is framed by an unembellished halo. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. At the lower right is a female (Māmakī?) seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* who holds a *vajra* in her right hand. The male on the left stands in an abbreviated *pratyālīḍha* pose with his major set of hands in *añjali* (fig. 413). His back left hand holds a sword while the right hand makes *vandanābhinayī*?. He has terrifying facial features and serpentine ornaments. Stylistically the image of Vajrapāṇi can be dated to the 8th century.

In that there is no textual support for Hayagrīva as an attendant for Vajrapāṇi, the identity of the four-armed male on the left of Vajrapāṇi can only be conjectural. There is little doubt that he represents a wrathful manifestation of Vajrapāṇi, such as Krodha-candra-tilaka who functions as an attendant in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, the *ajari-shoten-mandara* and the *Genzu-taizō-mandara*, though in these works he is represented as an aspect of Trailokyavijaya. His major set of hands are crossed in front of his chest to form the "wrathful fist *mudrā*" while his back set of hands hold a trident and an *eka-vajra*.[16] R. Linrothe suggests that he may, particularly in respect to the Ratnagiri image, represent Mahābala, a wrathful manifestation of Vajrapāṇi who is given a four-armed form in the *Ārya-Mahābala-Nāma-Mahāyāna-sūtra*. In respect to their differing iconography in these two images, he further suggests that, in this early stage of development, "the specific iconographic characteristics of individual krodha-vighnāntaka figures were not yet as strictly determined as were certain shared characteristics of the group as a whole. Formally, within accepted parameters, they were virtually interchangeable."[17] They both may thus merely represent *vajra-puruṣa* though another possibility, in respect to the attendant of the Vajragiri image who holds a sword, is Acala, likewise a protector of the Law and destroyer of Evil.

As in the case of two-armed images, there are thus two iconographic modes for four-armed images, one with the *vajra* in the left hand and the other with it in a right hand, in either case resting on the *nīlotpala*, with one mode being based essentially on the iconography of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa. In both modes the iconography differs from the four-armed forms mentioned by Getty and A. Gordon discussed earlier. The manuscript in the left hand of the Vajragiri image suggests an association with Mañjuśrī, with whom he is sometimes confused as indicated above, who likewise is occasionally associated with a *vajra*, as in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* and the late Japanese model book *Shosonzuzō*, as mentioned in connection with his form when serving in *maṇḍalas*.[18]

B. MALE EMANATIONS OF AKṢOBHYA

In the five-Buddha family system Akṣobhya, the progenitor of the *vajra-kula*, has by far the greatest number of deities emanating from his body. As in the case of their sire, the emanations are generally blue in complexion. In the *Sādhanamālā* the blue colour of Akṣobhya is associated with terrible deities and with gruesome rites. His emanations likewise are terrible in character both in deed and appearance, an exception among the male deities being a six-armed *yab-yum* form of Jambhala, the god of wealth who is most popular in forms included in the *ratna-kula* with Ratnasaṁbhava as his sire. The emanations of Akṣobhya generally have "a terrible appearance with distorted face, bare fangs, three blood-shot eyes, protruding tongue, garland of severed heads and skulls, tiger-skin and ornaments of snake."[19]

1. Caṇḍaroṣaṇa/Acala

Although especially popular in the later art of Nepal, Tibet and Japan, Caṇḍaroṣaṇa, also called Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇa, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, Acala ("Immovable") and Ekalavīra ("Sole Hero"), was apparently popular in India during the 8th-9th centuries as evident by the fact that six of the Sanskrit texts translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra are devoted entirely to Acala.[20] He is the primary deity in the celebrated *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* where, in his *mantras*, he is referred to as "the frightener of gods, titans, and men, the destroyer of the strength of all demons", who is invoked to "bind the mouths of all enemies", to "slay all Ḍākinīs, demons, ghosts and evil spirits", to "destroy all obstacles", to "remove the four demons" and to "consume the wicked". The meaning of his name is explained in chapter 13: "Caṇḍa means one who is very violent (*tīvratara*) and he is said to be very wrathful (*mahāroṣaṇa*). He is known as being wrathful (*roṣaṇa*) because he devastates all evil ones (*māra*) with his anger (*krodha*)." Thinking himself embraced by Anger Vajrī, his description runs as below:

> In his right fist he holds a sword, and in his left he holds a noose. Threatening with the forefinger and pressing the lower lip with the teeth, he kicks with his right foot, crushing the Four Demons.
> With his left knee placed on the ground, squint-eyed, and with a dreadful face, he threatens the earth, with his left knee placed in front.
> Having a blue crown adorned with Akṣobhya, and a jewelled head ornament, he is a youth with five knots of hair, decorated with all ornaments.
> He has the form of a sixteen-year-old, with two red, far-reaching eyes. He should meditate with resolute mind: "I am the Perfected One, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa."[21]

There are four *sādhanas* (nos. 85, 86, 87, 88) in the *Sādhanamālā* devoted to the worship of Caṇḍaroṣaṇa which have similar descriptions, one of which reads as follows:

> He is one-faced, two-armed and is squint-eyed. His face appears terrible with bare fangs. He wears a jewelled headdress, bites his lips and wears on his crown a garland of severed heads. His eyes are slightly red, and he carries the sword in his right hand and the noose round the raised index finger against the chest in the left. His sacred thread consists of a white snake; he is clad in tiger-skin and he wears jewels. His left leg touches the ground while the right is slightly raised. He is radiant as the sun and bears on his crown the effigy of Akṣobhya.

Elsewhere in the *sādhana* we are informed that he carries the noose in order to "bind the enemies who cause sufferings to humanity, such as Viṣnu, Śiva, Brahmā who are terrified by the raised index fingers of the god" and that he should be conceived "as looking towards the miserable people who are subjected to constant revolution in the cycle of existence by the wicked gods such as Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva and Kandarpa the god of love." By his intervention,

> the hosts of māras who are terrified, weeping, nude, with dishevelled hair, hopeless and in despair, are hacked to pieces with the sword. Caṇḍaroṣaṇa gives their life back and places them near his feet so that they may perform pious duties in future.[22]

There is no mention of him embracing his Prajñā which is especially prescribed in Nepalese *citrakāras* where he is represented in *yab-yum* and his worship is supposedly performed in secret, his image kept secluded from public gaze.[23]

In the chapter on the "Cessation of Hindrances" in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* the yogin, to prevent all obstacles, is instructed to meditate on Acala, to visualize the left foot of Acala on his head. In the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of this text, Acala, as a wrathful *vidyādhara,* is elevated to the first rank of the *maṇḍala*. As the servant of Buddha, he is placed below Vairocana:

> He has a sword of wisdom in the right hand and a rope in the left hand. He has a tuft of hair on the head. The hair drops on the left shoulder. He has only one eye and looks on fixedly. The rigorous and angry person is wrapped in violent flames. He dwells firmly on a rock. The face is marked with wrinkles like waves. He has the form of a stout and short boy.

This Chinese translation particularly stresses that he is somewhat vulgar in appearance and is "furiously seated on a boulder", the boulder, the immovable throne of the deity, representing the rock of hindrances and the conquest of the four demons. This is invariably how, as Fudo, he is shown in Japanese art, i.e., as an immovable wrathful manifestation of Mahāvairocana.[24]

Caṇḍaroṣaṇa/Acala appears not to have been popular as an independent deity in Orissa as the only surviving image is the example on a small monolithic *stūpa* from the group found at the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri.[25] He is in a running pose with his left leg bent, the knee and toes touching the ground, while the bent right leg is slightly raised, only the toes touching the ground. He holds a sword in his raised right hand and a noose in his left hand placed near the chest. He wears *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and a tall conical crown. A similar image of Caṇḍaroṣaṇa appears in the monastic cave centre at Praṇālaka in the coastal district of Mahārāṣtra in western India.[26]

There are several examples where Caṇḍaroṣaṇa/Acala serves as an attendant or servant in a secondary role, especially on the pedestal where he may be associated with the conquest of *māras*, or hindrances. In the centre of the pedestal of a broken image at Dondua-maṭha, for example, he assumes a dynamic *pratyālīḍha* pose in his attack on Māra (fig. 344). The figure in *pratyālīḍha* to the left of the pedestal of the image of the west wall of the sanctum in Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri, as indicated earlier, may represent Acala rather than either Yamāntaka or Hayagrīva as suggested by various scholars. He holds an indistinct weapon in his raised right hand, wielding it above his head in the manner of a sword, while his damaged left hand is in front of his chest (fig. 184). It is also possible that the large wrathful figure in the centre of the pedestal of the Crowned Buddha from Ratnagiri, now in the Patna Museum (acc. no. 6501), represents Acala rather than Māra (fig. 95). Though he does not appear to have a noose, the hand stroking the beard virtually duplicates the *tarjanī-mudrā* while his active pose appears to be one of triumph. On the left corner of the pedestal of a Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* from Udayagiri, also in the Patna Museum (acc. no. 6499), is a rare example of Acala assuming a seated pose (fig. 76). He is in a pronounced *ardhaparyaṅka* pose with his right knee raised. He holds the sword in his right hand, the arm resting on his knee, and the noose in his left hand which is on his left knee rather than showing *tarjanī-mudrā*. These pedestal images are discussed in more detail in chapter X under pedestal decoration.

The left attendant of the four-armed Vajrapāṇi from Vajragiri also has affinities with Acala, including the sword and *pratyālīḍha* pose, though he may represent Mahābala or *vajra-puruṣa* as indicated earlier (fig. 413).

2. Heruka/Hevajra

Heruka is one of the most important deities of the Tantric Buddhist pantheon and a regular Tantra text, the *Heruka Tantra*, is devoted to his worship. He may be worshipped singly or in *yab-yum* with his Prajñā, i.e., Nairātmyā. It is believed that "Śūnya personified takes the shape of Heruka when male and that of Nairātmyā when female. When in embrace (*yuganaddha, yab-yum*) with his Prajñā or Śakti, he is said to have a number of forms of which Hevajra is the most important."[27] In the *Sādhanamālā* the worship of Heruka is said to confer "Buddhahood on his worshipper, and he is said to destroy all the māras (mischievous beings) of the world." There are four *sādhanas* devoted to the worship of Heruka (when single) in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhanas* 241, 242, 244, 245) and the descriptions are more or less identical, one example reading:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as the god (Heruka) who stands on a corpse in the ardhaparyaṅka attitude. He is well clad in human skin and his body is besmeared with ashes. He wields the vajra in the right hand and from his left shoulder hangs the khaṭvāṅga with a flowing banner, like a sacred thread. He carries in his left hand the kapāla full of blood. His necklace is beautified by a chain of half-a-hundred severed heads. His face is slightly distorted with bare fangs and blood-shot eyes. His brown hair rises upwards and forms into a crown which bears the effigy of Akṣobhya. He wears a kuṇḍala and is decked in ornaments of bones. His head is beautified by five skulls. He bestows Buddhahood and protects the world from the māras (wicked beings).[28]

In one *sādhana* (no. 241), the *khaṭvāṅga* is described as being marked by a five-pronged *vajra* at the bottom while the banner is decorated with jingling bells, human heads, and double lotus. The lower part of the *khatvāṅga* resembles a *vajra* with one thong and the heads in the necklace are strung with guts. His left leg rests on the *viśvapadma,* rather than a corpse, while the right is placed on the left thigh in a dancing attitude.

The popularity of Heruka in Orissan art is evident at Ratnagiri where four monolithic *stūpas* contain his image within their niche, including two from the group near the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1 (fig. 266) and two (no. 49 and no. 64) from the area in front of Monastery 2 (fig. 267). Iconographically the images are all quite similar except for small deviations in coiffure and body ornamentation.[29] He is depicted in the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose dancing on the chest of a prostrate corpse. He holds a *kapāla* in his left hand placed in front of his chest while cradling a *khaṭvāṅga* aslant against his shoulder. His raised right hand wields a *vajra*. He wears a garland of skulls and his hair rises up like flames. He has terrifying facial features including protruding eyes and bared fangs. The largest and best preserved image at Ratnagiri is the example discovered in the area of the banyan-grove (fig. 268). He is dancing on the chest of a prostrate corpse and holds a *kapāla* in his left hand while the arm cradles the long *khaṭvāṅga*-like staff, the three-pronged tip piercing the knees of the corpse. Three banners billow out from the damaged upper part of the staff. His raised right hand wields a *vajra*. He is richly adorned and wears a long garland of skulls. The ends of his diadem flutter up in the wind and his flame-like hair, decorated with skulls, rises upwards. He has terrifying features and bared fangs. Flames radiate out from his body. The corpse rests its head on one arm while the pedestal below is decorated with kneeling devotees, bowls heaped with offerings, a censer, baskets of flowers and a lamp. The image can be dated to the 10th-11th century.

There is also an image of Heruka from among the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur and now housed in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 265). Iconographically the image is similar to the stone images just discussed with the deity in the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose dancing on the chest of a prostrate corpse. Three skulls are attached to the *vajra*-tipped *khaṭvāṅga* while three banners flutter out from the top of the shaft. The image can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

N.K. Sahu mentioned seeing an image of Heruka in the collection of Padma Śrī Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Sahu at Chaudar, as discussed earlier, and it is probable that this is the image now in the university museum at Sambalpur (fig. 270).[30] He assumes the conventional *ardhaparyaṅka* dance pose though his left foot is broken off and the corpse, except for the head, is missing, being replaced at a later date by scrollwork from a jamb of a collapsed temple. He wears conventional body ornaments, has five skulls in his diadem, and his hair, which rises up like flames, is tied at the base by a serpent. Part of the back-slab is carved out behind his body while the sides are etched with flames. A pair of owls are on each upper corner of the back-slab, as on images of Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā, while the decoration of the pedestal is obliterated. The image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.

Iconographically this concept of two-armed Heruka of terrifying mien, with bulging eyes, fangs, *sarpa*-ornaments, hair rising up like flames, and a garland of skulls, along with the *kapāla* and *khaṭvāṅga*, owes much to the concept of Bhairava, the terrifying manifestation of Śiva. The *vajra* wielded in his raised right hand, however, is distinctly Buddhist as is the *ardhaparyaṅka* dance pose with its more exaggerated bending of the right leg. Two-armed Bhairava usually assumes the *pratyālīḍha* mode (fig. 272), or, when dancing, the more balanced *ālīḍha* pose where the toes of the right foot touch the corpse.[31] Evidences of Buddhist influence on images of Bhairava also appear in Orissan art, as in the image from the Kosaleśvara temple at Deogaon where the right hand is raised in a threatening manner and the *kartrī* resembles a *vajra* while the left arm cradles a trident similar to the way in which Heruka cradles the *khaṭvāṅga* (fig. 271). In an image presently housed in the sanctum of the Bāṇeśvara temple at Balasore, Bhairava assumes a flying pose similar to that of Varttāli (companion deity) on images of Mārīcī (fig. 269). His left hand holds a *kapāla* in front of his chest while his uplifted right arm is broken off at the elbow but most likely was about to heave a weapon such as a *vajra*. He is richly adorned, wears a long garland of skulls around his shoulders, a skull diadem, has terrifying features including bared fangs, and his hair rises up like flames.

3. Sambara

When Heruka/Hevajra is represented in union with his Prajñā Vajravārāhī, the deity is often referred to as Sambara. Various texts describe Heruka in union with Vajravārāhī, including the *Abhidhānottara* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. G. 10759), copied in Newari in A.D. 1298, the 15th century Newari copy of the *Cakrasambara-sādhana* (Ms. No. G. 4752),[32] and the *Vajrayāne Pūjāvidhi* (Ms. No. G. 9968),[33] in addition to three *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* (nos. 252, 253, 255) and other examples in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*,[34] with his number of arms varying from two to twelve. Of especial interest for this study is the twelve-armed form which serves as the principal deity in the *Sambara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. The four-faced deity stands in *ālīḍha* on the prostrate forms of Bhairava and Kālarātrī. He is blue in colour:

> With the two principal hands carrying the vajra and vajra-marked bell, he embraces his Śakti Vajravārāhī. With the second pair...he carries the elephant-skin from which blood trickles down. In the remaining four right hands he holds the ḍamarū, the axe, the kartrī and the trident. The four left hands show the vajra-marked khaṭvāṅga, the skull-cup full of blood, the vajra-marked noose and the severed-head of Brahmā...[35]

There are two surviving examples of a twelve-armed Sambara in Orissa, both from Ratnagiri, with one now in the Patna Museum and other, formerly in the collection of Ajit Kumar Ghosh, in the National Museum (New Delhi). Neither of the sculptures represent the Prajñā. The image at Patna was thought to be the Hindu Bhairava when first noticed by R.P. Chanda[36] whereas N.K. Sahu identified it as a variety of Trailokyavijaya and in the *Patna Museum Catalogue* it has been described as Saptākṣara.[37] D. Mitra correctly identified the image as Sambara.[38] Sambara has three visible heads and stands in *ālīḍha* with his right foot trampling the emaciated two-armed Kālarātrī and the left foot crushing the four-armed Bhairava (fig. 273). His principal two hands are crossed at the chest with the right hand holding a *vajra* and the left carrying a bell as prescribed though the Prajñā is not represented. The topmost set of hands stretch the hide of an elephant over his head. The remaining right hands hold the *paraśu, kartrī,* small trident and a *ḍamarū* while the left hands hold a noose marked with a *vajra* (*vajra-pāśa*), the severed-head of Brahmā, a *kapāla* and a long staff-like *khaṭvāṅga* decorated with a *vajra* and flowing streamers, all twelve hands thus holding the weapons as specified in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī.* Sambara is ornately adorned and wears a long garland of skulls. He is fierce-looking, has bulging eyes and open mouth with fangs, and skulls are visible in the tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* of his centre head. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while the sides of the back-slab are edged with flames. Both Bhairava and Kālarātrī are lying on their back. The emaciated Kālarātrī holds a *kartrī* and a *kapāla* while the four-armed and pot-bellied Bhairava holds a *ḍamarū* and trident in his left hands.[39] One of his right hands, placed in front of his chest, holds a rosary while the object in the other hand is indistinct or missing (fig. 518). A kneeling devotee is at the centre of the front edge of the *viśvapadma*. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

The image now in the National Museum is identical in respect to style and iconography and also probably originated from Ratnagiri (fig. 274). The centre face and the upper part of the *khatvāṅga* are obliterated but otherwise the image is well preserved. Kālarātrī is again emaciated while the four-armed Bhairava has a pot-belly. The kneeling devotee has been eliminated from the face of the *viśvapadma* while a lower section of a pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* is intact. The latter is decorated with two kneeling devotees on the right corner, lotus rhizomes in the centre, and vessels heaped with offerings on the left (fig. 517). The image can be dated to the late 10th-early 11th century.

As indicated there is reciprocal influence operative between terrifying Buddhist emanations and the terrifying Śiva which is again evident in this form of Sambara, as in a ten-armed Bhairava standing in *ālīḍha* presently housed in the rebuilt Khandeśvara Mahādeva temple at Nasikakotian, though obviously Bhairava does not cross his principal hands in front of his chest holding a *vajra* and a bell nor does he trample upon Hindu deities (fig. 275). Unfortunately most of his hands are broken off and the only intact weapons include portions of a trident held in his principal right hand and a noose in one of his uplifted left hands. That he originally held a *kartrī* and a *kapāla* in one of his right and left hands respectively is suggested by the standing attendants who hold these weapons in their two hands. Although identified as a Buddhist deity by R.P. Mohapatra,[40] the erect *liṅga* suggests the image represents Bhairava. A single corpse is lying beneath the *viśvapadma.* Although there are two corpses lying beneath a twelve-armed Bhairava in the Svapneśvara Mahādeva temple at Nārāyaṇi (near Kantilo), the *pratyālīḍha* pose and the thrusting of the trident suggest the image is more influenced by the iconography of Mahiṣamardinī images than by Buddhist imagery.

4. Vajrahūṅkāra/Trailokyavijaya

The concept of Buddhist deities trampling Hindu divinities under their feet is especially popular with many of the terrifying emanations of Akṣobhya, as in the case of Vajrajvālānalārka trampling upon Viṣṇu and his consort, of Uccuṣma-Jambhala trampling on Kubera, or of the

four-legged Paramāśva trampling on eight Hindu deities, four male and four female—Indrāṇī and Śrī under one foot, Rati and Prīti under a second foot, Indra and Madhukara under a third foot, while Jayakara and Vasanta are under the fourth foot.[41] The Hindu deity most often singled out for such humiliation, however, is Śiva, either singly, with his consort, or, as in the case of Kālacakra, with another deity, in this instance with Anaṅga.[42] Whereas Kālacakra, like Sambara, assumes the *ālīḍha* pose with the left knee slightly bent, other Buddhist deities trampling upon Śiva, including Vajrahūṅkāra and Trailokyavijaya, assume the *pratyālīḍha* pose with the right knee bent, a pose especially associated with destruction and disgust.[43] Though the reverse of *ālīḍha*, a pose associated particularly with heroism and triumph,[44] in *pratyālīḍha* the pose is often more exaggerated and thus more expressive, possibly due to the fact that the right hand is usually more dominant and often raised in the act of wielding a weapon. Although there is not much documentation as to the exact meaning of such activity, there is little doubt that the action expresses sectarian animosity and numerous scholars have commented on this humiliation and animosity[45] which will be discussed in more detail in chapter XI.

D. Mitra, in her comments about a bronze depicting a male Buddhist deity trampling upon the prostrate bodies of Bhairava and Kālarātrī, suggests that, because of its large size in contrast to the other images from this hoard found at Acutrajpur, the image did not form part of the collection of the normal pious donations of pilgrims and that it was made at the site itself or was specially ordered with a specific purpose, i.e., to express ill-feelings towards the Brahmanical faith and the impotence of their gods.[46] This two-armed Buddhist deity, identified tentatively as Vajrahūṅkāra by Mitra, was first identified by S. Pattnaik as representing Trailokyavijaya.[47] There is thus some disagreement as to the actual identity. In *sādhana* no. 257 in the *Sādhanamālā* we get the following brief description of Vajrahūṅkāra, who "originates from the sacred syllable '*Hūṁ*' which is irresistible like the Fire of Destruction, is blue in colour, and dazzlingly bright." The *sādhana* adds further that,

> The worshipper should conceive himself as the god Vajrahūṅkāra, who originates from that syllable (Hūṁ) and is terribly fierce in appearance. He laughs horribly, is wrathful, and disturbs the three worlds. His two hands carrying the ghaṇṭā and the vajra are locked in the Vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā. He tramples upon Bhairava, in the pratyālīḍha attitude, and inspires awe.[48]

There is mention thus only of Bhairava being trampled, his consort not being mentioned. Of the two representations of the two-armed Vajrahūṅkāra in the late *Chu P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* illustrated by W. Clark, one depicts Bhairava (two-armed) alone beneath the left foot of Vajrahūṅkāra[49] while in the second illustration, where he is accompanied by his Prajñā, there is a prostrate figure beneath each foot though they cannot be identified,[50] so there are thus examples both where Bhairava alone is trampled and examples where a figure is being trampled under each foot.

Sādhana no. 262 in the *Sādhanamālā* describes Trailokyavijaya as being blue in colour, as having eight arms, and having four faces displaying the sentiments of wrathful passion (front), rage (right), disgust (left) and heroism (back):

> He exhibits the vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā with the two hands bearing the ghaṇṭā and the vajra against the chest. He carries in his three right hands the khaṭvāṅga, the goad and the arrow, and in the three left the bow, the noose and the vajra. He stands in the pratyālīḍha attitude, tramples upon the head of Maheśvara with his left leg, while the right presses upon the bosom of Gaurī. He wears garments of variegated colours, and many ornaments and garlands assigned to the Buddhas...[51]

Similar iconographical traits are enjoined for Trailokyavijaya in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where as a *krodha* deity he occupies the north-eastern gate of the third circle round the principal shrine of Mañjughoṣa, though a sword replaces the *khaṭvāṅga*.[52] In contrast to the textual description of the two-armed Vajrahūṅkāra, Trailokyavijaya thus stands on both Bhairava and Gaurī and is without a Prajñā but has eight arms and four faces. It is possible, of course, as pointed out by D. Mitra,[53] that there may have been textual descriptions of a two-armed form for Trailokyavijaya,[54] particularly as there are a few two-armed late representations in Lamaistic pantheons in which the hands holding the *vajra* and bell are crossed in front of the chest and he is in *pratyālīḍha* trampling two figures.[55]

The bronze from Acutrajpur thus combines aspects from two different textual forms, i.e., he is two-armed like Vajrahūṅkāra and like Trailokyavijaya he is without his Prajñā and tramples both Bhairava and his Śakti. The close affinity of these two deites, as noted by D. Mitra, is particularly manifest in the *Vajrahūṅkāra-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, centred around Vajrahūṅkāra, the central deity, who is here called Trailokyavijaya, has a blue body with six arms and three faces. His major set of hands, showing *trailokyavijaya-mudrā* and bearing the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*, embrace his Prajñā. His ornaments are of snakes with various names and he is in *ālīḍha* trampling upon Bhairava and Kālarātrī.[56]

In the bronze from Acutrajpur the deity is in an exaggerated *pratyālīḍha* pose with his right foot crushing a four-armed Kālarātrī and his left foot on the forehead of the ten-armed Bhairava (fig. 276). His hands are crossed in front of his chest with the left fist, palm facing outward, holding the *vajra-ghaṇṭā* and the right fist holding the *vajra*. He wears a short cloth held by a belt with a floral clasp, the end hanging between his legs, and a folded scarf around his thighs. He is richly adorned and has a tall conical crown. His bulging eyes are inlaid with silver and his wrathful grin bares his fangs. Four Tathāgatas are visible in his crown, the lower centre one being Akṣobhya while the upper one is Vairocana. Ratnasaṁbhava is on the right and Amoghasiddhi is on the left. The back of the crown is covered by a circular halo edged with flames. Additional five-tongued flames emanating from the body of the deity decorate the background formed by the solid halo.

The ten-armed Bhairava, lying on his back, clasps two hands in *añjali* while the other eight are inert. His *āyudhas* are scattered on the circular portion of the pedestal (fig. 519). He is adorned with serpent ornaments and wears a long garland of skulls. His detached weapons include a trident, a bell, a bow with broken string, two arrows, a noose, a *ḍamarū*, a sword and a *paraśu*. Kālarātrī lies on her back and touches the right foot of Vajrahūṅkāra with the palms of her principal set of hands. Her attributes, also scattered on the circular pedestal, include a sword, a *paraśu*, a trident and a shield (?). The image can be dated to the second-half of the 10th century.

Part of the controversy as to identification is due to the peculiar *mudrā* displayed by the hands crossed in front of the chest, called *trailokyavijaya-mudrā* by S. Pattnaik and *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā* by D. Mitra, the deity, of course, being named after his *mudrā*. There is no unanimity as to its name. In early books on Buddhist iconography, as in the work of A. Getty, *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā* is called the *mudrā* of Buddha Supreme and Eternal and its description is quite simple: "The wrists are crossed at the breast, which indicates intensity and the hands hold symbols, usually the vajra and ghaṇṭā. Special mudrā of Vajradhara, Sambara, Trailokyavijaya, and most of the gods when holding their śaktis."[58] A. Gordon repeats this generalized description of *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā* and likewise does not differentiate whether the palms holding the symbols are turned inward or outward. She additionally includes *trailokyavijaya-mudrā* in a footnote as another name for *bhūtaḍāmara-mudrā* in which the wrists are crossed in front of the chest but there are no symbols held in the hands.[59] In the

sādhanas (nos. 264, 265, 266, 267) for Bhūtaḍāmara in the *Sādhanamālā*, *bhūtaḍāmara-mudrā* is explained as follows: "the two ring fingers are to be covered by bending the two forefingers and the thumbs are to touch the short and the middle fingers." In *sādhana* no. 65 the *mudrā* has been designated as *trailokya-sādhanī* while in *sādhana* no. 266 it is *trailokyarājya-sādhana*.[60] M.T. de Mallmann, in her table drawings, makes no distinction between *vajrahūṅkāra-* and *trailokyavijaya-mudrā* though the single drawing representing these two *mudrās* is actually the *bhūtaḍāmara-mudrā* as described in the *Sādhanamālā* and as illustrated by A. Gordon, i.e., with no symbols being held in the outward facing palms, while the *mudrā* illustrated with the crossed hands holding the *vajra* and the *ghaṇṭā*, palms facing inward, is identified only as the *mudrā* for embracing the Prajñā.[61] In these works, then, *trailokyavijaya-mudrā* appears to be another name for *bhūtaḍāmara-mudrā* and in no case do the crossed hands hold attributes.

B. Bhattacharyya, on the other hand, makes a distinction between *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā* and *trailokyavijaya-mudrā*, both of which hold attributes in their hands. In *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā*, accordingly,

> the wrists are crossed at the chest with two hands holding the vajra and the bell, both of which are turned inwards. But if the two symbols and the hands are turned outward the mudrā will be called the trailokyavijaya-mudrā.[62]

It is obvious that S. Pattnaik utilized this interpretation of *trailokyavijaya-mudrā* to identify the Acutrajpur bronze as Trailokyavijaya despite the fact the image has only two arms whereas the text stipulates eight arms.[63]

According to D. Mitra, however, the *mudrā* for Vajrahūṅkāra in the *Sādhanamālā* is not specifically called *vajrahūṅkāra* but simply "*ghaṇṭāvajraprayogena mudrābaddhakara-dvayam*".[64] In respect to the interpretation of *vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā*, she then cites E.D. Saunders who differs from B. Bhattacharyya:

> This mudrā, characteristic of Vajra-hūṃ, whose diamond-like strength and terrible anger it expresses, is made by crossing the wrists in front of the breast, the fists turned toward the outside, the right superposed on the left. Usually, the right hand holds a vajra, the symbol of the Knowledge which destroys passions and of the adamantine Truth of the Law which nothing can destroy; the left hand holds the bell or ghaṇṭā, the symbol of the Law and of the assembling of the faithful....When the wrists of the hands in *basara-un-kongō-in* (i.e., vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā) are turned toward the inside, contrary to the previous form, the mudrā may be called *sankaisaishō-in* (trailokyavijaya) 'mudrā of the Victor of the Three Worlds'.[65]

This is just the opposite of the interpretation given by B. Bhattacharyya and it is evident that the *mudrā* itself cannot give positive identification of the deity. The remaining discrepancies between the bronze image and the textual account of Vajrahūṅkāra involve the presence or absence of consorts, the Prajñā of Vajrahūṅkāra being eliminated on the bronze while the Śakti of Bhairava is added. As indicated earlier, however, there are very few surviving Orissan images in which a Buddhist deity is embracing his Prajñā, though the *mudrā* of crossed hands holding the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* most likely symbolizes such a union, so that this absence by itself cannot be a determining factor in identification.

In respect to the discrepancies between the bronze and the textual account of Trailokyavijaya, the bronze figure has only two arms while the text stipulates eight, which appears to be a much greater discrepancy than any associated with the identification as Vajrahūṅkāra. Also noteworthy is the absence of a garland made of small images of Buddha

(Buddha-*sragdāmamālā*),[66] read as "garlands assigned to the Buddhas" by B. Bhattacharyya, prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā* for Trailokyavijaya and which appears on most known Indian images of this deity, including a bronze image from Nālandā in the Patna Museum,[67] a stone image in the monastery of the Mahanta of Bodh Gaya,[68] and a broken stone image from Nālandā.[69]

Based on the known Sanskrit textual accounts, the evidence suggests that the bronze image from Acutrajpur more likely represents Vajrahūṅkāra rather than Trailokyavijaya, though in numerous cases one is equated with the other, i.e., their names are used interchangeably, as in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*;[70] in these early texts, however, the deity is usually associated only with a *vajra* or with a *vajra* and a trident.

5. Yamāntaka/Yamāri and Hayagrīva

In addition to serving as an attendant deity, Yamāntaka (the destroyer of Yama) or Yamāri (the enemy of Yama) has numerous independent forms. As noted by A. Getty, he is "the most complicated and terrible of all the Northern Buddhist divinities. Under this form", i.e., as the ferocious emanation of Mañjuśrī, "he conquered the demon king of Death, Yama, who was depopulating Tibet in his insatiable thirst for victims."[71] According to her classification Yamāntaka is usually represented with his Prajñā whereas Yamāri is generally depicted alone.[72] In the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 270), however, it is stated that the colour of Yamāri varies in accordance with the different functions he has to discharge; for *śāntika* (pacification) he is white and faces east; for *pauṣṭika* (promotion) he is yellow and faces north; for *vaśya* (subduing) he is red and faces west; and for *ākarṣana* (attracting and bewitching) he is blue and faces south. Of these varieties, the red and blue are described in the *Sādhanamālā* to suggest that his worship is mostly performed for the purpose of enchanting people and to forcibly subduing them and bringing them to the worshipper.[73] Five *sādhanas* (nos. 268-72) are devoted to the description of the red variety—Rakta-Yamāri—and they are virtually identical. The deity is in *pratyālīḍha* embracing his Prajñā, who is in *ālīḍha*, above his buffalo. He has one head and two hands. His right hand has a *khaṭvāṅga* while the left hand holds a *kapāla* full of blood. He is decked in ornaments of snakes, wears a tiger-skin, has brown hair rising upwards and bears an image of Akṣobhya on his crown.[74] No such image has as yet been discovered in Orissa.

Eight *sādhanas* (nos. 273-80) describe his blue variety—Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri—in which he assumes three distinct and one alternate forms: 1) one face and two arms (*sādhana* nos. 275-77); 2) three faces and four arms, embracing his Prajñā (*sādhana* no. 273); 3) three faces and six arms (*sādhana* nos. 278, 279); and 4) six faces with six arms and six legs (*sādhana* nos. 274, 280), though according to *sādhana* 278 the fourth is considered to be an alternative form of the third.[75] In the *Yamāri-maṇḍala* (no. 15) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is another three-faced, six-armed form in which he embraces his Prajñā.[76]

The two-armed form of Yamāri is described in the *Sādhanamālā* as follows:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as (Kṛṣṇa) Yamāri who stands in the pratyālīḍha attitude, is one-faced, two-armed and of blue colour. He brandishes the staff marked with a vajra with the right hand, and shows the raised index finger with the noose against the chest in the left. In this form Yamāri should be meditated upon as standing on the orb of the sun on a double lotus and as riding a buffalo.[77]

He is invariably described as "dwarfish and pot-bellied in appearance, of fearful and scowling mien with bare fangs, tawny beard and brows, with tawny hair rising up in flame-like curls and adorned with human skulls, with tiger-skin as garment, snakes as ornaments and a long

garland of human skulls." In one *sādhana* (no. 277) it is stated that the deity "assumes this fearful form externally for the welfare of created beings; internally he is full of beauty and compassion."[78]

A bronze image corresponding to this description of Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri was discovered amidst debris above the rammed floor of the verandah in front of cell 18 at Ratnagiri.[79] Yamāri is pot-bellied and stands in *pratyālīḍha* on the buffalo (fig. 277). His uplifted right hand brandishes a staff marked with a *vajra* while his slightly raised left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. He has a terrifying appearance with a third eye, arched eyebrows, beard and open mouth with bared fangs. He wears serpent ornaments and his coiled locks rise upward like flames. The buffalo, ornately adorned, stands on the pericarp of a lotus with a single row of petals. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

Another two-armed description appears in the *Kṛṣṇayamāri-Tantra* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. G. 9964) copied in A.D. 1380 by Dharmarakṣita:

> The image of Yamāri should be made with the flesh of the brahmins pulped with the ashes collected from the funeral-grounds. The image should be two-handed and single-faced. It should have the great vajra in the right hand and a human head in the left. It should be blue in colour, very fearful in expression. Evils should be scared away by it. Everyday the deity should be offered five types of meat and five types of ambrosia. If the devotee prays everyday by saying 'kill my enemies', all his enemies will die on the very dawn that comes after the expiry of seven nights.[80]

In the three-headed, six-armed form in the *Sādhanamālā*, Yamāri stands in *pratyālīḍha* on the buffalo and has a similar terrifying appearance. In his right hands he holds a *cakra*, sword and pestle while the left hold a *vetāli* (goblin), *paraśu* and noose.[81] In the six-legged alternative form the right hands hold a sword, mallet and *vajra* while the left hands hold a bell, *vajra-pāśa* and a pestle; or, in *sādhana* no. 280, the left hands are in *tarjanikā* and hold a noose and a pestle. Whereas *sādhana* nos. 274, 278 do not mention the pose of the added legs, *sādhana* no. 280 states that the second pair are to be disposed in an attitude of dance (*virachita-nṛtya*) and the third in *sattvaparyaṅka*.[82] In the three-faced, six-armed principal deity of the *Yamāri-maṇḍala* (no. 15) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, the three faces show the blue, white and red colour in the centre, right and left respectively. With his principal pair of hands, holding the *kartrī* and *kapāla*, he embraces his Prajñā. His remaining right hands hold the *vajra* and the sword while the other left hands carry the *cakra* and lotus.[83] There are also two citations for the six-armed Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri in the *Kṛṣṇayamāri-Tantra*. In the first example (fol. 3A) we are merely told that he is blue, has an angry expression of face, has three faces and six arms with one hand carrying a *vajra*.[84] Elsewhere (fol. 8A) we get a more detailed description:

> The worshipper should face south and think himself as the killer of Yama. He should conceive within his self this form; it is very fearful, terrible, and adorned with severed human heads. It is on a buffalo, it has protruding tongue, big belly, and a fierce look. It has brown hair rising upwards, and also curly beard and contorted eyebrows. It has in the (first) right hand the great vajra, the sword in the second, and in the third, a chopper. The left hands have the discus, the double-petalled lotus, and the skull-cup. Its principal face is black, the right has the colour of the moon, and the left is said to be red. It is adorned with vajra ornaments. The lord of the kula should be hailed from the cells of the body. He is in the orb of the sun in the pratyālīḍha attitude. His face is contorted due to his exposed fangs, and he is like fire that emerges during the termination of a kalpa. Thinking himself in these terms, the worshipper should visualise this form before him.[85]

We are additionally told that the *śaktis* of the Yamāri(s) are Carccikā, Vārāhī, Saraswatī and Śaurī (fol. 12B).

In the *maṇḍalas* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Yamāntaka is one of the ten directional deities, as in the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 1) where he is guardian of the East. He is blue in colour, has three faces and six arms. As with all of the *krodha* deities, he embraces his Prajñā with his principal pair of hands while his other four hands hold a hammer marked with the blue *vajra*, the sword, the jewel and the lotus.[86]

A three-faced, six-armed, pot-bellied deity discovered near the southwest corner of the porch of the Mahākāla temple at Ratnagiri, identified by N.K. Sahu as Vajrajvālānalārka,[87] has some affinities with the six-armed Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri, as pointed out by D. Mitra, except his mount is not a buffalo and four of his attributes are missing, so that positive identification is not possible.[88] He stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a tiger (?) with a protruding tongue. His principal right arm, broken off above the elbow, is raised in a threatening gesture as if ready to hurl a weapon (*vajra*?) and the lowered arm, bent at the elbow with the hand facing away from the body, is broken at the wrist (fig. 278). The back right hand brandishes a sword above his right head. The major left hand is in front of the chest in *tarjanī-pāśa* while the uplifted back arm is broken at the elbow. The back lower arm, bent at the elbow as on the right side, is broken at the wrist.[89] He wears serpent ornaments, a long garland of skulls, and displays terrifying facial features. His hair, rising up like flames, is tied by serpents. Flames radiating from his body are visible on the back-slab while at each upper corner is a lotus rosette. The tiger (?) strides from the proper left to the right on a *viśvapadma*. On the right corner is a small, kneeling devotee holding a vessel in his uplifted hands. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

R. Linrothe, on the other hand, convincingly argues that the image more likely represents Hayagrīva, particularly as an image of Hayagrīva on the left corner of the pedestal of a four-armed broken image at Aragarh stands on the back of a similar tiger (fig. 5).[90] Hayagrīva may have from two to eight arms and iconographically is similar to Yamāntaka, except for the horse-head he may have in his coiffure. In an eight-armed form in the *Sādhanamālā*, for example, we get the following description:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as Ārya-Hayagrīva of red colour, with eight arms and three faces, each face with three eyes. His right and left faces are blue and white respectively and he has snakes for ornaments. His legs are arranged in the lalita attitude and he looks wrathful. His first face has a smiling appearance, the right has a protruding tongue and he bites his lips in his left. He is clad in tiger-skin and shows in his four right hands the vajra, the staff, the karaṇa pose and the raised arrow. Of the four left hands, one has the raised index finger, the second touches the breast and the two remaining ones hold the lotus and the bow. He bears the effigy of Akṣobhya on his crown.[91]

Whereas Yamāri has the buffalo as a mount, Hayagrīva is not prescribed a mount so it would seem more appropriate to provide him a mount than to change the mount of Yamāri.

More positive in identification, due to the buffalo-mount, is the image of Yamāntaka at Kuruma, though due to surface details being partially obfuscated, the number of hands, legs and weapons are indistinct (fig. 279). He stands flat-footed on the hind-quarters and head of the buffalo and has three visible heads. Two of his right hands are uplifted, holding a sword and a club, while a third, extended down, is broken at the wrist. The uplifted left hands hold a *paraśu* and a pestle while another holds a noose. The image can be dated to the 10th century. In a *rāhā* niche of the Champeśvara temple at Dihasāhi (Erasama area) is

a small image of Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri. He has three heads, six arms, and stands in *pratyālīḍha* on the back of his buffalo-mount. His first two right arms are broken while the third holds a sword over his head. His principal left hand holds a *kapāla* at the chest while the uplifted back hand holds a pestle (?). The object in the middle hand is obliterated. He has a stout body and wears a garland of skulls.

There is also a small, headless image of a four-armed Yamāri in the niche of a monolithic *stūpa* from the group at the southwest corner of Stupa No. 1 at Ratnagiri. He is seated in *lalitāsana* with his pendent right leg touching the buffalo on the pedestal. His lower right hand rests on a staff while the upper hand displays *tarjanī-mudrā*. His lower left hand, holding a noose, rests on his thigh while the upper left hand is broken off.[92]

C. MAHĀKĀLA

Though not an emanation from Akṣobhya, the Hindu deity Mahākāla was adopted into the Buddhist pantheon where, as a terrifying deity, he was given a variety of forms, many of which are described in the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. As in the case of Yamāri he often has a pot-belly, wears serpent ornaments and a garment of tiger-skin, and has terrifying facial features. He may have one face with two, four or six arms, or eight faces with sixteen arms. Being a ferocious god, he is generally worshipped in the Tantric rite of *māraṇa* and for the destruction of enemies, as pointed out by B. Bhattacharyya, while, as a terrible spirit, he was invoked to inspire awe in the minds of Buddhists who were not reverential to their gurus or who did not care much for the Three Jewels. Accordingly, he is supposed to eat these culprits raw and the *sādhanas* often contain the following verses to show the terrible nature of Mahākāla:

> He who hates his preceptor, is adversely disposed to the Three Jewels, and destroys many animals is eated up raw by Mahākāla.
> He (Mahākāla) cuts his flesh to pieces, drinks his blood, and (after) entering into his head breaks it into small bits.[93]

Six *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* describe the two-armed variety, with one reading as follows:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as Śrī Mahākāla Bhaṭṭāraka who is two-armed and one-faced and has blue colour. He is three-eyed, has fiery radiance, and carries the kartrī and the kapāla in his right and left hands respectively. He bears five skulls in his brown hair which rises up on his head, and is decorated with a chain of severed heads. He looks terrible with bare fangs, and is decked in ornaments of serpents and a sacred thread made out of a snake. He is short and from his mouth trickles forth blood.[94]

Invariably he steps on one or two corpses and in some cases the trident replaces the *kartrī* while in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. G. 8055, fol. 30B) the *kartrī* is replaced by the *khaṭvāṅga*.[95] In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where he is one of ten principal Hindu deities headed by Brahmā, he is blue in colour and carries the trident and the *kapāla* in his two hands.[96] Iconographically these two-armed descriptions are most closely related to the Hindu Bhairava in his role as a guardian figure, such as Kṣetrapāla or the *dvārapāla* Mahākāla, or with Baṭuka-Bhairava, in respect to textual accounts, or with the large sanctum image at Ghanteśvara (fig. 272).

In the four-armed form the second pair of hands hold a sword and the *khaṭvāṅga* but otherwise the image is similar to the two-armed form.[97] In respect to iconography, this form most closely approximates the textual description of the *dvārapāla* Mahākāla from the *Agni Purāṇa* (50.39),[98] though the Hindu form has a club rather than a *khaṭvāṅga*. In the

four-armed independent images of Bhairava in Orissa the sword is generally replaced by a trident while the *khaṭvāṅga* is replaced by a severed-head (fig. 523).

In the six-armed form, in contrast, Mahākāla holds a *kartrī*, rosary and a *ḍamarū* in his right hands while the left hands hold the *kapāla*, the *śūla* and the *vajrapāśa*.[99] In the sixteen-armed form with eight heads and four legs in the *Sādhanamālā*, in addition to trampling upon Vajrabhairava in the form of a corpse, Mahākāla is surrounded by eight goddesses, seven plus his Prajñā whom he is embracing: Mahāmāyā on the east, Yamadūtī on the south, Kāladūtī on the west, and his Prajñā (north) while the four corners are occupied by Kālikā (S.E.), Carccikā (S.W.), Caṇḍeśvarī (N.W.) and Kuliśeśvarī (N.E.). Each goddess stands in *ālīḍha* with those in the cardinal directions having a mount while those at the corners trample a corpse.[100]

Two rare examples of a two-armed Mahākāla in Orissa appear in the sanctum of two temples converted into Kālī temples at a later date, the Mahākālī temple at Ratnagiri and the Vajra-Mahākālī temple at Kapila. Both images consist of a bust only, the body terminated below the chest, and surface details, including facial features, are partially obfuscated by accretions of paste and/or are mostly hidden by modern clothes and flowers. In the image at Ratnagiri the right hand holds a *kartrī* while the left hand holds a *kapāla* in front of the chest.[101] His coiffure rises up like serpents and he wears serpent ornaments. The image is placed on a lotus-*pīṭha* set against the back wall. The image at Kapila is similar in respect to iconographic details (fig. 282). Although the *kapāla* is clearly visible the *kartrī* is mostly obliterated. Modern foil is also inserted into the eyes, nose and mouth as at Ratnagiri. Both images can be dated to the 11th century (C-13).

There is a two-armed image at Kasbā, mentioned earlier, which conforms to the iconography of Mahākāla though, due to its worn condition and the modern garments covering the body, it is not known if it is Buddhist or Hindu, or even if it is male or female (fig. 281). The deity, worshipped as Bāsulī, stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a corpse. Its right hand, raised in a threatening manner, wields an indistinct weapon, possibly a *vajra*, while the left hand is in front of the chest where it probably held a *kapāla*. It wears a long garland of skulls, has terrifying facial features, and a serpent is coiled around the base of the flame-like coiffure. The deity is flanked by a *maṇḍala* of eight female figures,[102] four on each side superimposed one above the other, who appear to be *ḍākinīs* or possibly represent the eight goddesses mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* for the sixteen-armed form of Mahākāla, though their iconography deviates from the latter. They all appear to be standing on a corpse, those on the right in *ālīḍha* and those on the left in *pratyālīḍha*, except for the one at the bottom right who is dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* and may represent the Prajñā of the deity. This dancing *ḍākinī* has an indistinct weapon, possibly a *vajra* or *kartrī*, in her uplifted right hand while the left arm cradles a *khaṭvāṅga*, the hand holding a *kapāla*. All of these *ḍākinīs*/goddesses are two-armed. The image can be dated to the 10th century. In respect to iconography, it can only tentatively be identified as Mahākāla and could easily be Bhairava, Cāmuṇḍā or Vajrayoginī.

There is a six-armed image of a pot-bellied deity with three heads who stands in *ālīḍha* trampling on a male and a female figure, originally from Ratnagiri, now in the Patna Museum which is tentatively identified as Mahākāla (fig. 280).[103] Though he is usually described in *pratyālīḍha*, there are some examples from Tibet, where he became particularly popular at a later period,[104] and labelled images from China which show other poses, standing and seated,[105] so that the *ālīḍha* pose by itself cannot be the sole criterion in denying or in establishing identity in respect to the Orissan image. Unfortunately the object held in the lower right hand is missing, the arm being broken off at the wrist, but judging from the iconography of the attendant figures it most likely held a *kartrī*. The middle right hand, raised

chest high, holds a rosary while the uplifted back hand brandishes a sword above his heads. His major left hand holds a *kapāla* in front of the chest while the lowered hand holds a long staff or *khaṭvāṅga*, mostly obliterated. The uplifted back left hand holds a club over his heads. He is richly adorned, wears serpent ornaments and has a long garland of skulls. Each face has three eyes and displays terrifying features while a serpent is coiled around the base of the coiffures which rise up like short flames. The two figures being trampled, male on the right and female on the left, are both lying on their back above a *viśvapadma*, their features being too badly worn to identify. Above these figures and between the legs of the god is a clump which possibly represents the forepart of an animal (?). The god is flanked by four companion deities, two on either side superimposed one above the other, who all appear to be similar in pose but are badly worn. According to D. Mitra, based on the best preserved example which is female, they each hold a *kartrī* (?) in their right hand while the left hand holds a *kapāla*. A *khaṭvāṅga* held akimbo in the crook of the left arm pierces two prostrate figures beneath their feet. Each of the four companion deities stand in *pratyālīḍha* and, she concludes, are iconographically "associated with Vajravārāhī who is the Prajñā variously of Sambara, Saptākṣara and Heruka."[106] Stylistically the image can be dated to the 10th century.

Iconographically the deity thus does not conform exactly to any textual descriptions though in respect to *āyudhas*, ornamentation and Śaivite features, he most closely resembles four- and six-armed descriptions of Mahākāla. He holds the same *āyudhas* as the four-armed version in four of his hands while the added *āyudhas* are a rosary and a club rather than a *ḍamarū* and *vajrapāśa* as prescribed in textual accounts. Although the four companion goddesses are similar to the four *ḍākinīs* mentioned in connection with Sambara, i.e., Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā and Rūpiṇī, these *ḍākinīs* are all four-armed and carry the same weapons—*kapāla*-marked *khaṭvāṅga, kapāla, ḍamarū* and *kartrī*—and there is no mention of trampling on corpses.[107] The four corner goddesses accompanying Mahākāla as described in the *Sādhanamālā*, on the other hand, though having two hands and trampling on a corpse as on this six-armed Orissan image, vary somewhat in respect to *āyudhas*, especially Caṇḍeśvarī, and none of them hold a *khaṭvāṅga* in the crook of their left arm. Identification of this image as Mahākāla, therefore, has to remain tentative.

Mahākāla is obviously one of the most important of the Hindu gods to be incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon and invariably it is his *kapāla*, not the trident as stated by B. Bhattacharyya,[108] that is his recognition symbol, the skull-cup being included in all of his textual descriptions. The *kapāla*, of course, is more closely associated with gruesome rituals, human sacrifice and the eating of flesh or drinking blood, aspects and activities befitting a terrifying Tantric deity. The cemetery setting suggested by a corpse, which is basically anonymous in the Hindu concept though symbolizing cosmic sacrifice in the form of inactive *puruṣa*, no longer appears salvific, however, but pejorative as the corpse beneath Mahākāla is identified in one *sādhana* as Vajrabhairava.[109]

References

[1]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 53.
[2]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LVII.
[3]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
[4]*Ibid.*, p. 50.
[5]*Ibid.*, p. 51.
[6]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 321, fig. 105(A).
[7]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[8]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LVII.

[9]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[10]*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

[11]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

[12]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 140; D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, pp. 134-36. See also Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣa*, 2 parts (Washington, 1929, 1931), I, p. 31; M. Lalou, "Four Notes on Vajrapāṇi", *Adyar Library Bulletin*, No. 20 (1956), pp. 287-93; and Sten Konow, "Note on Vajrapāṇi-Indra", *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 8 (1930), pp. 311-17.

[13]*Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, pp. 39-48.

[14]Ariane MacDonald (ed. and trans.), *Le maṇḍala du Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* (Paris, 1962), p. 109.

[15]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 124, pl. LXXII(A), and p. 67, pl. XXXIV(B).

[16]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 314-16.

[17]Rob Linrothe, "Compassionate Malevolence: Wrathful Deities in Esoteric Buddhist Art", a working draft for his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago, a portion of which was shared with me in private correspondence.

[18]Cf. A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 168, 245, 381, 386; P. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 90; and J. Huntington, "Shosonzuzō", p. 301.

[19]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 154.

[20]See Rob Linrothe, "Provincial or Providential: Reassessment of an Esoteric Buddhist 'Treasure'", *Monograph Series* 37 (1986-87), pp. 205-08.

[21]Christopher George, *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra: A Critical Edition and English Translation*, Chapters I-VIII, American Oriental Series, Vol. 56 (New Haven, 1974), pp. 4, 44, 59-60, 64-65.

[22]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 154-55; and the *Sādhanamālā*, I, pp. cxxxi-cxxxii.

[23]Several chapters in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* detail the worship of women (*strīpūjā*) and explicit erotic practices involved in this *pūjā*.

[24]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, pp. 22, 41; A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, p. 124; and A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 272-75.

[25]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 125-126.

[26]See M.N. Deshpande, "Ratnagiri to Praṇālaka: A Study in Religio-Cultural Contact between Kaliṅga and Aparānta (Konkan)", *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*, Vol. 3 (1985), pp. 1-3, figs. 1-2.

[27]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LIX.

[28]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 155-56.

[29]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 126, pl. LXXIII(B), and II, pp. 318, 325.

[30]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 208.

[31]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, figs. 3633, 3635.

[32]Cf. *Śrīcakrasambara Tantra*, ed. Kazi Dawa-samdup, Tantric Texts, Vol. 7, gen. ed. Sir John Woodroffe (London, 1919); and Shinichi Tsuda (ed.), *The Samvarodaya-Tantra: Selected Chapters* (Tokyo, 1947).

[33]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 27.

[34]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXII.

[35]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 161-62. For a more complete description see Giuseppe Tucci, *The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism: Tsaparang*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, English version of *Indo-Tibetica*, III.2 (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 22-27.

[36]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 12, pl. IV. 3.

[37]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 196-97; and *Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 86, acc. no. 6505.

[38]Debala Mitra, "An Image of Sambara in the Patna Museum", *OHRJ*, Vol. IX, Nos. 3/4 (1960), pp. 43-46.

[39]In the elaborate description given by G. Tucci both Bhairava and Kālarātrī are four-armed with two displaying *añjali-mudrā* or the attitude of adoration. See G. Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, pp. 68-69.

[40]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.

[41]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 185-86.

[42]*Ibid.*, p. 187.

[43]*Ibid.*, p. 390.

[44]*Ibid.*, p. 390.

[45]*Ibid.*, pp. 388-89. See also Bhagwant Sahai, *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities* (New Delhi, 1975); and M Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

[46]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 86-87.

[47]S.S. Pattnaik, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-87.

[48]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 181.

[49]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 314, fig. 359.

[50]*Ibid.*, II, p. 238, fig. 56.

[51]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 184-85.

[52]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 89-90.

[53]*Ibid.*, p. 90.

[54]In the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*, Vajrapāṇi, having the form of Trailokyavijaya, holds a lotus and noose while trampling the sins of the deceased; and in the commentaries the wrathful Jñānadeva Trailokyavijaya is four-armed, holding a *vajra* and noose in his right hands while his left hands hold a lotus and make a threatening sign. In neither case, however, does he display the *vajrahūṅkāra-* or *trailokyavijaya-mudrā*. See *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*, pp. 84-85.

In the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (p. 22) he holds only a five-pronged *vajra* while in the *Trailokyavijaya-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* (pp. 39-49), as Vajrapāṇi he treads down Maheśvara with his left foot and Umā with his right foot. As a *mantra*-holder in the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* he holds a trident in his right hand and a *vajra* in his left hand. He has two bared fangs, a wrathful expression and is seated on a rock in the midst of flames. See A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, p. 276.

[55]S.F. Oldenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 74; and W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 116, fig. 4 M 7 and p. 139, fig. 4 B 30.

[56]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 90-91. Vajrahūṅkāra and Trailokyavijaya are also equated with one another in various Japanese versions of the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* where they function as *mantra*-holders. The *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and Śubhākarasiṁha use their names interchangeably. He invariably is eight-armed but does not embrace his *Prajñā*. See A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 276-78; II, pp. 716-20.

[57]*Ibid.*, pp. 86-88.

[58]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[59]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.

[60]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXIV.

[61]M.T. de Mallmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique*, p. 393, pl. II, figs. 1-2. In Shingon Buddhism, in contrast, the *mudrā* with the fists clenched and wrists crossed in front of the chest is called the "wrathful fists" *mudrā* (*funnu-ken-in*). Cf. A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, II, p. 717.

[62]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 440.

[63]S. Pattnaik, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[64]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 87, n. 1.

[65]E. Dale Saunders, *Mudrā, A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture* (London, 1960), p. 114.

[66]See A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, part II (Paris, 1905), p. 58; D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 89; and B. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[67]*Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 120, pl. XXIII(B), acc. no. 8457.

[68]S. Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 101, fig. 110.

[69]B. Sahai, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32.

[70]A similar two-armed Vajrahūṅkāra standing on Bhairava and his Śakti from Bihar is illustrated by S. Saraswati (*op. cit.*, p. LXIV, fig. 178) though he tentatively identifies it as Trailokyavijaya. See also A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 275-80, II, pp. 718-25; and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, p. 32.

[71]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[72]*Ibid.*, p. 164.

[73]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 166; and S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. LXII-LXIII.

[74]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 167.

[75]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXIII.

[76]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 177-78.
[77]*Ibid.*, p. 168.
[78]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXIII.
[79]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 371.
[80]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 49.
[81]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 177.
[82]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXIII.
[83]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 177-78.
[84]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 49.
[85]*Ibid.*, p. 50.
[86]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 252.
[87]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 196.
[88]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 437.
[89]For a similar placement of the arms see the image from Nālandā illustrated by S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 176.
[90]As expressed to me in private correspondence. His arguments will appear in his Ph.D. dissertation on *krodha* deities at the University of Chicago.
[91]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 165; see also A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.
[92]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 127.
[93]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 347-48.
[94]*Ibid.*, p. 345.
[95]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 52-53.
[96]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 366.
[97]*Ibid.*, p. 346.
[98]*Agni Purāṇa*, trans. N. Gangadharan, AITMS vols. 27-30 (Delhi, 1984-87), part I, p. 135.
[99]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 346. In a four-armed image from eastern India in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), the second pair of hands hold a rosary and a trident. See W. Zwalf (ed.), *Buddhism: Art and Faith* (New York, 1985), fig. 149.
[100]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 347.
[101]Debala Mitra "A Temple of the Buddhist God Mahākāla", *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (1958), pp. 1-5, fig. 1.
[102]For a similar *maṇḍala* with Heruka see S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 172.
[103]*Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 86, acc. no. 6506.
[104]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-62, pl. L; and A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
[105]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 75, 101, 299-301, figs. 2 B 59, 3 B 18, and pp. 297-308.
[106]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 431.
[107]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 321. Elsewhere (p. 218) they are associated with Vajravārāhī.
[108]*Ibid.*, p. 344.
[109]*Ibid.*, p. 347.

TĀRĀ IMAGES

As the supreme goddess of the Vajrayāna pantheon, Tārā holds a position second only to Buddha and thus occupies a position similar to that of Durgā in the Hindu pantheon. In each, as noted by S.K. Saraswati, "the Indian belief in the feminine principle as an active force in the universe finds recognition in the fullest measure", and each manifests herself in "innumerable forms, benign as well as terrific".[1] Both goddesses are especially associated with helping their devotee to cross the ocean of existence and as being a saviour goddess, one who protects her worshippers from all the evils of existence. This close association with Durgā, as well as the origins of Tārā, somewhat veiled in obscurity, have given rise to considerable controversy which has been addressed by numerous scholars[2] but which need not detain us here as our primary interest is the iconography of the surviving images. In the beginning Tārā appears to have been closely associated with, and even the consort of, Avalokiteśvara whereas later she came to be described as the consort of the Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi. In the 7th century Hiuen Tsang refers to her images being worshipped in various parts of Northern India[3] while testimony to her dual personality (white and green) appears in a tradition mentioned by A. Getty:

> The lamas believed that Tārā was incarnate in all good women, and in the seventh century they declared the two pious wives of the Tibetan Buddhist king, sRong-tsan-sgam-po, incarnations of Tārā. She was then given two distinct forms: the 'white', believed to be incarnate in the Chinese princess Wen-ch'eng, daughter of a Chinese prince belonging to the Imperial family; and the 'green', incarnate in the Nepalese princess Bribsun, daughter of the Newar king Aṃśu Varman. The white and green Tārās thus became distinct deities. The former was given as symbol the full-blown white lotus, while the latter carried the utpala, or blue lotus with the petals closed.[4]

These two forms came to be known respectively as Sita Tārā and Śyāma Tārā, the "two together signifying day and night. In her white form she is said to look after the good of all beings, in green to conquer evil."[5] From the 8th through the 12th century her forms greatly multiplied and eventually eulogies were composed listing 108 names of the goddess, following the traditions of her Hindu counterpart, and "such eulogies became very popular among her votaries and were worn as amulets in order to ward off dangers and evils of all kinds."[6]

B. Bhattacharyya has attempted to classify the various textual descriptions of Tārā according to their colour and thereby identifying their respective *kulas* or families presided over by the five Tathāgatas. Accordingly, under (A) *Green Tārā*, the names are: 1) Khadiravaṇī

Tārā; 2) Vaśya-Tārā; 3) Ārya-Tārā; 4) Mahattarī-Tārā; 5) Varada-Tārā; 6) Durgottāriṇī-Tārā; 7) Dhanada-Tārā; 8) Jāṅgulī and 9) Parṇaśavarī. The names under (B) *White Tārā* are: 1) Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā; 2) Mṛtyuvañcana-Tārā; 3) Caturbhuja-Sitatārā; 4) Ṣaḍbhuja-Sitatārā; 5) Viśvamātā; 6) Kurukullā; and 7) Jāṅgulī. Under (C) *Yellow Tārā* the names are: 1) Vajra-Tārā; 2) Jāṅgulī; 3) Parṇaśavarī; and 4) Bhṛkuṭī. The forms under (D) *Blue Tārā* are 1) Ekajaṭā and 2) Mahācina-Tārā while under (E) *Red Tārā* the only name is 1) Kurukullā.[7] This classification, however, is not consistent, as pointed out by S.K. Saraswati, as two of the Tārās in his *White Tārā* classification are green, being the emanations of the Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi.[8] Such a classification is hardly applicable for the purpose of identification with stone or metal images where colour is invariably absent, as Bhattacharyya himself admits, and special attention therefore should be paid accordingly to the particular pose of the goddess and to the companion deities, if any.[9] For the most part it is the white and green forms that predominate and S.K. Saraswati follows this early mode of classification in his work on Tantrayāna art. Even here, as he notes, there is not always agreement, as in the case of Khadiravaṇī Tārā who, according to her *sādhana* (no. 89) in the *Sādhanamālā*, bears the effigy of Amoghasiddhi on her crest. He is green whereas her colour is *haritāṁ*, which should mean pale yellow.[10] A. Getty placed this form with the *Yellow Tārā-s*[11] while B. Bhattacharyya, on the basis of the Amoghasiddhi effigy, placed her in the list of *Green Tārā-s*.[12] In the *Guenhon* of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, in fact, Tārā, as the *śakti* or energy of Avalokiteśvara, is coloured in a mixture of green and white and has the appearance of a middle-aged woman.[13] In this study of Orissan images, as with the other deities, they are organized primarily on pose, companion deities and the number of hands/attributes, invariably moving from simple to more complex iconography. Even the simple classification of white and green will not be strictly followed as the most basic distinguishing aspect (aside from colour which is generally absent in sculpture), i.e., the white or blue lotus symbolizing day and night, is seldom a determining factor in textual accounts.

A. AṢṬAMAHĀBHAYA TĀRĀ

Numerous myths throughout Buddhist Asia relate the miraculous birth of Tārā which invariably stress her compassionate and merciful character, such as the generally accepted Tibetan legend that a "tear fell from the eye of the god Misericordia Avalokiteśvara, and, falling in the valley beneath, formed a lake. From the waters of the lake arose a lotus-flower, which, opening its petals, disclosed the pure goddess Tārā."[14] Or in respect to the white and green colour classification with its day and night symbolism, since both were born from the tears shed by Avalokiteśvara, "they may represent his never-ceasing grief at the miseries of mankind. Or they might also symbolize the willingness of Tārā to soothe human suffering by day as well as by night, for it is believed that Avalokiteśvara imposed on her that duty."[15] Initially it is, as indicated, the all-compassionate Avalokiteśvara who is conceived as the great saviour of those in great perils, the number of perils generally being standardized as eight (*aṣṭamhābhaya*), and in early sculpture, beginning in the 5th century, this concept in sculpture depicts him in a standing pose surrounded by the eight perils, four on either side. By the 7th century this function of saving devotees from eight perils is invariably transferred to Tārā.[16]

The description of Tārā as the saviouress from eight great perils, i.e., Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā, appears in *sādhana* no. 99 of the *Sādhanamālā* where it is stated she is one-faced and two-armed, has a white complexion, and is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a lotus. She displays *varada* with her right hand while the left hand holds a *nīlotpala*. She is richly adorned and wears fresh flowers in her hair. In the intermediate space surrounding her, i.e., the eight directions, are eight more Tārā-s similar to her in all respects. The complete *mantra*, reading "*oṁ Tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*", is meant for the central figure while the eight syllables "are possibly intended for the rest—*oṁ* for the eastern one, *tā* for the southern one, *re* for the western one, *tu* for the northern one, *ttā* for the south-eastern one, *re* for the western one,

tu for the north-western one and *re* for the north-eastern one."[17] The goddess is thus worshipped in her nine-fold aspect for the deliverance from perils, a concept evolved for Durgā somewhat earlier, as in the *Devī-māhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (XCII.24-28)[18] and elsewhere.[19] Although the *sādhana* does not specify the eight great perils, we know these from literary and epigraphic sources, as in the *Ārya-Tārā-sragdharā-stotra* of Sarvajñamitra (8th century)[20] or the Dambal (Karṇāṭaka) inscription of the Western Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, dated A.D. 1095-96,[21] where they are listed as: 1) lion; 2) elephant; 3) fire; 4) snake; 5) thief; 6) fetter; 7) water; and 8) demon.

Although the *sādhana* prescribes a seated pose for Tārā, most of the early surviving images depict her in a standing pose and this is the manner in which she is represented in the two largest examples from Orissa, both originating at Ratnagiri. The first and earliest image, still at the site, depicts the two-armed Tārā standing in a slightly flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 283). Her right hand, partially damaged, is lowered in *varada* where it is framed by a lotus rising from the *viśvapadma* while the left hand, raised chest-high, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala*, the stalk likewise rising from the *viśvapadma*, which blossoms opposite her face. She is richly adorned, wears a diaphanous *śāṭī* fastened at the waist with a clasp ornamented at either end with a *makara*, and has a short tiara with three triangular crests. Her hair is tightly combed into a chignon on top of her head with a few loose locks cascading down onto her shoulders. Her exquisitely modelled face with downcast eyes is softly illumined from within by an aura of spiritual warmth and compassion. The *aṣṭamahābhayas* or eight great perils are carved on the back-slab, four on either side superimposed one above the other. The endangered persons are praying fervently to Tārā for succour. Tārā is rendered in miniature form above each peril coming to the rescue. In each case she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. Beginning at the top proper right, where the back-slab is partly broken and the image of Tārā is mostly obliterated, the perils are: 1) *sarpa-bhaya* or attack of a serpent; 2) *siṁha-bhaya* or attack of a lion; 3) *taskara-bhaya* or attack of a robber having a bow/arrow; 4) *jalārṇava-bhaya* or peril from a boat sinking at sea. Beginning on the top left the perils are: 5) *hasti-bhaya* or attack of a wild elephant; 6) *nigaḷa-bhaya* or a fettered man being menaced by an official brandishing a sword; 7) *piśāca-bhaya* or attack of a terrifying goblin; and 8) *agni-bhaya* or being threatened by fire.[22] The image can be placed in the late 8th century.

The second image, now in the Patna Museum,[23] can be dated to the 11th century (fig. 284). Tārā assumes a more pronounced *tribhaṅga* pose and both arms are broken off near the elbow with only traces of the *nīlotpala* remaining intact. She is richly adorned, wears a triple-strand *yajñopavīta*, a diaphanous *śāṭī* and an *uttarīya* (scarf) in an *upavītī* fashion. She has a diadem and her hair, fastened with studs, is arranged into a chignon on the right side of her head where it rests on her shoulder. At the top of the back-slab, immediately above her head, is an alignment of five Tathāgatas, i.e., Amitābha, Ratnasaṁbhava, Amoghasiddhi at the centre, Akṣobhya and Vairocana. The *aṣṭamahābhayas* are again carved on the two sides, beginning beneath a *vidyādhara* couple at each upper corner, though Tārā now assumes a flying pose above each scene as she comes to the rescue. Her right hand is in *abhaya* while the left hand holds the *nīlotpala* as she faces away from the centre image on each side. The perils, beginning at the top right, are: 1) *sarpa-bhaya*; 2) *agni-bhaya*; 3) *hasti-bhaya* (partially obliterated) and 4) *siṁha-bhaya* while the corresponding perils on the left are 5) *taskara-bhaya* with the robber holding a sword and shield; 6) *piśāca-bhaya*; 7) *jalārṇava-bhaya*; and 8) *nigaḷa-bhaya*.[24] The alignment thus differs slightly from the earlier image while the robber now has a sword rather than a bow. The placement of Amoghasiddhi immediately above the head of Tārā, in the centre of the Tathāgata alignment, might suggest that this is a green form of Tārā, though according to the *sādhana* she is to be white.[25]

In a third image of Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā, fixed to an outer compound wall on the outskirts of Shergarh in Balasore district, she is worshipped as Ugra-Tārā. She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada-mudrā* and her left, on the seat, holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala* (fig. 285). Above her head is a miniature *stūpa* flanked on either side by a Tathāgata (?). In the *aṣṭamahābhaya* scenes she is seated next to the distressed person with her right hand in *abhaya* and the right knee raised as she faces away from the large centre image. In the scenes on the left side her pose is reversed with her right hand placed on the seat, holding the lotus, and the left hand in *abhaya*. The eight great perils beginning on the top right are 1) *hasti-bhaya*; 2) *sarpa-bhaya*; 3) *piśāca-bhaya*; and 4) *nigaḷa-bhaya*. The corresponding perils on the left are 5) *siṁha-bhaya*; 6) *agni-bhaya*; 7) *taskara-bhaya*; and 8) *jalārṇava-bhaya*. Except the *piśāca-bhaya* and *nigaḷa-bhaya*, in each scene there are two men confronted by the peril. The pedestal is *tri-ratha* in design and is decorated with two devotees, an image of a pot-bellied Hayagrīva resting his hands on a staff, vessels heaped with offerings, and an inscription of the Buddhist creed in characters of the 11th-12th century in the centre and a *virāla* motif on each corner facet.[26] Surface details are partially obfuscated by paste and grime.

In these three Orissan images of Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā it is evident that she can be depicted either seated or standing and that the alignment of the perils was not standardized. In the miniature depictions of her hovering above the eight perils, she may be seated, either in *vajraparyaṅka* or *ardhaparyaṅka*, or she may be depicted flying to each scene. Her right hand may be in either *varada-mudrā* or *abhaya-mudrā*, or it may be placed on the seat, for balance, where it holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala*, supposedly the attribute of the green form of Tārā. M. Ghosh has cited other examples from elsewhere in India which likewise suggest there may have been a green form,[27] while in a Tibetan painting of the *maṇḍala* of Amoghapāśa all eight figures of Tārā (assuring devotees threatened by eight perils) are green.[28] It thus seems evident that there must have been *sādhanas* for a green form which have not survived.

Though there are few surviving examples in Orissa, they vary in date from the 8th to the 12th century. Her sustained popularity may be due to the fact that she was particularly esteemed by the trading class and pilgrims, as noted by M. Ghosh, "who used to undertake long journeys through forests, rivers, oceans and unknown towns and who were to reckon with most of these perils. This is also supported by inscriptional evidence."[29]

B. TWO-ARMED IMAGES OF TĀRĀ

For the most part it appears that Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā was one of the early forms of Tārā who invariably was depicted standing in the earliest images while later images generally depict her seated in *lalitāsana*.[30] In the Orissan images she is represented in a simple two-armed form without companion goddesses though in the later example from Ratnagiri there are five Tathāgatas aligned at the top of the back-slab. It is not possible to determine if these images represent a green or a white form of Tārā as indicated above. It is in this simple form, as a saviouress from the eight great perils, that most closely reveals her origin as the Prajñā of Avalokiteśvara. As a saviouress, "ever ready to extend her succouring hand to the afflicted and to pour out solace to tormenting souls, she soon rose in the estimation of the people", and in consequence of her benevolent role, her popularity and importance "increased as time rolled on till she achieved an independent individuality and an exalted position, overshadowing even Avalokiteśvara."[31] Gradually,

> to her original functions as a protectress came to be added the aspects of *jñāna* and *prajñā* for dispelling the ignorance of sentient beings and for leading them to salvation and enlightenment. Thus, Tārā became the *vibhūti* of Buddha, the Prajñā of the

> Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi and ultimately the primordial female energy and wisdom—the mother of all Tathāgatas and jinas (*jananīṁ jinānām*). The Vajrayānists made her so much supreme as to conceive the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas exuding from the hair-pores of her body.[32]

As in the case of the Brahmanical Devī, i.e., Durgā, she became greatly expanded, absorbing religious concepts and attributes of other deities, so that, "in the long run she stretched out to the infinite, embracing almost all the goddesses who, though conceived independent initially, came to be regarded as her manifestations...Like the Brahmanical Devī, she became omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient",[33] and, as the all-powerful goddess she came to be endowed with one thousand hands and one thousand heads in a fierce aspect known as Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinī.[34]

Unlike the Brahmanical Durgā, however, who generally has multiple arms numbering from four to twenty or more, the most popular forms of Tārā restrict her number of arms to two. The forms with multiple arms appear only sporadically in Indian art. These two-armed forms, whether green or white, may be depicted standing or seated and may appear alone or with companion goddesses.

1. Standing Two-armed Images of Tārā

Standing images of this simple two-armed form of Tārā were not nearly as popular as seated images, possibly due to the fact that only seated poses are prescribed in the *sādhanas* when a pose is mentioned. Included among the ninety-nine monolithic *stūpas* with images of Tārā found at the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri, for example, only one image is in a standing pose.[35] Another example appears on *stūpa* no. 46 in front of Monastery No. 2.[36] Probably the largest and best surviving image of this simple form still at Ratnagiri is the headless image found on the eastern slope of the hill between the Stūpa-area and Monastery No. 1.[37] She stands in a slightly-flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand lowered in *varada* while her left hand, raised chest-high, holds the stalk of a missing flower. She wears a long *śāṭī* which is fastened with a knotted girdle of a double-chain with a flower-clasp. A richly adorned kneeling female companion embraces the stalk of a lotus which blossoms behind the lowered right hand of Tārā. On the left of Tārā is a thick foliated stem with stalks ending in a lotus and a bud. The image can be assigned to the 8th century.

Stylistically similar but larger and better preserved is the image now in the Brooklyn Museum which most likely originated from Ratnagiri (fig. 286). She stands in a graceful pose on a *viśvapadma* with her lowered right hand in *varada*. Her left hand, raised chest-high, is mostly obliterated but originally held the stalk of a *nīlotpala* which rises up on the left side of the back-slab. She is richly adorned, wears a *yajñopavīta* and her hair is neatly combed into a chignon on top of her head. Her head is framed by an unembellished halo and the top of the back-slab, partially broken on the left, is rounded. Tārā is flanked at the base by a frontally posed kneeling devotee on the right, his hands clasped in *añjali*, and a four-armed Ekajaṭā on the left. Ekajaṭā stands in a slightly flexed pose with her major right hand in *varada* while her left hand holds a noose. Her uplifted back hands hold a goad and a bell. The image can be dated to the late 8th century.

Slightly later in date is an image lying under a tree off the road leading into Kaupur (fig. 287). The goddess stands in a slightly flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand lowered in *varada*. The left hand, also lowered, is placed just above the head of a companion goddess where it holds the stalk of a flower which blossoms above the shoulder of the major deity. It is not clear if the flower is a *nīlotpala* so that the identification of the deity as Tārā has to be somewhat tentative. Though richly adorned, body ornamentation is not overly

detailed so that the body gives the semblance of being almost nude. Facial features are partially effaced and foil has been inserted into the eyes. Her peculiar coiffure is indistinct. Her head is framed by an unembellished halo flanked on each side by a *vidyādhara*. At the top of the back-slab, aligned on a continuous *viśvapadma*, are the five Tathāgatas with Vairocana in the centre and Amitābha on the left end. Tārā is flanked at the base by a seated *ṛṣi* on the right, his hands in *añjali*, who probably represents Sudhanakumāra judging by his *viśvapadma* seat, and by a four-armed standing Ekajaṭā on the left who holds a *kartrī* (?) and *kapāla* in her principal set of hands. Her back right hand rests on a staff while her uplifted back left hand holds a noose or *cakra*. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

An image of a standing two-armed Tārā is one of numerous Buddhist images affixed to the outer wall of the Raghunātha temple at Solaṁpur (fig. 288). She stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose with her right hand in *varada*, framed by a lotus issuing up from the right side of the back-slab, while her left hand, raised chest high but mostly obliterated, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. Her *śāṭī* is fastened with a chain-link girdle and her diaphanous *uttarīya* is worn in an *upavītī* fashion. She is richly ornamented and her hair is rolled into an egg-shaped chignon on top of her head. Her eyes are downcast and her facial features exude a warmth suggesting inner contentment. Her head is framed by an elongated oval-shaped halo. At each upper corner of the back-slab is a Tathāgata seated on a *viśvapadma*, the stalks rising up from the base on either side, with Amitābha on the right and Akṣobhya (?) on the left. Tārā is flanked at the base on either side by a standing companion goddess, each with their right hand in *varada* and the left hand raised chest high where it holds their peculiar conveyance, thus duplicating the pose of Tārā. The goddess on the right is Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī while the goddess on the left is Mahāmāyūrī. In that these two are prescribed for a four-armed Sita-Tārā in the *Sādhanamāla*,[38] it is possible that this represents a two-armed form of the white Tārā. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.

Of the seventeen images of Tārā from the bronze hoard at Acutrajpur, only two depict her in a standing pose. In the first example she is standing on the pericarp of a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada*, the palm marked with a pellet, while the slightly raised left hand holds an *utpala*. She wears a *śāṭī* decorated with flowers and is richly ornamented. Her short crown has three flower-shaped projections and her hair is coiled into a large bun on top of her head. A ribbon billows up on either side of her head. Her long halo with semi-circular top rises up from the pedestal. The back side of the halo is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the 11th-12th century (C-15). The second standing image depicts the goddess causing a lotus to blossom, a pose generally associated with her role as a companion goddess which is discussed in chapter X (fig. 417).

There is another standing two-armed goddess which may be Tārā but the missing flower precludes us from making a positive identification. She stands in a graceful pose with her right hand in *varada* while her left hand holds the curved lower portion of the missing flower. She is ornately adorned and her hair is gathered in a bun-shaped coiffure at the back of her head. She has a youthful and sensuous body and her calm expression exudes a dignified sense of detachment (C-17).[39]

There was originally a beautiful image of standing Tārā at Chaudar though I do not know its present location.[40] She stands on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada* and her left hand, raised chest high, holding the stalk of an *utpala*. Pendants form loops on the lower edge of her ornate girdle and her *śāṭī* is decorated with diagonal bands. She is richly adorned and wears a *yajñopavīta*. She has a pleasing smile and wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. Her head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* edged with flames and decorated with a band

of diamonds and circles which continues across the lintel. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Tārā is flanked by two companion goddesses, the left one being Ekajaṭā who holds a *kartrī* and a *kapāla*. The right companion stands in a strongly flexed pose with her right hand holding a stalk (?) while the left hand holds a sword. Her iconography thus deviates from that of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī so that the principal image cannot be identified as Khadiravaṇī-Tārā. Most of the pedestal is missing. The image can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th century.

2. Standing Tārā as "Giver of Prosperity"/Cintāmaṇi Tārā

L.A. Waddell, in his list of twenty-seven forms of Tārā gleaned from Tibetan sources, names one as "the giver of prosperity", i.e., Kalyānada- or Mahāśānti-Tārā.[41] She is white in colour and has six arms. Closer to Orissan examples of Tārā as "giver of prosperity" is the illustration in the *Rin-lhan* of the Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las rnam-rygal where she is named Cintāmaṇi Tārā.[42] She is two-armed and stands next to a *kalpavṛkṣa* tree. Her left hand plucks a blossom of the tree while her lowered right hand holds a vessel or a large gem. There is also a two-armed Brahmanical Dhanadā Devī described in the *Tantrasāra*. She is the colour of saffron and is seated on a throne beneath a *kalpavṛkṣa*. Her two hands are depicted opening a lotus. She wears red ornaments and is richly adorned. Like her four-armed Buddhist counterpart, Dhanadā Tārā, she bestows wealth on her devotees. She is also addressed as Dhaneśvarī and, if satisfied, she comes before the devotee at night and gives him her own ornaments. She is surrounded by ten companions, one of whom is named Tārā.[43]

The Orissan images are earlier than these non-Indian examples of Tārā as a goddess of wealth, or the Brahmanical Dhanadā Devī, and iconographically are related to the Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara images discussed earlier. In the first image, from Nāgaspur, she stands in a graceful *tribhaṅga* pose beneath a *kalpavṛkṣa* tree which arches above her head to form a canopy. Her right hand is lowered in *varada* while the raised left arm embraces the stalk of the *kalpavṛkṣa*, the hand probably holding an *utpala* (fig. 289). She wears a *yajñopavīta* and is richly ornamented. Her facial features and surface details are partially obscured by accretions of paste and grime. *Ratnas* appear dispersed among the foliage of the *kalpavṛkṣa* which issues from a *ghaṭa* at the lower left. A Tathāgata is seated at the apex of the *kalpavṛkṣa* while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. There is a standing companion on each side of Tārā, opposite her shoulders, with the one on her left being stout in build. I cannot make out their attributes but presume them to be wealth deities. Four *pretas* with hands clasped beseech treasure beneath the right hand of Tārā. Two others, on the left side, attempt to scale the trunk of the *kalpavṛkṣa*. A third figure prevents one from climbing by grasping his hair with his right hand while raising his left hand in a threatening manner. Only part of the pedestal is visible and it contains, on the right side, two devotees with hands in *añjali*. The image can be placed in the late 11th century.

A second example of this form of Tārā is at Adasapur where it presently is leaning against the *jagamohana* of the Svapneśvara temple (fig. 290). The iconography is similar to the example at Nāgaspur though the pose of Tārā is more rigid. Her right arm is broken off at the elbow while her left arm is missing above the *kalpavṛkṣa*. A group of four *pretas* beseech treasure beneath the branches of the *kalpavṛkṣa* on the right while on the left one *preta* has climbed half-way up the trunk. A second figure on the left stands at the base of the tree with one arm uplifted as he looks up, suggesting he may be threatening the *preta*. Two of the *sapta-ratnas* are encircled by sprays from the *kalpavṛkṣa* at the upper left corner, including the elephant. Unfortunately surface details are partially obfuscated by accretions of whitewash and fungus. The image can be dated to the late 11th-early 12th century.

3. Two-armed Tārā Seated in Lalitāsana

The most popular form of Tārā is the two-armed image where she is seated in *lalitāsana* and is unaccompanied by companion deities. There are two closely related modes of this simple form based on the placement of her left hand in holding the *nīlotpala*. In mode (A) her left hand is placed on the seat behind her thigh as in the basic form for Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī. In mode (B) the left hand is slightly raised. There are a few transitional images where the left hand is placed on the thigh. Other slight variations include a second lotus rising up on the right side, the addition of a Tathāgata in one or both upper corners of the back-slab, or the placement of lions on the pedestal.

Mode (A) is by far the most popular and of the multitude of monolithic *stūpas* with images of Tārā at Ratnagiri most depict her in this basic mode, a good example being the image from *stūpa* no. 55 from the group found east of Stūpa No. 1. Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand extended in *varada* and the left hand, placed on the seat behind her thigh, holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. Her *śāṭī* is fastened by a girdle with a floral clasp and she is richly ornamented. Her hair is rolled into a bun on top of her head and fastened by a diadem with a triangular *kirīṭa*. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab and they slightly overlap the unembellished halo of the goddess. A seated female devotee with hands folded in *añjali* appears on the right corner of the pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* seat. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

A similar image from Ratnagiri is now in the Patna Museum (fig. 292). The *nīlotpala* and the *vidyādhara* on the left side of the back-slab are broken off. She wears a *yajñopavīta*, two different types of earrings, and her *uttarīya* is arranged obliquely across the chest. Her hair is combed into a bun on top of her head. Her head is framed by an oval-shaped halo. On the right corner of the pedestal is a kneeling, shaven-headed monk with hands clasped in *añjali*. On the opposite side is a censer or lamp and an elongated vase heaped with offerings. On the back of the image is the Buddhist creed inscribed in four lines while the image also bears the *mantra*, "*Oṁ Tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*."[44] The image can be placed in the late 8th or early 9th century.

Nearly identical in respect to iconography is an image presently inserted into the northern niche of the Bālukeśvara temple at Acutrajpur (fig. 294). Of the seventeen images of Tārā from the bronze hoard at Acutrajpur, eight depict her in mode (A) with the left hand placed on the seat. All of them can be dated to the 9th-10th centuries. In the largest image, Tārā is gracefully seated in *lalitāsana* on the pericarp of a *viśvapadma* with her pendent right foot resting on a lotus (fig. 291). Her *śāṭī* is fastened by a chain-link girdle with a floral clasp and she wears a diaphanous *uttarīya* in an *upavītī* fashion. She is richly adorned and wears two types of ear ornaments, a *puṣpa-kuṇḍala* in her right ear and a long cylindrical ear-stud in her left ear. She has an ornate crown with three *kirīṭas* (crests) and her hair is rolled into a bun on top of her head. A floral rosette and outward projecting leaves above her head join the horseshoe-shaped halo, edged with flames, which rises up from her *viśvapadma* seat. Four rods connect the back side of the icon with the halo, the one above her right shoulder being ornamented with a floral rosette. Although the facial features are badly worn, the image is quite exquisite and can be placed in the 9th century. In another image a short two-line dedicatory record is inscribed on the back which mentions the gift of a *saṅgha*, named perhaps Gaurīputra.[45]

Other examples in mode (A) dating to the 9th-10th century include images from Khangara (fig. 295), Solaṁpur and Lalitagiri (fig. 293). In the latter example a Tathāgata is added at each upper corner of the back-slab. Of 10th century sculptures, one of the best preserved is the image from Bhubaneswar now in the Orissa State Museum (acc. no. AY

118). She is richly adorned and wears a *yajñopavīta*. She has a jewelled tiara with floral ruffles projecting out on either side. Her hair is combed into a chignon on top of her head. She has an unembellished halo and the back-slab is plain.

Of the two metal images of Tārā discovered at Ratnagiri, one is in mode (A) with Tārā seated in *lalitāsana*. A four-petalled flower is on the palm of her right hand. Both the *śāṭī* and *uttarīya* are inlaid with diamond-shaped silver pieces. She is richly ornamented and her hair is arranged in a bun on top of her head. The circular mark on her forehead is made of gold while her eyes are inlaid with silver and her lower lip is of coppery colour. The image can be dated to the 10th-11th century.[46]

Perhaps the most beautiful late image in mode (A) is the example from Ayodhyā (fig. 297). She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* and her right palm is incised with a floral rosette. Floral ruffles appear on either side of her ornate girdle which has a centre floral clasp. She is richly ornamented and wears a jewelled *yajñopavīta*. Her facial features are finely carved and ruffles appear on either side of her jewelled diadem. Her coiffure, finely rolled into an egg-shaped chignon on top of her head, is fastened with jewelled chains and pins. Her head is framed by an ogee-shaped halo with a beaded-border. A floral design appears at the apex of her back-slab while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper and rounded corner. A second *nīlotpala* rises up on the right side of the back-slab and supports a miniature *stūpa*. The pedestal is *pañca-ratha* in design with the corner facets left uncarved. The intermediate facets are decorated with two vessels heaped with offerings on the right and with a kneeling devotee on the left facing a bowl of offerings. The image can be dated to the late 10th century. A similar image with a *nīlotpala* on each side is affixed to the outer compound wall of the Lakṣmī-Varāha temple at Ali (fig. 296).

Among the other images in mode (A) with a second *nīlotpala* rising up on the right side is one found in the Stūpa-area at Ratnagiri. She is richly adorned and wears a beaded-*yajñopavīta*. She has a *makara-kuṇḍala* in her right ear and an ear-stud in her left ear. She wears a diadem with three projections and her hair is arranged in a bun on top of her head. Her head is framed by an elongated-oval halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal is decorated with a devotee holding a censer, a stand supporting a lamp, and a bowl heaped with offerings. On the back of the image is the Buddhist creed in five lines inscribed in characters of the 11th century.[47]

There are, as indicated, several images which are transitional between modes (A) and (B) in which the left hand holding the *nīlotpala* is placed on the knee or thigh rather than on the seat behind the leg, including a small image in the British Museum which possibly came from Lalitagiri. Her left hand is placed in front of the thigh with the fingers touching the *viśvapadma* seat. Her hair is fashioned in a bun on top of her head and she has an oval-shaped halo. The top of the back-slab is rounded. Opposite the right shoulder of Tārā is a votive *stūpa*. The sides of the back-slab are lightly etched with lotus petals. The image can be placed in the 9th century. Other images in this transitional mode include a bronze from the hoard at Acutrajpur where her left hand rests on her knee[48] and a stone image from Khiching, now in the Baripada Museum, which is iconographically similar except a second *nīlotpala* rises up on the right side of Tārā (fig. 298). In the latter image the head is completely obliterated and only traces of the *nīlotpala* on the left remain intact on the back-slab. She has a horseshoe-shaped halo decorated with bands of scrollwork and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The throne lintel is decorated with a *haṁsa* on either side of Tārā while the sides of the back-slab each have a baluster supporting the lintel. The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* seat is *tri-ratha* in design. The right corner contains a bowl heaped with offerings while on the left corner is a kneeling devotee. The image can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century. Though both arms are broken off at the wrist, the image

from Nāgaspur also appears to be in this transitional mode. She is richly ornamented and wears a *yajñopavīta*. Surface details are mostly obfuscated by accretions of paste and grime. Her head is framed by a pointed halo with decorative bands around the border. A floral rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab while balusters are on the sides to support the lintel. The top register of the pedestal is decorated with floral motifs while devotees are faintly visible on the grime-covered lower register. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

There is also an image of Tārā in this transitional mode enshrined in a late temple on the north bank of the Sāliā river, immediately opposite the site of Acutrajpur, which is presently worshipped as Uttarāyaṇī.[49] Her left hand, in *varada* with palm outward, holds the *nīlotpala*. She is flanked by standing female attendants, both of whom have their left hand on the hip. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A kneeling devotee and offerings are at the centre of the pedestal while a *virāla* motif is at each corner. The image also can be dated to the 11th century.

Images in mode (B) are not as numerous, as indicated, though there are a few examples in monolithic *stūpas* at Ratnagiri, including *stūpa* no. 92 from the area east of Stūpa No. 1, *stūpa* no. 184 from the area south of Stūpa No. 1, *stūpa* no. 232 from the area northwest of Stūpa No. 1, at least one *stūpa* from the group found southwest of Stūpa No. 1,[50] as well as a dislodged image from the Stūpa-area,[51] while a larger dislodged image was recovered near Monastery 1. In the latter image Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with a smaller lotus supporting her pendent right foot. Her right hand displays *varada* while the left hand, slightly raised, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. She is richly adorned and wears a *yajñopavīta*. Her hair is arranged in a chignon on top of her head. Fan-shaped ruffles project out behind her ears. Her halo is pointed and a *vidyādhara* is on the upper left corner of the back-slab while on the right corner, seated on a *viśvapadma* rising up from the lotus-seat of Tārā, is the Tathāgata Amitābha. The corners of the pedestal have a devotee facing a bowl of offerings supported on a tripod, male on the right and female on the left. The image, made of chlorite, is inscribed with the Buddhist creed on the back in characters of the 9th-10th century.[52] From among the monolithic *stūpas* in front of Monastery 2 several have images of Tārā in mode (B) with her left hand slightly raised (*stūpas* no. 2, 58, 70, 78, and 86) while one of the two metal images found within Cell 17 is in mode (B). In the metal image, Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* on the pericarp of a *viśvapadma* with her pendent right foot resting on a smaller lotus. Her right hand is in *varada* and her slightly raised left hand holds the stalk of the *nīlotpala*. She is richly adorned and a *ṭiklī* (at the parting of the hair), her eyes and the leaf-shaped mark on her forehead are inlaid with silver while the leaf-shaped finial crowning her coiffure may have contained a semiprecious stone. The image can be ascribed to the late 10th or early 11th century.[53]

Six of the bronze images of Tārā from Acutrajpur depict her in mode (B) with her left hand slightly raised. One of the best examples, and perhaps the earliest, shows her with a tall, slender, "young and soft physiognomical form, long legs, half-closed eyes, somewhat calm and detached expression and dignified and graceful bearing...distantly reminiscent of the classical plastic idiom of the 6th-7th century."[54] She wears a *śāṭī*, an *uttarīya* and is elegantly ornamented. Her hair is arranged in a chignon at the back of her head. Her elongated, horseshoe-shaped halo has a beaded-border rimming a set of three mouldings and is edged by tongues of flames (fig. 299). The image can be placed in the late 8th or early 9th century.

Other images in this mode include a badly-worn image at Khiching, the left arm broken off at the elbow, in which a second *nīlotpala* rises up on the right and a small image placed with various sculptural fragments in a modern shrine at Naṭara which are collectively worshipped as the Grāmadevatī of the village. In the latter image the top portion of the back-

slab is broken off. Tārā is richly ornamented, wears *pātra-kuṇḍalas*, has a tiara with prominent *kirīṭas*, and wears her hair in a large chignon on the right side of her head. The image can be dated to the mid-10th century. In the Lokanātha temple at Paradipgarh is another small image presently being worshipped as Lakṣmī (fig. 300). She is richly adorned, wears a *yajñopavīta*, and has a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. The back-slab is partially cut-out around her body and head. Her head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* with decorative borders while the *vidyādhara* in each upper corner of the back-slab is mostly defaced. The sides of the back-slab are designed as flat *stambhas* relieved with scrollwork. The pedestal is mostly obliterated except for the *viśvapadma* stalk and its spreading rhizomes. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

In the Los Angeles County Museum of Art is a brass image of Tārā in mode (B) which may be from Orissa though, as P. Pal suggests, it also shows a general kinship with Bengali bronzes.[55] She is seated in *lalitāsana* on the pericarp of a *viśvapadma* with her right foot resting on a smaller lotus. Her right hand shows *varada* while the slightly raised left hand holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus. A second full-blown lotus rises up on the right side. She has a very lithe but well-proportioned body and her *śāṭī* displays a naturalistic treatment of folds. She has a simple tiara with low *kirīṭa*. On the left side of the tall *viśvapadma* pedestal is a kneeling female devotee with her hands clasped in *añjali*. The image probably dates to the 11th century.

4. Two-armed Tārā Seated in Lalitāsana with Lion(s)/Siṁhanāda Tārā

A broken, headless image from Ratnagiri, tentatively identified as Tārā,[56] depicts a goddess in mode (B) with her left hand raised, though the arm is now broken off and her identifying attribute is missing, which additionally has a recumbent lion at each corner of the pedestal to transform it into a *siṁhāsana* (fig. 301). The right arm is also missing but the hand, in *varada*, is intact on the right knee. She is richly adorned and wears a beaded *yajñopavīta*. Her pendent right foot rests on a small lotus while two kneeling devotees occupy the centre of the pedestal. The image is exquisitely carved and can be dated to the 11th century. A similar placement of lions appears beneath the seat of an image of Tārā from Ratnagiri where she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 310) while in an image from Brahmavāṇa, where she is in *lalitāsana*, the forward facing lions are possibly modern additions (fig. 38). In the latter image a baby Gaṇeśa is added on the left thigh of the goddess (either Tārā or Hāritī), transforming her into Pārvatī, which makes it impossible to determine if she was originally in mode (A) or mode (B). She is richly adorned. Her facial features and her coiffure have been refashioned with plaster.

As with Mañjuvara/Mañjughoṣa, or the Brahmanical goddess Durgā, the lion-mount and the *siṁhāsana* appear to be interchangeable, i.e., the deity either sits on a *siṁhāsana* or the lion-mount is carved on the pedestal, though in a few *sādhanas* for Mañjuvara/Mañjughoṣa both are prescribed. Whether the lion actually serves as the mount for Tārā in these above-mentioned images is hard to determine as the *siṁhāsana* is a popular seat, even appearing on two bronze images of Cundā from Acutrajpur (figs. 331-32). On two later stone images of Khadiravaṇī Tārā, one from Banpur and the other from Acutrajpur, the lions are standing on their hind legs and it is obviously a decorative device, the *virāla* being a popular motif on thrones after the 10th century. There are other cases, however, where a lion appears on the pedestal beneath Tārā as her mount.

A.K. Gordon mentions a special form of Tārā called Siṁhanāda who is green in colour and who conforms iconographically to Tārā of mode (B) except her lotus throne is supported by a roaring lion.[57] A. Getty also mentions this form and illustrates a Tibetan image of Tārā seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus placed on the back of a standing, roaring lion.[58] Although

there is no textual support for such as image, aside from the description in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Ms. No. G. 9089, fol. 37B) of Tārā (in mode B) wherein her lotus seat is placed on a chariot of lions (*siṁharatha*),[59] it is quite possible, as suggested by M. Ghosh, that there may originally have been *sādhanas* for such a form of Tārā which was conceived as "a counterpart of Siṁhanāda, a popular form of Avalokiteśvara." She illustrates two Indian sculptures which possibly represent Simhanāda Tārā, one a 9th century image from Sarnath with an effigy of Amitābha on the rounded upper right corner of the back-slab and the second a small image from Bhuinpara near Shergarh in the Balasore district of Orissa.[60] In both of the images there is a single lion placed on the pedestal, suggesting it is her mount, rather than two simulating a *siṁhāsana*. In the image from Bhuinpara, Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* in mode (A) with her left hand, holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala,* placed on the seat behind her leg. The right hand, however, is raised chest high rather than displaying *varada* though the *mudrā* or attribute is indistinct due to the poor quality of the photograph. A second *nīlotpala* issues up on the right side. She is richly adorned and her coiffure is arranged in a chignon on top of her head. A flying *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the slightly rounded back-slab. The *viśvapadma* seat is supported at each corner by a vessel. A tripod supporting a bowl heaped with offerings and the lion are to the left of Tārā's pendent right foot. On the back of the image the Buddhist creed is inscribed in characters of the 10th-11th century.[61]

A similar image, with both hands broken off and the face completely obliterated, was discovered at Bhubaneswar and is now in the Orissa State Museum (fig. 302). The goddess is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right foot pendent. The right hand probably was in *varada,* judging from the missing section of her right knee, while the left hand appears to have been slightly raised though there is no evidence of a *nīlotpala* so that identification has to remain tentative and it is possible that the image represents Pārvatī.[62] She is richly ornamented and wears a beaded *yajñopavīta.* Her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. A stylized floral design is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal is deçorated with lotus rhizomes along with the lion which is to the left of the pendent right foot of Tārā. The image can be dated to the late 11th century.

5. Two-Armed Tārā Seated in Lalitāsana with Attendants/Khadiravaṇī Tārā

In most of the large stone images of Tārā seated in *lalitāsana* from the 10th century onward the goddess is usually flanked by an attendant on either side, invariably Aśokakāntā Mārīcī on the right and Ekajaṭā on the left, the two companions prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 89) for Khadiravaṇī Tārā:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as Khadiravaṇī-Tārā of green colour, who bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on her crown, and shows the varada mudrā and the utpala in the right and left hands respectively. To the right and left of her appear Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā, and she appears a celestial virgin.[63]

The particular pose or *āsana* for Khadiravaṇī is not given so supposedly she may be either seated or standing. In various unlabelled paintings and stone images which have been identified as Khadiravaṇī Tārā by scholars, although one of the companion goddesses is invariably Ekajaṭā, the iconography of the second goddess varies, as pointed out by M. Ghosh, and in some cases represents Ārya-Jāṅgulī or another terrifying female deity as in the case of the standing image of Tārā from Chaudar discussed earlier, or the figure may even be male. Ghosh thus concludes that "such images should continue to be labelled simply as Tārā till either the appropriate *dhyānas* or the labelled images are brought to light."[64]

Possibly the earliest surviving Orissan image corresponding to the specific iconography of Khadiravaṇī Tārā is the largest of two Tārā images juxtaposed next to one another in a makeshift shrine on the highway at Jaraka Crossing near Dharmaśālā (fig. 303). Both images are in mode (A) with the left hand placed on the seat but the smaller image, without flanking attendants, is slightly later in date judging from her coiffure which is arranged on the left side of her face in a large chignon. The larger image, worshipped as Tāriṇī, depicts the deity seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada* and the left hand, holding the *nīlotpala* (partially obliterated), placed on the seat behind her thigh. She wears a *yajñopavīta* but surface details of body ornamentation and facial features are mostly obfuscated or effaced due to paste from *pūjā* rituals. Her hair is arranged in a bun on top of her head. Her unembellished halo is only faintly visible. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. She is flanked by standing goddesses with the pot-bellied Ekajaṭā holding a *kartrī* in her right hand. The goddess on the right places her left hand on her hip while the raised right hand holds her attribute, presumably an *aśoka*-bough though it is too indistinct to identify with certainty so that the identification of the main deity as Khadiravaṇī Tārā remains somewhat inconclusive.

The largest of all Tārā images from Orissa is the Khadiravaṇī Tārā now housed in the porch of the Tikirai temple at Banpur, which most likely is the illustration labelled "Koṅgo(da)maṇḍale Khadiravaṇī Tārāh" in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (A.D. 1015) housed in the Cambridge University Library[65] and the "Khadiravarṇī-bhaṭṭārikā" mentioned in the copper-plates issued in the sixth regnal year of Indraratha (early 11th century)[66] discussed earlier, the image now being worshipped as Tāriṇī or Ugra-Tārā (fig. 305). The image is well preserved except for the broken left arm and the *nīlotpala*. As in the case of most of these Khadiravaṇī Tārā images, the goddess is in mode (B) with her left hand slightly raised. She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her pendent right foot resting on a small lotus. She is richly adorned and wears a *yajñopavīta*. Foil is inserted into her eyes and most of her tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* is covered with accretions of paste. Her *śāṭī* partially spreads across the seat like a fan and is fastened with two girdles, one being edged with small bell-shaped pendants. Her transparent *uttarīya* is worn in an *upavītī* fashion leaving her right shoulder and breast bare. Fan-shaped ribbons flare out above each ear. Part of the back-slab is carved out behind her. Her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* with a trefoil-shaped arch decorated with bands of scroll motifs and edged with flames. Around the arch are musicians while a *vidyādhara* couple is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The five Tathāgatas are aligned at the top of the back-slab with Amoghasiddhi in the centre and directly above the head of Tārā. The lintel of the *toraṇa* consists of three horizontal mouldings and is visually supported on either side by a *gaja-virāla* motif. Tārā is flanked at the base by Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī on the right and Ekajaṭā on the left, each two-armed and in a seated pose. The upper portion of the pedestal is decorated with the foliated stem of the lotus with scrolls encircling the *sapta-ratnas* and at each corner a rampant lion (fig. 423). The lower register, *pañca-ratha* in design, is decorated with a kneeling Sūcīmukha in the right corner, bowls heaped with offerings and three panels of kneeling devotees. In front of Sūcīmukha and the bowls is a standing, emaciated female *preta*, the image generally being wrapped individually with garments separate from those covering Tārā. Her face and coiffure are covered with accretions of paste while her arms are broken off at the elbow. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

One of three stone images at Acutrajpur also depicts Khadiravaṇī Tārā (fig. 306), now in the possession of the Godavaris Vidyāpatha but discovered at the time the brick mound was denuded. She conforms to the conventional iconography of mode (B) and is richly ornamented. She wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* which is decorated with the effigy of a Tathāgata, his *mudrā* not being distinguishable. Her head is framed by a leaf-shaped halo crowned by

three petal-projections. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner. She is flanked by a standing attendant on either side with Ekajaṭā on the left holding a *kartrī* and a *kapāla*. The goddess on the right has her left hand on the thigh and holds her attribute (*aśoka*-bough?) in her raised right hand. A rampant lion is at each corner of the pedestal while to the left of the foliated lotus stalk are two kneeling devotees. Above the toes of Tārā's pendent right foot is a diminutive image of Vajrasattva. The base of the pedestal is inscribed with the Buddhist creed.[67] The image can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

A particularly well-preserved image of Khadiravaṇī Tārā, only the right hand and portions of the right leg missing, is in the Patna Museum.[68] The image is stylistically and iconographically related to the Prajñāpāramitā still at Bāṇeśwarnāsi and obviously is from the same site.[69] She is seated in *lalitāsana* in mode (B) with her left hand slightly raised (fig. 307). She is richly adorned and wears a beaded *yajñopavīta*. Ribbons billow up behind her ears and her jewelled tiara has three prominent *kirīṭas*. Her hair is arranged in a large chignon resting on her right shoulder. Her head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* fronting the pyramidal spire of a *pīḍha-deul*, the crowning *amalaka* mostly obscured by a *kīrtimukha* mask. A *caurī*-bearer stands at either end of the lintel at the base of the *toraṇa* while four miniature *stūpas*, each containing a Tathāgata, are arranged around the pyramidal roof. The fifth *stūpa*, above the head of Tārā and overlapping the *toraṇa*, contains the effigy of Amoghasiddhi. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The lintel of the *toraṇa* is visually supported at the sides by a baluster and a *virāla* motif. Tārā is flanked at the base by Aśokakāntā Mārīcī on the right and Ekajaṭā on the left, each seated in *lalitāsana*. Aśokakāntā holds an *aśoka*-bough in her right hand and an *utpala* in her left hand. She wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. Ekajaṭā has a *kartrī* in her right hand and a *kapāla* (mostly broken) in her left hand. She wears a low crown and has a pot-belly. The pedestal is decorated on the upper portion with the *sapta-ratnas* supported by lotus rhizomes and on the lower area with five devotees holding offerings in their clasped hands. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

In addition to a fragment of a standing Khadiravaṇī Tārā found in the Stūpa-area at Ratnagiri,[70] there is a seated example fixed to the wall of the *saptaghara* within the village.[71] In the latter she is in mode (A) with her left hand placed on the seat behind her thigh. Her hair is arranged in a coiffure on top of her head while fan-shaped ruffles project out above each ear. Her head is framed by a plain halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. She is flanked by Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. Aśokakāntā has her left hand on her thigh while her raised right hand holds a damaged *aśoka*-bough. The pot-bellied Ekajaṭā has a sword in her right hand while the left hand is missing. A bowl of offerings is on the left side of the foliated stalk decorating the pedestal. The image, made of chlorite, can be dated to the 11th century.

There is also a chlorite image from Chaudar in the Indian Museum (Calcutta) which can be dated to the 11th century. Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana* and conforms to the iconography of mode (B) with her left hand slightly raised. She is richly adorned, has a soft sweet smile and wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. Her head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* with a beaded-border edged with flames and pointed at the apex. A floral rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab while a triangular floral design rests on the lintel on either side of Tārā's head. The lintel is decorated with scrollwork and is visually supported on each side by a broad band of scrollwork. The companion goddesses appear to be Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. The upper portion of the pedestal is decorated with lotus rhizomes while the bottom contains kneeling devotees, three on each corner, and a centre panel with a family with two children making offerings.

The image at Sundaragram worshipped as Vilāsunī most likely represents Khadiravaṇī Tārā though, being in active worship, it is generally covered with garments while accretions of paste and a mask totally obscure the upper part of her torso and her head (fig. 304). She is seated in *lalitāsana* and conforms to mode (B) with her left hand slightly raised, though both arms are broken off near the elbow. Her head is framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* but most of the surface details are obfuscated. The two companion goddesses are mostly obscured so that exact identification is impossible. The upper part of the pedestal is decorated with lotus rhizomes housing the *sapta-ratnas* while the lower portion, *pañca-ratha* in design, contains kneeling devotees and offerings. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

6. Two-armed Tārā Seated in Vajraparyaṅka/Mahattarī-Tārā

In the *Sādhanamālā* are three closely related forms for Tārā in which she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, two white forms and one green. The first, named Mṛtyuvañcana-Tārā, appears in three *sādhanas* (nos. 102, 103, 112) and bears a *cakra* of white lustre on her breast. She is white in colour, is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, and exhibits *varada* with her right hand while holding an *utpala* in her left hand. There is no mention of companion goddesses. By worshipping this form of the goddess, "the devotee hopes to defy death and diseases."[72] In *sādhana* no. 96, composed by Ārya-Nāgārjuna, is a two-armed form of Vajra-Tārā which is virtually identical except the meditator himself "would conceive a wheel in his heart."[73] There is only a single *sādhana* (no. 90) for the green form, named Mahattarī-Tārā, which states that she is seated in *paryaṅkāsana* on a lotus. She is richly bejewelled and displays *varada* with her right hand while her left hand holds the stalk of a blue lotus (*indīvara*). Although no companion goddesses are mentioned, in two labelled illustrations of this form, one (no. 56) in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (no. Add. 1643, dated A.D. 1015) of the Cambridge University Library and the other in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (no. A. 15, dated A.D. 1071) of the Asiatic Society Library in Calcutta, Tārā is flanked by two goddesses. In the first example the goddess on the right has been identified as Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and the goddess on the left as Ekajaṭā. In the second example, where Tārā is seated in *lalitāsana*, both companion goddesses are blue in colour. While the companion, on the left again represents Ekajaṭā, the goddess on the right "is terrible in appearance with rising hair containing two serpents and holds in the right hand a thunderbolt, the left hand being in the tarjanī-mudrā."[74] In the Cambridge manuscript, which also has another labelled illustration where she is not attended by companions (no. 14), she is referred to as "Varendrā Mahattarāyī Tārā" or "Varendrā-vānā-icchā-Mahattarāyī" while in the Calcutta manuscript she is labelled "Varendrā-vānāyicchā-Mahat-Tārā", to suggest, as pointed out by M. Ghosh, that, despite the disparities in respect to pose or whether attended by companions or not, they all represent one and the same deity (of Varendra in north Bengal), and that the *lalitāsana* pose was a mistake on the part of the copyist of the Calcutta manuscript.[75] Essentially, then, Mahattarī Tārā is seated in either *vajraparyaṅka* (with legs crossed and interlocked) or *sattvaparyaṅka* (the right leg resting on the left) and she may be represented alone or attended by two goddesses, the one on her left being Ekajaṭā.

There are a few scattered examples in Orissa of Tārā seated in *vajraparyaṅka* or *sattvaparyaṅka*, including several at Ratnagiri, one of which appears in *stūpa* no. 68 from the group to the east of Stūpa No. 1.[76] She is in *vajraparyaṅkāsana* with her right hand showing *varada* and her slightly raised left hand holding a *nīlotpala*. There are no companion goddesses. Larger in size is the dislodged image found on the filled-up top of *stūpa* no. 189 from the area south of Stūpa No. 1.[77] She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada* and the raised left hand holding the *nīlotpala*. She is richly adorned and her hair is arranged in a bun on top of her head. Her head is framed by a plain halo, pointed at the top, and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

There is also a simple form of Mahattarī Tārā among the bronzes found at Acutrajpur (fig. 308). She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada* and the left hand, the wrist resting on her knee, holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. Part of her *śāṭī* spills out on her seat and she wears her transparent *uttarīya* in an *upavītī* fashion. She is richly adorned and her jewelled tiara has projecting triangular-shaped *kirīṭas*. Her solid oval halo contains decorative bands around the borders and is edged with flames. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

A somewhat later example in bronze of this simple form without companions is loosely placed in an outdoor shrine next to a stone image of Hara-Pārvatī at Tiadi Sāhi, adjacent to Kaduapara, where it is locally worshipped as Bagalā (fig. 309). She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on the pericarp of a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada* and the left hand, raised chest high in mode (B), holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. She is richly ornamented and wears large *pātra-kuṇḍalas*. Her jewelled tiara has triangular *kirīṭas*. A second flower is added on the strut to the right of her head. The halo or back-slab has not survived. The image can be placed in the late 11th or early 12th century.

R.D. Banerji mentions seeing an image of Mahattarī Tārā in the precincts of the Rāmeśvara temple at Baudh, on the back of which was inscribed the Buddhist creed,[78] though he did not illustrate it and I have not seen the image. He merely mentions the deity was seated, without specifying the particular pose, and there is no indication if she was accompanied by companion deities. N.N. Vasu mentions a fragmented image of Mahattarī being worshipped in a small shrine at Dhūpasila but there is no indication if she has companion deities.[79]

More complex in respect to iconography is the dislodged image found in the banyan grove southeast of the stair leading to Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri.[80] The image is broken in two but most of the iconography is preserved. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada* and her raised left hand holding the *nīlotpala*. She is richly adorned and wears a *yajñopavīta*. She has a jewelled diadem with ribbons fluttering up behind each ear (fig. 310). Her hair is arranged in a chignon resting on her right shoulder. Her head is framed by an unembellished halo. On the top edge of the back-slab are aligned the five Tathāgatas flanked by Avalokiteśvara on the right and Mañjughoṣa on the left, the latter two seated in *lalitāsana*. The centre Tathāgata, immediately above the head of Tārā, is Amoghasiddhi, suggesting that he is the spiritual sire of this form of Tārā. Tārā is flanked by two goddesses on either side. The top pair represent Ārya-Jāṅgulī on the right and Mahāmāyūrī on the left while the corresponding bottom pair represent Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. Each is two-armed and stands on a *viśvapadma*, though the lower half of Ekajaṭā is missing. These are the four companion goddesses prescribed for Varada-Tārā, who assumes the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose, and for Mahāśrī-Tārā who assumes the *rājalīlā* pose and holds her hands in *vyākhyāna-mudrā*. The identity of the major deity as Mahattarī-Tārā thus has to remain tentative in that there are no surviving *sādhanas* or labelled images which include four companion goddesses. The pedestal has a *tri-ratha* design with a lion at each corner. The centre contains two kneeling devotees facing a manuscript supported by a stand, an incense-burner and a low stand supporting a conical object. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

7. Two-armed Tārā in Dharmacakra-mudrā/Mahāśrī-Tārā

There are two forms in which Tārā displays *dharmacakra-mudrā*, the most notable being Mahāśrī. According to *sādhana* no. 116 in the *Sādhanamālā*, Mahāśrī is green in colour, displays *vyākhyāna-mudrā* with her two hands, sits in either *rājalīlā* or *lalitāsana* on a golden throne, bears an image of Amoghasiddhi on her crown, and is attended by four companion

goddesses—Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Mahāmāyūrī on the right, Ekajaṭā and Ārya-Jāṅgulī on the left.[81] These are the same four companion goddesses prescribed for Varada-Tārā as mentioned earlier. The teaching aspect of Tārā is mentioned by Tāranātha in his account of the visit of Buddhaśānti and Buddhaguhya to the Potala hill during the period of king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty. Accordingly, when the two *ācāryas* went to the Potala hill, the seated Tārā was preaching the doctrine to the *nāgas*.[82] In several illustrated manuscripts depicting Mahāśrī-Tārā she is identified as "Potalake Bhagavatī Tārā",[83] an obvious reference to her teaching on this hill. In a second form, having only an abbreviated description in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta Ms. No. G. 8055, fol. 31A), she is named Dharmacakra-Tārā. Her two hands, disposed in *dharmacakra-mudrā,* each hold a lotus.[84] Her pose or her companion goddesses are not mentioned.

Images of Mahāśrī-Tārā in stone are quite rare though there is an image in front of the Sureśvarī temple at Sonepur, worshipped locally as "Buddha Tārā", which possibly represents this form of Tārā (fig. 311). Unfortunately the head is missing and both arms are broken off at the elbow so that the exact *mudrā* is lost. The manner in which a lotus stalk passes under each arm and rises up on each side, however, suggests she may have been displaying *vyākhyāna-mudrā*. She is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* and there are four deities on the pedestal, though the latter are difficult to identify individually due to accretions of grime, etc., and partial effacing of the stone. The centre lotus rhizome is flanked by a kneeling *nāga* on either side as on a 12th century image from Antichak in Bihar.[85] The goddess is also flanked on either side by a Bodhisattva seated in the same pose. Each is displaying *vyākhyāna-mudrā* with a lotus stalk issuing from under the left arm. The Bodhisattva on the left, with a book on the *utpala,* is probably Mañjuvara. The lotus of the Bodhisattva on the right is obscured from view. Although the more relaxing *lalitāsana* or *rājalīlā* pose is usually prescribed for Mahāśrī-Tārā (and for Mañjuvara), numerous labelled illustrations in manuscripts show a slight deviation in respect to her seated pose with one leg, folded, resting partly on the other, which is either pendent or stretched at a lower level.[86] The image at Sonepur can be dated to the late 10th century.

If the *mudrā* was *dharmacakra,* the image could represent Prajñāpāramitā. Although she invariably is prescribed the *vajraparyaṅka* pose in *sādhanas,* in the *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa-tantra* she is seated in the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* while in a few cases no pose is prescribed.[87] The *sādhanas* are generally silent in respect to companion deities though in numerous paintings and stone images she is provided companions so that the addition of such companions on the Sonepur image does not negate a possible identification as Prajñāpāramitā. As the female energy of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī she is likewise the personification of "transcendental wisdom" and in some forms her iconography is virtually identical with that of Mañjuvara who, as indicated, is one of the flanking Bodhisattvas. In the absence of *mudrā*(s) and the attribute(s), however, the identification of this image must remain inconclusive.

C. FOUR-ARMED IMAGES/DHANADA-TĀRĀ

In addition to the *dharmacakra-mudrā,* there are other aspects pertaining to teaching and knowledge which Tārā and Prajñāpāramitā have in common, the most notable being the book as an attribute. Whereas the book is the major attribute of Prajñāpāramitā in all of her forms, the book appears with only one form of Tārā—her Dhanada form. According to the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 107), she has one face and four arms. As her name implies, she is said to bestow riches to the devotee. She is benign in appearance, is green in complexion, has the radiance of the moon and is seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana.* She displays *varada* and holds a rosary, *nīlotpala* and the book in her four hands. She has an effigy of Amoghasiddhi on her crown and is further described as being anointed by Locanā and others. The *sādhana* also describes her *maṇḍala* which includes eight goddesses aligned in the eight directions

plus one for each of the four gates.[88] Although in the various textual descriptions of four-armed images of Prajñāpāramitā she always displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* with her major set of hands, in a Nepalese manuscript (A.D. 1750) of a *Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha*, now housed in the Cambridge University Library, which depicts an image identified as Prajñāpāramitā by the appearance of her *mantra* on the same folio, she holds a rosary and a *vajra* in her right hands while her left hands hold a book and a pot, the latter held in her lap.[89] A similar labelled image appears in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon[90] while numerous images from Nālandā and Kurkihār in Bengal have a similar iconography, though the *vajra* is replaced by *varada*.[91] Except for the hand on the lap holding a bowl, the imagery is similar to that of Dhanada-Tārā. In two standing metal images from Nālandā, identified as Prajñāpāramitā, the bowl is eliminated so that the iconography is even more similar to that of Dhanada-Tārā. In the first example the right hands display *abhaya* and hold a rosary while the left hands hold a book and a red lotus. In the second example the principal right hand, now missing, is extended down and probably displayed *varada* rather than *abhaya*. The iconography is thus almost identical with that of Dhanada-Tārā, the image even being identified as Dhanada-Tārā by S.K. Saraswati,[92] except for the red lotus, the *nīlotpala* being prescribed for Tārā. Identical iconography, with a red or full-blown lotus, appears on two metal images from Kashmir, one standing and the other seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*, which P. Pal identifies as Dhanada-Tārā,[93] and in a metal image from Eastern India in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, also identified as Dhanada-Tārā, where the goddess is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*.[94]

There are only a few Orissan examples of Dhanada-Tārā, including one in an exterior niche of the Varāha temple at Jājpur (fig. 312). She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her major right hand extended in *varada* and the raised back hand, mostly obliterated, holding a rosary. Her major left hand, the palm resting on her left knee, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* while the uplifted back hand holds the book. A second *nīlotpala* rises up on the right side with the closed petals opposite her face as on the left side. She is richly adorned, wears a *yajñopavīta*, and has a tall conical crown. Her head is framed by a *toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. She is flanked by six or more Bodhisattvas (?), one at each upper corner of the back-slab, one at the base of the *toraṇa* on either side, and one on each side of her seat. It is possible that there may have been two more on the pedestal, now missing, to make eight as in the *maṇḍala* of Dhanada-Tārā. These companion figures, however, are male rather than female and appear to be identical in respect to iconography, each being seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with the inside hand at the hip and the outside hand holding a staff or *caurī* over the shoulder. Surface details are partially obscured due to accretions of whitewash. The image can be dated to the 11th-12th century.

A second image which possibly represents Dhanada-Tārā is presently inserted into an exterior niche of the Kapileśvara temple on the outskirts of Bhubaneswar (fig. 313). The goddess is seated in *lalitāsana* with her principal right hand in *varada*. Her uplifted back hands hold a rosary and a manuscript. The principal left arm is broken off at the elbow though part of the hand adheres to her knee while remnants of a lotus stalk are intact on the back-slab. She is richly adorned and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. Attendant figures have not survived. Her lotus pedestal is ornamented with two rows of petals. The diminutive lion at the lower right corner may be a fragment from another image placed here to transform her into a Brahmanical goddess. The image can be dated to the 12th-13th century.

The four-armed Devī in the Bāsulī Thākurāṇī compound at Cuttack is similar to the image of the Dhanada-Tārā at Jājpur in respect to iconography though the left hands and upper left attribute may be modern restorations, especially the *aṅkuśa* held in the back hand, though it is possible that the lower left hand originally held a bowl. Her right hands display *varada* and hold a rosary. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and wears a *vanamālā*. She has a

tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. Though the image has tentatively been identified as Cundā, it more closely approximates the iconography of Dhanada-Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī or the Hindu Pārvatī (C-20).

D. FOUR-ARMED IMAGES/SITA-TĀRĀ

According to the *Sādhanamālā* there is a four-armed form of Sita-Tārā in which she is accompanied by Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Mahāmāyūrī, the *sādhana* reading:

> The worshipper should visualise himself as the goddess (Sita)-Tārā of white complexion, with three eyes and four arms. She bears the images of the five Tathāgatas on her crown, is decked in many ornaments, exhibits the utpala mudrā with the first pair of hands, displays the varada-mudrā along with the cintamāṇi jewel in the second right, and carries the utpala bud in the second left, and fulfils the prayers of all beings.[95]

Mārīcī, to her right, holds a *caurī* and *aśoka*-bough while Mahāmāyūrī holds a *caurī* and the peacock-feathers.

The only Orissan example which possibly represents this four-armed white form is a damaged image at Solaṁpur (fig. 314). She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* but most of her arms are obliterated. One right hand displays *varada* while one left hand is raised chest high. Her other right hand must have been placed in front of her chest judging by the damage to her breasts. Her facial features are mostly effaced. Her coiffure is tightly rolled into a bun on top of her head which is framed by an unembellished halo. An effigy of a Tathāgata appears above her head, his *mudrā* being indistinct, while Mañjuśrī (?) and Avalokiteśvara are seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on the upper right and left corner respectively of the back-slab. Tārā is flanked on either side by a standing goddess. On the right is Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī, holding a *caurī* and peacock-feathers (?). The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* is mostly obliterated. The image can be ascribed to the 9th century.

E. FOUR-ARMED IMAGES/DURGOTTĀRIṆĪ TĀRĀ

Another four-armed form of Tārā in the *Sādhanamālā* is named Durgottāriṇī Tārā, the name evidently inspired by the name of the Brahmanical goddess Durgā. According to the *sādhana*, as translated by B. Bhattacharyya,

> Durgottāriṇī Tārā has green complexion, the lotus for her seat, and garments of white colour; she has four arms and she carries in the first pair of hands the noose and the goad and displays in the second the lotus and the varada mudrā.[96]

In that no particular *āsana* is mentioned, she may be depicted in any attitude, as pointed out by M. Ghosh, whether seated or standing. She further suggests that the description does not include any Tathāgata:

> on the other hand homage is paid to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara who is called mahākaruṇika and mahāsattva along with Durgottāriṇī, called Mahāyogeśvarī. She is invoked for removing all troubles, sorrow and imprisonment. By utterances of her mantras, devotees are relieved of fetters, whether by chains, or by a noose or by grahas.[97]

M. Ghosh also suggests that the Buddhists adopted this name for Tārā so that she "might rival the great Brahmanical goddess and bring more people of Brahmanical faith into the fold of Buddhism." She additionally mentions various forms of the Brahmanical Devī which

hold in their four hands most of the attributes of Durgottāriṇī Tārā, in particular the *varada-mudrā*, the goad and the noose.[98] The *nīlotpala*, however, the symbol par excellence of Tārā, is missing in the textual descriptions of these various forms.

Probably the best surviving example of Durgottāriṇī-Tārā in Orissa is the image from Lalitagiri which was collected by R.P. Chanda from Kendrapara and given to the Indian Museum, Calcutta (fig. 315).[99] She is four-armed and is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her pendent right foot resting on the stalk. Her principal right hand shows *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds a goad. Her principal left hand, placed on the seat behind her knee, holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* while the uplifted back hand holds the noose. Iconographically the image thus conforms exactly to the prescription in the *sādhana* in respect to attributes. She is richly ornamented and wears beaded *yajñopavīta*. Her half-closed eyes betray a calm expression. Her tiara has a prominent *kirīṭa* on the front and her hair is combed into a chignon on top of her head. Her head is framed by an elongated-oval halo with the Buddhist creed inscribed on the upper borders. A Tathāgata is at each upper corner of the back-slab, Akṣobhya on the right and Amitābha on the left, while immediately below, seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, is Mahattarī-Tārā/or Ārya-Sarasvatī[100] and Bhṛkuṭī. On the right corner of the pedestal is a kneeling Sudhanakumāra facing a bowl heaped with offerings while on the left corner is a six-armed Ekajaṭā facing a tripod supporting a vessel of offerings. Ekajaṭā is in *pratyālīḍha* and with her uplifted set of hands stretches an elephant-hide over her head in the manner of Cāmuṇḍā. Her lower right hand holds a *daṇḍa* tipped with a skull while the corresponding left hand displays *tarjanī-mudrā*. Her middle right hand exhibits *vandanābhinayī* while the object in the left hand is indistinct. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

There is also a standing image of Durgottāriṇī-Tārā, left unfinished, which was discovered lying on its back in three fragments on an accumulation of debris above the stone-paved court to the north of *stūpa* nos. 32 and 36 from the area in front of Monastery No. 2 at Ratnagiri (fig. 316).[101] She is in a slightly rigid pose with her principal right hand in *varada* and the left hand, placed on her thigh, holding the stalk of a *nīlotpala*. The uplifted back right hand holds a goad (mostly obliterated) while the left hand holds the noose. She is richly adorned and her softly modelled facial features are illumined with a warm aura. Her hair is tied in a chignon on top of her head which is framed by an oval-halo. Part of the upper area on the right side of the unfinished back-slab is broken off while the flanking attendants and the pedestal were never completed. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

Despite her name, relating her to the Brahmanical Durgā as pointed out above, iconographically the *dhyāna* of Durgottāriṇī is more closely related in Orissan art to images of four-armed standing Pārvatī in mode (B), popular from the 10th century on, except the attributes in the uplifted hands are reversed and she holds a full-blown lotus rather than the *nīlotpala* (fig. 317).[102] The noose is generally formed by a serpent (*nāga-pāśa*).

F. SIX-ARMED IMAGES

Although six-armed images of Tārā are quite rare, D. Mitra has associated a bronze from the hoard at Acutrajpur with the description of Tārā, as the Prajñā of Amoghasiddhi, contained in the *Tricatvāriṁśadātmaka-Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Tārā, along with Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and four Tathāgatas, occupies the first circle surrounding Mañjuvajra, the centre deity who is the nature of Vairocana. Each Prajñā has three faces. Tārā is six-armed and is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*. Her right hands display *abhaya* and hold a *vajra* and an arrow while her left hands hold an *utpala*, a bow, and display *tarjanī*.[103] In the image from Acutrajpur, Tārā is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a lotus with a single row of petals. Her principal right hand displays *abhaya-mudrā* while the middle hand

wields a *vajra* and the uplifted back hand holds an arrow. The major left hand, partially damaged, is in *tarjanī-pāśa* while the uplifted back hand holds the bow and the lower hand has the stalk of an *utpala*. Except for the addition of the noose in the hand showing *tarjanī*, invariably included with this *mudrā*, the iconography is the same as the textual description. She is richly adorned and has three heads, the three eyes of the centre face being inlaid with silver, with the right face having a wrathful expression.[104] The coiffures are joined and surmounted by a conical crown. Her heads are framed by a solid circular halo with a beaded border that is edged with leaf-shaped flames. A kneeling devotee with folded hands is on the right corner of the pedestal (fig. 318). The image can be dated to the 10th century. A defaced disc inscribed with the Buddhist creed is fixed to the back-side of the halo.

G. EIGHT-ARMED IMAGES/VAJRA-TĀRĀ

In the *Sādhanamālā* there are five *sādhanas* (nos. 93, 94, 95, 97, 110) devoted to the four-headed, eight-armed form of Vajra-Tārā of yellow complexion, all of which conceive ten deities forming a *maṇḍala* around the goddess. The *dhyānas* are all quite similar with only minor variations. *Sādhana* no. 93, for example, describes the form of the main deity as follows:

> The meditator should conceive Vajra-Tārā in the centre of the circle of (divine) Mothers, who is eight-armed, four-faced and decked in all ornaments. Golden in complexion, she is graceful and radiant with the auspicious marks of a virgin. She bears on her crown the figures of five Buddhas, and she is born of the consecration-water of Vajra and Sūrya. She is resplendent in her blooming youth and wears dangling gold kuṇḍalas. Seated on a viśvapadma, she radiates reddish light. She holds in her right hands a *vajra* (thunderbolt), a *pāśa* (noose), a *śaṅkha* (conch-shell) and a *sara* (arrow) and in her left a *vajrāṅkuśa* (elephant-goad marked with a thunderbolt), an *utpala* (night lotus) and a *dhanus* (bow), the fourth hand being in the *tarjanī-mudrā*. Conceiving her in the vajraparyaṅkāsana (the worshipper) may conquer the three worlds.[105]

Included among the minor deviations noticeable in sculpture in *sādhana* no. 94 is the substitution of *varada* for the noose in one of her right hands, the noose marked with a *vajra* being added to the left hand displaying *tarjanī*, and the elimination of one of the Tathāgatas on the crown so there are only four. In *sādhana* no. 95 the iconography is the same as in *sādhana* no. 93 except the *varada-mudrā* is added on the right, probably combining with the hand holding the conch, so that there are four attributes and *varada* for four hands. In *sādhana* no. 97 the attributes are the same as in *sādhana* no. 93 except that the *utpala* is yellow in colour and the goad is not marked with a *vajra*. Four Buddhas are prescribed on the crown as in *sādhana* no. 94. In *sādhana* no. 110, which is the most elaborate, the attributes are the same as in *sādhana* no. 93 but again there are only four Tathāgatas on the crown—Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi.[106]

The iconography is similar in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where the eight-armed Vajra-Tārā is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* in the centre of an eight-petalled lotus. She is of golden complexion with four faces. In her right hands are a *vajra*, a noose, an arrow and a conch-shell while in her four left hands are an *utpala* of yellow colour, a bow, a goad and *tarjanī-mudrā*. Her crown bears images of the five Tathāgatas while her spiritual sire, as mentioned in *sādhana* nos. 95 and 97, is Ratnasaṁbhava. As in all five *sādhanas* of the *Sādhanamālā*, the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* describes the ten attending goddesses forming her *maṇḍala*.[107]

As stated in the *Sādhanamālā*, these goddesses originate from the ten syllables of the Tārā-*mantra*, i.e.,"*Oṁ Tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*."[108] Although there are some minor deviations in respect to name, disposition, pose, weapons, ornaments, colour and sire in the different texts and *sādhanas*, the general alignment is standardized and consists of 1) Puṣpatārā (east); 2) Dhūpatārā (south); 3) Dīpatārā (west); and 4) Gandhatārā (north) in the first circle while

the second circle contains 5) Vajrāṅkuśī (east); 6) Vajrapāśī (south); 7) Vajrasphoṭā (west); and 8) Vajraghaṇṭā (north). In the upper region (zenith) is 9) Uṣṇīṣavijayā while in the lower region (nadir) is 10) Sumbhā. As their names imply, the deities of the first circle are the deified *pūjopakaraṇas* or materials used in ritual worship, i.e., flower (*puṣpa*), incense (*dhūpa*), lamp (*dīpa*) and sandal paste or unguent (*gandha*) while the attributes in the right hand of the deities in the second circle suggest they are personified *āyudhas*, i.e., goad marked with a thunderbolt (*vajrāṅkuśa*), noose marked with a thunderbolt (*vajrapāśa*), bolt/chain marked with a thunderbolt (*vajrasphoṭā*), and bell marked with a thunderbolt (*vajraghaṇṭā*).[109]

Vajra-Tārā was exceptionally popular in Tantric Buddhism, with much of her popularity stemming from the fact that she is "endowed with the supreme power of granting success to her worshippers in various protective and destructive rites", as pointed out by M. Ghosh:

> while enumerating the benefits that would accrue from the worship of Vajra-Tārā, the sādhanas hold before the worshippers exceedingly attractive prospects of worldly enjoyments, material prosperity, immunity from troubles and dangers and success in all kinds of undertakings (*sarvakarma-pradiddhaye*). Apparently, these allurements were incorporated to attract grossly materialistic men who care more for this world than for spiritual upliftment.[110]

Accordingly, "tigers, thieves, crocodiles, lions, snakes, elephants, buffaloes, bears, bulls and the like will flee or even be destroyed, at the mere recital of the name of the goddess."[111] The greatest number of magical practices and charms invoked with the help of the Tārā-*mantra*, however, are prescribed for bewitching and overpowering (*vaśīkaraṇa*) women, one such rite (to subdue any woman born of man) consisting of offering one hundred and eight lotuses into the fire with this *mantra*.[112] In the introduction portion of *sādhana* no. 110, on the other hand, are embodied certain sublime aspects of Mahāyāna leading to transcendental perfect enlightenment (*auttara-sambodhi*). "The idea behind incorporating both noble ideas of maitrī, karuṇā, etc., and gross elements aimed at selfish gain to the extent of harming others in the *sādhanas*", as noted by M. Ghosh, "is to cater to all inclinations, so that people from all walks of life resort to the worship of the formidable Vajra-Tārā."[113]

There are two known images of Vajra-Tārā in Orissa, one from Ratnagiri in which she is unattended and one from Ayodhyā where she is accompanied by four goddesses. The one from Ratnagiri, found with other dislodged sculptures in the Stūpa-area, is carved of chlorite and was originally housed in the niche of a monolithic *stūpa*.[114] Tārā is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. She has three (visible) heads and eight hands. Her major right hand, upraised, wields a *vajra* while the corresponding left hand is placed in front of her chest in *tarjanī-mudrā*. Her lower right hand, in *varada*, holds a conch while the other two hands hold an arrow and a noose. Her topmost left hand, extended straight out from the shoulder, holds a bow while the two lowered hands hold an *utpala* and a goad. She is richly ornamented and her facial expression is calm. A tall, tiered *mukuṭa* crowns each head. There is no Tathāgata present and the rectangular back-slab is unembellished (fig. 319). The image can be dated to the late 10th-early 11th century.

The larger and more impressive image presently housed in the sanctum of the Uttareśvara temple at Ayodhyā, also carved of chlorite, is more complex in iconographic details (fig. 320). The image is well preserved except for portions of three left arms and the upper right corner of the back-slab. Tārā is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. Her principal right hand, upraised, wields a *vajra* while the corresponding left hand, placed in front of the chest, displays *tarjanī-mudrā*. The lowered right hand holds a conch while the other two right hands hold a noose and a pair of arrows. The objects in her remaining left hands are a *vajrāṅkuśa*, a bow and the *nīlotpala*. Her *śāṭī* is fastened with an elaborate girdle and her

Chart 16

8-ARMED VAJRA-TĀRĀ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text right hands	1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1 left
Niṣpannayogāvalī	vajra	noose	arrow	conch	yel. utpala	bow	goad	tarjanī
Sādhanamālā 93	vajra	noose	conch	arrow	vajrāṅkuśa	utpala	bow	tarjanī
Sādhanamālā 94	vajra	arrow	conch	varada	utpala	bow	vajrāṅkuśa	vajrapāśa-tarjanī
Sādhanamālā 95	vajra	noose	varada-conch	arrow	vajrāṅkuśa	utpala	bow	tarjanī
Sādhanamālā 97	vajra	noose	conch	arrow	aṅkuśa	yel. utpala	bow	tarjanī
Sādhanamālā 110	vajra	noose	conch	arrow	vajrāṅkuśa	utpala	bow	tarjanī

8-ARMED VAJRA-TĀRĀ IMAGES

Ratnagiri	vajra	varada/conch	arrow	noose	bow	utpala	goad	tarjanī
Ayodhyā	vajra	conch	noose	arrows	vajrāṅkuśa	bow	utpala	tarjanī

Chart 17

COMPANION GODDESSES OF VAJRA-TĀRĀ

Text	right hand	left hand	pose	colour	sire
		PUṢPA-TĀRĀ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	flower garland	flower garland	vajraparyaṅka	white	Vairocana
Sādhanamālā	flower garland	flower garland		white	Vairocana*
		DHŪPA-TĀRĀ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	incense-stick	incense-stick	vajraparyaṅka	black	Akṣobhya
Sādhanamālā	incense-stick	incense-stick		black	Akṣobhya*
		DĪPA-TĀRĀ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	lamp-stick	lamp-stick	vajraparyaṅka	yellow	Amitābha
Sādhanamālā	lamp-stick	lamp-stick		yellow	Amitābha*
		GANDHA-TĀRĀ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	conch/unguent	conch/unguent	vajraparyaṅka	red	Amoghasiddhi
Sādhanamālā	conch/unguent	conch/unguent		red	Amoghasiddhi*
		VAJRĀṄKUŚĪ/AṄKUŚA-TĀRĀ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	vajrāṅkuśa	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	white	Vairocana
Sādhanamālā (93)	vajrāṅkuśa	utpala	ālīḍhapadasthā	black	
Sādhanamālā (94)	vajrāṅkuśa		lalitāsana	white	
Sādhanamālā (95)	aṅkuśa				Vairocana
Sādhanamālā (97)	vajrāṅkuśa	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	white	
Sādhanamālā (110)	aṅkuśa	tarjanī-mudrā		white	Vairocana
		VAJRAPĀŚĪ/PĀŚA-TĀRĀ/PĀŚINĪ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	vajrapāśa	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	yellow	Akṣobhya
Sādhanamālā (93)	vajrapāśa		ālīḍhapadasthā	yellow	
Sādhanamālā (94)	vajrapāśa		lalitāsana	black	
Sādhanamālā (95)	vajrapāśa			black	Akṣobhya
Sādhanamālā (97)	vajrapāśa	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	yellow	
Sādhanamālā (110)	pāśa	tarjanī-mudrā		yellow	Akṣobhya
		VAJRASPHOṬĪ/SPHOṬĀ-TĀRĀ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	vajra-sphoṭā	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	red	Amitābha
Sādhanamālā (93)	vajra-sphoṭā		ālīḍhapadasthā	red	
Sādhanamālā (94)	vajra-sphoṭā		lalitāsana	yellow	
Sādhanamālā (95)	nigaḍa			yellow	Amitābha
Sādhanamālā (97)	vajra-vali	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	red	
Sādhanamālā (110)	sphoṭā	tarjanī-pāśa		red	Amitābha
		VAJRAGHAṆṬĀ/ĀVEŚA-TĀRĀ/GHAṆṬĀ-TĀRĀ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	vajra-ghaṇṭā	tarjanī-pāśa	vajraparyaṅka	green	Amoghasiddhi
Sādhanamālā (93)	vajra-ghaṇṭā		ālīḍhapadasthā	white	
Sādhanamālā (94)	vajra-ghaṇṭā		lalitāsana	red	
Sādhanamālā (95)	ghaṇṭā			red	Amoghasiddhi
Sādhanamālā (97)	vajra-ghaṇṭā	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka		
Sādhanamālā (110)	vajra-ghaṇṭā	tarjanī-mudrā			Amoghasiddhi
		UṢṆĪṢAVIJAYĀ			
Nispannayogāvalī	cakra	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	white	Ratnasaṁbhava
Sādhanamālā (93)	cakra		ālīḍhapadasthā		
Sādhanamālā (94)	cakra		lalitāsana	yellow	
Sādhanamālā (95)	cakra			yellow	Vairocana
Sādhanamālā (97)	vajra	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	white	Ratnasaṁbhava
Sādhanamālā (110)	cakra	tarjanī-mudrā		white	Ratnasaṁbhava
Sādhanamālā (110c)	vajra				
		SUMBHĀ			
Niṣpannayogāvalī	nāga-pāśa	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	blue	Akṣobhya
Sādhanamālā (93)	nāga-pāśa		ālīḍhapadasthā		
Sādhanamālā (94)	nāga-pāśa		lalitāsana	kṛṣṇa	
Sādhanamālā (95)	nāga-pāśa			kṛṣṇa	Akṣobhya
Sādhanamālā (97)	nāga-pāśa	tarjanī-mudrā	vajraparyaṅka	blue	
Sādhanamālā (110)	nāga-pāśa	tarjanī-mudrā		kṛṣṇa	

**sādhanas* nos. 95 and 110.

diaphanous *uttarīya* is worn in an *upavītī* fashion. She is richly ornamented and all three (visible) faces are illumined by a soft smile. Each head wears a tall tiered crown with a lotus finial. She wears a jewelled tiara at the base of each head with a projecting *kirīṭa* or crest. Above the crest of the centre face is an effigy of a Tathāgata with his hands in front of his chest to suggest it is not Ratnasaṁbhava.[115] The heads of Vajra-Tārā are framed by an ornate oval-shaped halo decorated with lotus petals, a band of bead-and-reel designs on the border, and edged with flames. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab though the one on the right is missing, this corner being broken off. Tārā is surrounded by four companion goddesses, one opposite each knee and one on either side of her heads. These goddesses are each seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* and hold their attribute in both hands placed on the lap. Starting with the lowest one on the right and moving clockwise the goddesses are Puṣpatārā, Dīpatārā, Dhūpatārā and Gandhatārā.[116] These represent the four *pūjopakaraṇas* of the first circle, facing the cardinal directions, and are female emanations of the *pāramitā* of the four Tathāgatas. On the right side of the pedestal facing the centre lotus stalk is a kneeling female devotee with two small devotees while on the left side is a lamp, an incense-burner, and two vessels heaped with a conical pile of offerings. The image can likewise be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.

References

[1]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIV.

[2]Cf. Hirananda Sastri, "The Origin and Cult of Tārā", *MASI*, No. 20 (1925), pp. 1-27; D.C. Sircar (ed.), *The Śakti Cult and Tārā* (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 107-168; P. Pal, *Hindu Religion & Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, pp. 70-74; and M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-31.

[3]T. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 171.

[4]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[5]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIV.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. XXXIV.

[7]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 306-09. L.A. Waddell (*JRAS*, 1894, pp. 71-74, 83-89) includes a list of 27 Tārā-s with 21 of them appearing in a hymn of praise to Tārā, a stanza for each special form. Many of these forms are multi-armed and represent various Buddhist goddesses.

[8]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIV.

[9]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 306.

[10]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. XXXIV-XXXVII.

[11]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[12]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 307.

[13]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, p. 291.

[14]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

[16]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 39.

[18]*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans. F. Eden Pargiter (Varanasi, 1969 reprint of 1904 edition), pp. 520-21.

[19]Cf. M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-24.

[20]See Godefroy de Blonay, *Materiaux pour servir a l'histoire de la deese Buddhique Tārā* (Paris, 1895), pp. 34-40.

[21]J.F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X (1881), pp. 185-90. See M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10, for other inscriptions.

[22]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 444-45.

[23]*Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 85, acc. no. 6502.

[24]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 429.

[25]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[26]Debala Mitra, "Ashṭamahābhaya-Tārā", *JASB Letters*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (1957), p. 20, fn. 1.

[27]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-47.

[28]George Roerich, *Tibetan Paintings* (Paris, 1925), p. 59 and pl. 14.

[29]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 46.

[31]*Ibid.*, p. 32.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 32.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 33.

[34]See Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, "An Unknown Form of Tārā", *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. D.C. Sircar, pp. 134-42.

[35]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 128.

[36]*Ibid.*, II, p. 317.

[37]*Ibid.*, II, pp. 453-54, pl. CCCXLIV(A).

[38]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 231.

[39]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 125, acc. no. 301.

[40]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 60.

[41]L.A. Waddell, *JRAS* (1894), pp. 83-89.

[42]L. Chandra, *Buddhist Iconography*, I, fig. 647. That Tārā was associated with "wishing gem wheel" or *cintāmaṇicakra* outside of India is also suggested in the *Rin-lhan* where, among the *ādikalyāṇa* deities, there are four Tārās who are named Cintāmaṇicakra Sita Tārā and in the Chinese *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* where there is an illustration named Cintāmaṇicakra Tārā. See W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 282, fig. 230. In all five examples she is seated.

[43]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion & Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, pp. 40-41. In the *Tārāstakam* of the *Nīla Tantra* the Mahāvidyā-Tārā has the epithets "giver of prosperity and wealth" and one who pours forth "the nectar of prosperity". See Arthur and Ellen Avalon (trans.), *Hymns to the Goddess* (Madras, 1964), pp. 50-51.

[44]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 428.

[45]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 107, acc. no. 297.

[46]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 361-62, pl. CCLXXXIV(A).

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 147, pl. XCIV(B).

[48]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 105, fig. 95, acc. no. 326.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 30, fig. 14.

[50]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 129, pl. LXXV(C).

[51]*Ibid.*, p. 147, pl. XCV(A).

[52]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 233-34, pl. CLXXVII(B).

[53]*Ibid.*, II, p. 362, pl. CCLXXXIV(B).

[54]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 101, fig. 86, acc. no. 309.

[55]Pratapaditya Pal, *Indian Sculpture*: Vol. 2, Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, 1988), p. 215.

[56]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 445-46. N. Hock, *op. cit.*, p. 168, suggests that the image may represent Ārya-Sarasvatī.

[57]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[58]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 123, pl. XXXVII(b).

[59]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 31.

[60]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 53, figs. 22-23.

[61]*Ibid.*, p. 54.

[62]Although two-armed images of Pārvatī are rare in Orissan art, a good example is the sanctum image of the Pārvatī temple at Bhubaneswar. She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with the lion on the right corner of the pedestal. Her right hand holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus while her left hand holds a vase of gems so that she conforms to the iconography of Bhuvaneśwarī. See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, fig. 3249.

[63]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 227.

[64]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[65]See D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 27-28.

[66]K.B. Tripathy, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-76.

[67]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 30, fig. 9, dates it to the 11th-12th century.

[68] *Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 88, acc. no. 3745.
[69] N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 42.
[70] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 148, pl. XCVI(B).
[71] *Ibid.*, II, p. 459, pl. CCCXLIX(A).
[72] S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXXV.
[73] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.
[76] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 65.
[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48, pl. XCVI(A).
[78] R.D. Banerji, *JBORS*, XV, no. 1-2, p. 69.
[79] N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.
[80] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 443-44.
[81] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 227-28.
[82] *Tāranātha*, p. 281.
[83] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.
[84] D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 32.
[85] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61. See also Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik, *Buddhist Book Illuminations* (New York, 1988), pl. 9; and J.L. and J.C. Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree*, figs. 129, 150.
[87] Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 43.
[88] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 231; and S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXXVIII.
[89] D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 58-59, fig. 19.
[90] W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 206, fig. 6 A 61.
[91] N. Ray, K. Khandalavala and S. Gorakshkar, *op. cit.*, figs. 89-90.
[92] S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XXXVIII, fig. 107.
[93] P. Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir*, figs. 68-69.
[94] D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, fig. 21.
[95] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 232.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 307.
[97] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
[99] R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 13.
[100] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Her identification as Mahattarī is based on her *vajraparyaṅka* pose and her placement opposite Bhṛkuṭī, common in images of Avalokiteśvara. In that the lotus is defaced, it is possible that it supported a book in which case this goddess would be Ārya-Sarasvatī.
[101] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 306.
[102] For other examples see T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, figs. 3117-42.
[103] D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 123, fig. 117, acc. no. 282.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[105] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
[107] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 240.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[109] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[111] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 243.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 243, and M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[113] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.
[114] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 148, pl. XCVII(A).
[115] N.K. Sahu (*Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 211) states that each of the heads has a pyramidal crown with an image of a Tathāgata. In my photographs it is not possible to see if the side heads contain a Tathāgata image.
[116] Cf. M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 85. The alignment of the *pūjopakaraṇas* on the Ayodhyā image differs slightly from textual accounts with Dīpatārā and Dhūpatārā being transposed.

FEMALE MANIFESTATIONS AND EMANATIONS

A. FEMALE COMPANIONS & THE FORMATIVE STAGE OF PRAJÑĀ DEVELOPMENT

Testimony to the increasing importance of woman in Buddhist ideology is evident in early textual accounts where various male deities are provided with female companions in *maṇḍala* configurations, as in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, for example, which lists four for Avalokiteśvara, three for Vajrapāṇi and five for Mañjuśrī among the twenty goddesses and four female door guards mentioned, and the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* which lists six for Avalokiteśvara and four for Vajrapāṇi. The diversity in group make-up, in contrast to standardized uniformity in later textual accounts, and the general lack of individual descriptions, suggests the experimental stage of development. There are two interrelated trends in this proliferation of companion deities. In trend (I), associated primarily with Avalokiteśvara, the companions may be male, female or a combination of both who generally have a distinct and individual iconography which bears little relationship with that of the principal deity, as in the case of Amoghapāśa or Khasarpaṇa who are surrounded by four companions, two male and two female. In the second trend (II), the companions are of the same gender and form a homogeneous grouping in respect to pose, number of arms, etc., and are often intimately associated with the centre deity in respect to iconography, as with the troupe of *yoginīs* surrounding Hevajra in the *Hevajra Tantra*, or the eight goddesses, each holding a different coloured lotus, who surround Padmanartteśvara in *sādhana* no. 30 of the *Sādhanamālā*.[1] As a group they form part of the evolving propensity to personify weapons, materials, elements, etc., in female form. Although four of the five conventional Prajñās are named as companions in these early texts, their iconography is more closely associated with the homogeneous groups of trend II.

1. Female Companions of Avalokiteśvara

In the most basic alignment of trend (I) Avalokiteśvara is flanked by a single companion on either side. Whereas Tārā invariably appears on his right, the deity on his left may be Hayagrīva, a pot-bellied male deity, in mode (A), as prescribed in the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala*, or it may be Bhṛkuṭī, a female deity, in mode (B), so that both companions are female, as prescribed for the four-armed Rakta-Lokeśvara in *sādhana* no. 37.[2] In Orissan

sculpture, however, mode (B) is especially popular with standing Lokeśvara images, as in examples from two of the sets of eight free-standing Bodhisattva *maṇḍalas* at Lalitagiri (figs. 151a-b), on a standing Lokeśvara at Kapila (fig. 193), and on the Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara at Bhubaneswar (fig. 197), whereas images in mode (A), with Hayagrīva on the left, are restricted almost exclusively to examples of four-armed Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (figs. 229-31). There are a few deviations, as in an example of mode (A) at Ratnagiri where Tārā is replaced by an emaciated *preta* (fig. 235) while in an example at Paradipgarh, Hayagrīva is shifted to the right side (fig. 237). Orissan conventions thus differ from those recorded in the later *Sādhanamālā*. They also differ from Pāla sculptural conventions in Bihar where mode (B), with Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī, appears with the majority of Amoghapāśa images[3] while only one such example has been found as yet in Orissa (fig. 252).

In one of the descriptions of Mahākaruṇa given by L.A. Waddell, mentioned earlier, the four-armed deity is accompanied by Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī and an elephantine dwarf,[4] presumably Hayagrīva. Although I know of no Orissan images of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa with all three companions, i.e., mode (C), they all do appear on two images of four-armed Amoghapāśa at Ratnagiri. In the first example (fig. 251), Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī are each seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and flank the lotus seat of Amoghapāśa on the right and left respectively. Hayagrīva, larger in size than the two goddesses, stands on the left of Amoghapāśa. In the second example (fig. 250), Tārā is seated on the right facing inward while Hayagrīva is in *pratyālīḍha* on the left. Bhṛkuṭī, seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, is placed above Hayagrīva.

In Nepalese, Tibetan and Sino-Japanese descriptions of Amoghapāśa based primarily on lost Sanskrit texts, there are usually four companions though they vary in alignment and grouping. In the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Śākyaśrībhadra, for example, the eight-armed white Amoghapāśa is surrounded by Sudhanakumāra in front (east), by Bhṛkuṭī on his right (south), by Hayagrīva behind (west) and by Tārā on his left (north).[5] The two goddesses are thus reversed from their conventional alignment on surviving images. In the Nepalese *Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā* the white Amoghapāśa in one *maṇḍala* is surrounded by Tārā (middle), Bhṛkuṭī (right), Sudhanakumāra (left) and Hayagrīva (southeast) while in a second and more elaborate description, Sudhanakumāra is at the front, Tārā at the right, Bhṛkuṭī at the left and Hayagrīva is behind.[6] Although there are thus differences in alignment, the identities of the four companions are the same (mode D). They correspond with the group of companions prescribed for Khasarpaṇa and for 18-armed Padmanarttešvara in the *Sādhanamālā*.[7] In the *maṇḍala* for Khasarpaṇa, Tārā is at the front (east), Sudhanakumāra on the right, Bhṛkuṭī at the back and Hayagrīva on the left.

A second grouping (mode E) appears in the Tibetan version of the *Sādhana-samuccaya* where Amoghapāśa is surrounded by Amoghāṅkuśa (front), Hayagrīva (right), Ekajaṭā (behind) and Bhṛkuṭī (left).[8] This second grouping, with Amoghāṅkuśa and Ekajaṭā, is closely related to Bengali and Tibetan descriptions where the red Amoghapāśa is one of four companions surrounding Avalokiteśvara, replacing Amoghāṅkuśa at the front, as described in the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Sahajalalita and the *Amoghapāśa-pañcadeva-stotra* of Candragomin, and in the Tibetan school of Ba-ri-Rin-chen-grags.[9] Ekajaṭā has eight rather than four arms while a lotus replaces the conventional *mudrā-s* associated with Bhṛkuṭī. In each case with this grouping Avalokiteśvara is two-armed. In the Tibetan school *maṇḍala* we are informed that Avalokiteśvara is praised as "the Saviour" and Amoghapāśa is praised as "the Compassionate One" (*karuṇika*) while Hayagrīva, Ekajaṭā and Bhṛkuṭī are venerated as "the terrific rulers" [of the quarters].[10]

In each of these groupings there are two male and two female companions, though in the first group the two females are paired as are the two males, i.e., Bhṛkuṭī (right) with Tārā (left) and Sudhanakumāra (east) with Hayagrīva (west), while in the second group each

male (on the right) is paired with a female (on the left), Hayagrīva thus being shifted to the right side of the centre deity and Bhṛkuṭī returning to the left side. Although neither of these alignments appear on any Orissan image of Amoghapāśa, the first grouping does appear on several images of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa. The best preserved example, with only the feet of the centre deity and the pedestal missing, is a large late 8th-early 9th century image at Udayagiri (fig. 229). Lokeśvara is flanked at the base on the right by a seated Tārā and on the left by a striding Hayagrīva. On either side of the halo in the mountain landscape is a small cave with the right one containing a seated Sudhanakumāra and the left one a seated Bhṛkuṭī. In a fragment of a similar large image in the Musee Guimet (Paris) is the image of a seated Bhṛkuṭī (fig. 494) while in a third image, now in the Patna Museum, the head of Lokeśvara and the top of the back-slab are broken off but Tārā and Hayagrīva are intact at the base (fig. 230).

In a late 9th-early 10th century broken image at Baudh, with only the head of Avalokiteśvara surviving on one fragment and his feet, companions and the pedestal in a second fragment, the four companions are standing at the base, two on either side (fig. 419). The outside pair on the right and left respectively are Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva while the inside pair are Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. This alignment of all four deities at the base is more consistent with images of the two-armed Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, generally seated in *lalitāsana*, though their placement is often varied and they may appear on the back-slab (figs. 214, 219), on the pedestal (fig. 418), or on both (figs. 211-12), and may be depicted seated or standing. In all examples Tārā, on the right, is paired with Bhṛkuṭī, on the left, while Sudhanakumāra is similarly paired with Hayagrīva, a rare exception being the image at Mudupur where Hayagrīva and Sudhanakumāra are reversed (fig. 219).

In the image of a six-armed Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara from Dharmaśālā in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar there is a similar alignment of four companion deities at the base though at least three of them are female, the gender of the fourth being indistinct due to the badly eroded condition of surface details (fig. 256). Whereas the outside pair represent Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī on the right and left respectively, the inside deity on the right, facing inward towards Lokeśvara, is rather squat and holds its hands in front of the chest. The inside goddess on the left holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus and possibly represents Pāṇḍarā.

In some examples of Amoghapāśa and Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa the deity is flanked at the top of the back-slab by either Tathāgatas or Bodhisattvas, in addition to a companion deity on either side at the base, though it is not clear if the four form a coherent group, especially since there are images where there are no companions at the base, as in examples of the free-standing Bodhisattvas of Set C at Lalitagiri where there is a seated Tathāgata at each upper corner. On images of two later sets (A, B) these Tathāgatas are replaced by flying *vidyādharas*, a common decorative motif on Brahmanical as well as Buddhist images. It likewise does not seem viable to include Tathāgata Buddhas in a coherent group with companion deities. On an image of Amoghapāśa from Ratnagiri the deity is flanked at the base by Tārā on the right and Bhṛkuṭī on the left and by images of a damaged Tathāgata and Amitābha on the right and left respectively at the top of the back-slab (fig. 252). Each of the four figures is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* which issues from the lotus rhizome supporting the seat of Amoghapāśa. In an image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa from Udayagiri, now in the Solapuamā compound at Cuttack, the deity is flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva at the base, each facing inward with Tārā seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* and Hayagrīva striding in *pratyālīḍha*, and by Akṣobhya and Ratnasaṁbhava at the top right and left respectively, each seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, while a small effigy of Amitābha is in his coiffure (fig. 236). If the four corner figures constitute a coherent group it thus consists of one female and three male figures. In a large image of a four-armed Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara from Udayagiri in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Tārā stands at the base on the

right and Hayagrīva on the left, the latter elevated in placement so that the lower left hand of Lokeśvara can rest on his head (fig. 247). The upper corners of the back-slab are broken off so that the identities of the flanking images at the top are not known. In the image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa housed in a niche of the front porch of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri, where Tārā is replaced by a kneeling *preta*, Akṣobhya and Ratnasaṁbhava appear on the upper corners so that all four corner figures are male (fig. 235).

In a four-armed image of Amoghapāśa from Ratnagiri, where Amitābha is on the upper right corner (as well as in the coiffure of Amoghapāśa) and Akṣobhya on the left, the lower left hand of Amoghapāśa is again placed on the head of Hayagrīva but the lower portion of the image is broken off so it is not known if Bhṛkuṭī was included on the lower left beneath Hayagrīva. Presumably Tārā was on the lower right.[11] This same iconography appears on the four-armed Amoghapāśa mentioned earlier where Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī are seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on the right and left side respectively of the *viśvapadma* supporting Amoghapāśa (fig. 251). Rather than being elevated in placement, however, Hayagrīva is increased in size to allow the hand of Lokeśvara to rest on his head. Although all four corner deities are seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, the Tathāgatas at the top corner are smaller in size. In a small seated image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa at Ratnagiri, the figure at the top right of the back-slab is Mañjuśrī while the top left figure is Maitreya.[12] The companions at the base are Tārā on the right and Bhṛkuṭī on the left, each seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*, so that if a group it consists of two male and two female deities.

In other cases, however, the two deities at the top of the back-slab are female. The centre deity is invariably multi-armed, an exception being the image of two-armed Vajradharma/Rakta-Lokeśvara from Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri. In a large four-armed image of Amoghapāśa from Ratnagiri, the head of the deity and the upper part of the back-slab now broken off, he is flanked at the base by Tārā and a two-armed Hayagrīva (fig. 249). The goddess on the right side of the halo is intact on the broken part with the head, though the flower held by the stalk in her left hand, placed on the seat behind her leg, is defaced. The goddess on the left side is missing. The group of four companions thus consists of three female and one male figure. This group of four companions is repeated on an image of a colossal four-armed Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara from Udayagiri now placed in the courtyard of the Patna Museum (fig. 253). Tārā, on the lower right, is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* while the two-armed Hayagrīva is standing at the lower left. The two goddesses on the upper corners are each seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with their right hand at the knee in *varada* and the left hand placed on the seat where it holds the stalk of a flower. The flower held by the goddess on the right is defaced while the lotus held by the goddess on the left supports a book, suggesting she may represent Ārya-Sarasvatī. The same two goddesses are on the upper corners of the back-slab of a broken image of a four-armed Amoghapāśa at Udayagiri (fig. 248). The lower portion of the image is broken off so it is not known if the lower left companion was Hayagrīva (mode A) or Bhṛkuṭī (mode B).

Among the examples with these two goddesses at the top of the back-slab where the flanking deities at the base correspond to mode (B), so that the group consists of four companion goddesses, is the image of Vajradharma/Rakta-Lokeśvara at Ratnagiri. Tārā is on the right corner of the pedestal while Bhṛkuṭī is on the left corner, each seated in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 225). The two goddesses on the top corners of the back-slab are likewise seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* to give added emphasis that the four form a coherent group. The flower held by the goddess on the right is mostly obliterated so that her identity is again not known. The goddess on the left supports a book on her lotus to suggest she may be Ārya-Sarasvatī. The five Tathāgata Buddhas appear in the coiffure of the centre male deity.

Chart 18

COMPANION DEITIES OF AVALOKITEŚVARA

Text	east 1 right	2 south	3	3	2 north	west 1 left	Centre Deity	Mode
Sādhanamālā 18	Tārā					Hayagrīva	Lokanātha	IA
Sādhanamālā 37	Tārā					Bhṛkuṭī	Rakta Lokeśvara	B
Tibetan (Waddell)	Tārā				Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Mahākaruṇa	C
Sādhanamālā 26	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Sādhanamālā 30	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Padmanartteśvara	D
Amoghapāśa-Pūjā	Sudhana	Tārā			Bhṛkuṭī	Hayagrīva	Amoghapāśa	D
Amoghapāśa-Pūjā	Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī			Tārā	Sudhana	Amoghapāśa	D
Kaśmīrī (Tanjur)	Sudhana	Bhṛkuṭī			Tārā	Hayagrīva	Amoghapāśa	D
Sādhana-samuccaya	Amoghāṅkuśa	Hayagrīva			Bhṛkuṭī	Ekajaṭā	Amoghapāśa	E
Bengali (Tanjur)	Amoghapāśa	Hayagrīva			Bhṛkuṭī	Ekajaṭā	Avalokiteśvara	E
Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha	Vajratārā	Ratnatārā			Padmatārā	Viśvatārā	Sukhāvatī Lokeśvara	
Mahāvairocana-sūtra	Tārā	Pāṇḍarā	Hayagrīva	Yaśodhara	Mahāsthāma	Bhṛkuṭī	Avalokiteśvara	
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	Tārā	Mahāvidyā	Hayagrīva	Kulodbhava	Mahāsthāma	Bhṛkuṭī	Avalokiteśvara	
Sādhanamālā	Maṇidhara					Mahāvidyā	Ṣaḍakṣarī	
Site		COMPANION DEITIES OF AVALOKITEŚVARA IN ORISSAN SCULPTURE						
Baḍa-Tārā	Tārā					Hayagrīva	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Cuttack (2)	Tārā					Hayagrīva	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Kendrapara	Tārā					Hayagrīva	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Naṭara	Tārā					Hayagrīva	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Ratnagiri	Tārā					Hayagrīva	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Ratnagiri frag. (2)	Tārā					Hayagrīva	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Ratnagiri	preta					Hayagrīva	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	
Paradip	Hayagrīva					x	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	
Ayodhyā					Cin-cakra*	Hayagrīva	Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara	
Bhubaneswar	Tārā					Bhṛkuṭī	Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara	B
Kapila	Tārā					Bhṛkuṭī	Lokeśvara	B
Lalitagiri (2)	Tārā					Bhṛkuṭī	Lokeśvara	B
Ratnagiri	Tārā					Bhṛkuṭī	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	B
Ratnagiri frag.	Tārā					Bhṛkuṭī	Lokeśvara	B
Ratnagiri	Tārā					Bhṛkuṭī	4-armed Amoghapāśa	B
Cuttack? (Patna)	Sudhana					Bhṛkuṭī	Lokeśvara	
Ratnagiri	Tārā				Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	4-armed Amoghapāśa	C
Acutrajpur	Tārā	Sudhana				Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa?	
Balasore	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Bañchua	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Bāṇeśwarnāsi	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Chaudar (Calcutta)	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Deogaon	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Orasāhi	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Rāṇibandh	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Ratnagiri	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Ratnagiri (village)	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Ratnagiri (Calcutta)	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Vajragiri (OSM)	Tārā	Sudhana			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Mudupur	Tārā	Hayagrīva			Sudhana	Bhṛkuṭī	Khasarpaṇa	D
Baudh	Sudhana	Tārā			Bhṛkuṭī	Hayagrīva	Avalokiteśvara?	D
Udayagiri (3)	Sudhana	Tārā			Hayagrīva	Bhṛkuṭī	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	D
Ratnagiri	goddess	Tārā			Hayagrīva	x	4-armed Amoghapāśa	A
Udayagiri	goddess	x			x	Sarasvatī	4-armed Amoghapāśa	
Udayagiri (Francisco)	x	Tārā			Hayagrīva	x	4-armed Śaṅkhanātha	A
Udayagiri (Patna)	goddess	Tārā			Hayagrīva	Sarasvatī	4-armed Sugatisandarśana	A
Ratnagiri	goddess	Tārā		Bhṛkuṭī	Hayagrīva	Sarasvatī	4-armed Amoghapāśa	C
Ratnagiri	goddess	Tārā			Bhṛkuṭī	Sarasvatī	Rakta-Lokeśvara	B
Dharmaśālā	Tārā	?			Pāṇḍarā?	Bhṛkuṭī	6-armed Sugatisandarśana	B
Ayodhyā	?	Tārā			Bhṛkuṭī	Ekajaṭā?	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	
Ganjam	Mahāmāyūrī	Tārā	**Hayagrīva	Sarasvatī	Bhṛkuṭī	Ekajaṭā?	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa?	

*Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara

**also on the left side

In the image of a large four-armed Amoghapāśa at Ratnagiri, now broken into three sections, the deity is flanked at the base by Tārā on the right, seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*, and by a striding Hayagrīva on the left (fig. 250). Immediately above Hayagrīva, and of the same size as the other companions, is Bhṛkuṭī seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. The flanking companions at the base thus correspond to mode (C). The goddess at the top left of the back-slab holds a lotus supporting a book while the flower held by the goddess on the left, identified only as a bud by D. Mitra, is partially defaced so that her identity again remains inconclusive.[13]

A similar alignment of four goddesses, along with Hayagrīva and Sūcīmukha, appears on a twelve-armed Amoghapāśa from site no. 3 at Nālandā.[14] Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī are seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* at the base on the right and left respectively while Sūcīmukha and Hayagrīva, smaller in size, appear behind them near the lower garment of Amoghapāśa. The other two goddesses, also smaller in size, are placed midway up the back-slab and are reversed in alignment from Orissan images. Ārya-Sarasvatī, with a book in her left hand, is on the right while the goddess on the left holds a full-blown flower in her left hand. Each is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. At the upper corners of the back-slab are two Tathāgata Buddhas seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, Amoghasiddhi on the right and Ratnasaṁbhava on the left, while an effigy of Amitābha is in the coiffure of Amoghapāśa.

N. Hock suggests that the goddess on the right at the top of the back-slab of the Amoghapāśa image from Ratnagiri holds an *utpala* supporting a *vajra*, thus indicating that the four goddesses in this grouping may represent the Prajñās of the Tathāgata Buddhas.[15] Though admitting that Bhṛkuṭī is not included in any list of Prajñās, as supportive evidence she cites a 6th century sculpture of Avalokiteśvara from Nālandā which includes Bhṛkuṭī as one of the Prajñās (?) and additionally points out that the four Prajñās sometimes accompany Amoghapāśa in later Javanese art.[16] According to M. Ghosh the Prajñās are also included in the *maṇḍala* of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 26) where they appear in the intermediate directions while the four Tathāgatas are at the cardinal points. Khasarpaṇa is also accompanied by Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva. Ghosh suggests that the 6th century image from Nālandā is based essentially on a similar *maṇḍala*. In the image Avalokiteśvara is flanked by Bhṛkuṭī on his right and Tārā on his left while two devotees kneel in the background. The side walls of the niche contain two goddesses superimposed one above the other on each side and surmounted at the top by a Tathāgata Buddha, one on either side of the halo. The four goddesses, according to her, represent four of the Prajñās "in nascent forms and at a stage when their typical *mudrās* are yet to be crystallized."[17] Each is two-armed though somewhat damaged so that their *mudrās* and/or attributes are not discernible, except one appears to be displaying *dhyāna-mudrā*. If they do represent Prajñās, one wonders why there are only two Tathāgata Buddhas. More likely they are female companions to Lokeśvara and testify to the increasing importance of woman influenced by Śākta/Tantra ideology.

There are various combinations of goddesses forming a group of four in Orissan art, including examples on monolithic and masonry- or brick-constructed small *stūpas* where, housed in niches facing the cardinal points, they serve as directional deities. In *stūpa* no. 16 from the group of monolithic *stūpas* east of Stūpa no. 1 at Ratnagiri, for example, the three surviving images from the four niches represent Tārā, Ārya-Sarasvatī and Aparājitā,[18] with two of the goddesses corresponding with two of those in the group of four being discussed. Although Aparājitā, as a *mahākrodha* or *vidyādhara*, is included inside the second rank near Śākyamuni on the west in the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*,[19] she does not generally serve as a companion deity, an exception appearing in *sādhana* no. 174 for Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā in the *Sādhanamālā* where she is one of eight goddesses surrounding Kurukullā and again as a *mahākrodha* of the southern gate.[20]

On the largest of the bronze *stūpas* from Acutrajpur, which houses a group of four goddesses in its niches, three represent Tārā, Pāṇḍarā and Bhṛkuṭī while the flower/attribute of the fourth goddess is indistinct (figs. 126a-d). Only two of these goddesses thus correspond to the Prajñās as listed in texts. Each is seated in *lalitāsana* with their right hand at the knee in *varada* and the right leg pendent. The four-armed Bhṛkuṭī holds a rosary in her uplifted back right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the corresponding left hand. The object in her lower left hand is indistinct. The other goddesses place their left hand on the seat where it holds the stalk of their particular flower, *utpala* for Tārā and lotus for Pāṇḍarā. Although D. Mitra suggests that the flower of the fourth goddess may be an *aśoka*, which would identify her as Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī,[21] it in no way resembles the *aśoka* held by a larger independent image of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī in the same hoard (fig. 356). More likely the attribute is a sheaf of paddy or jewels, which would identify her as Yaśodhara (Vasudhārā) so that the four goddesses would thus correspond to the four mentioned as surrounding Avalokiteśvara along with Hayagrīva and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, in the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi.*[22]

The proliferation of companion goddesses, as mentioned, appears in early texts such as the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* which mentions twenty, including five messengers in the group accompanying Mañjuśrī. Two of the goddesses—Tārā and Pāṇḍaravāsinī—of the Avalokiteśvara group eventually become Prajñās in the more conventional lists while a third—Māmakī—is included in the group of three goddesses accompanying Vajrapāṇi and a fourth—Buddhalocanā—is among the group of three goddesses in the second rank of Śākyamuni. In respect to the four goddesses accompanying Avalokiteśvara, Wayman suggests that while Tārā is presumably a Buddhist conception, the remaining three—Bhṛkuṭī, Yaśodhara and Pāṇḍaravāsinī—"are theoretically Buddhist recastings of an old Vedic triad of goddesses",[23] i.e., Sarasvatī, Iḍā and Bhāratī. In the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* of Japanese Shingon Buddhism, based on the tradition following Amoghavajra, however, for the sake of absolute symmetry in the *maṇḍala*, Yaśodhara is replaced by the male Padma-kulodbhava while Pāṇḍaravāsinī is replaced by her male counterpart Gaurī-mahāvidya Bodhisattva.[24]

In the *Maṇḍala-vidhāna-parivarta* of the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* there are six companion goddesses surrounding Avalokiteśvara, i.e., Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Prajñāpāramitā, Locanā and Uṣṇīṣarājā, with three later becoming Prajñās while Vajrapāṇi is accompanied by four fierce goddesses (Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajraśṛṅkhala, Subahu and Vajrasenā); Māmakī appears above Śākyamuni and these surrounding Bodhisattvas. In contrast to the essentially non-Buddhist origin of so many later Tantric divinities, these six goddesses surrounding Avalokiteśvara, as noted by Snellgrove, are probably imaginative Buddhist creations. Whereas Pāṇḍaravāsinī and Tārā may be regarded in origin as hypostases of Avalokiteśvara himself, the other names all relate to essential parts of a Buddha's head.[25]

Although I know of no Orissan image of Avalokiteśvara being accompanied by six goddesses, in a badly-worn image of a standing four-armed Avalokiteśvara in the compound of the Khandeśvara-Mahādeva temple at Ganjam the deity is flanked by a standing two-armed Hayagrīva and five seated goddesses (fig. 192). Surface details are badly eroded so that identifications have to remain tentative. The centre deity is flanked at the base by a small kneeling devotee facing a tripod heaped with offerings and on the left by a standing Hayagrīva leaning his right arm on a staff. The five seated goddesses are aligned in a vertical row on each side of the back-slab beneath the *vidyādhara*, two on the right and three on the left, the bottom left one being flush with Hayagrīva at the base. The goddess on the top right, seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, holds an *utpala* to suggest she represents Tārā, while the goddess on the top left is four-armed but badly damaged. She has a rosary in her uplifted back right hand to indicate she is Bhṛkuṭī. The lower goddess on the right, seated astride a peacock, is Mahāmāyūrī while the four-armed goddess on the left, seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, is possibly

Ekajaṭā, though lacking her conventional pot-belly, as indicated by a noose rising up behind her left shoulder. This alignment of Mahāmāyūrī on the right paired with Ekajaṭā on the left corresponds with their placement when attending Tārā in her Mahāśrī and Varada forms. The fifth goddess, beneath Ekajaṭā and to the left of Hayagrīva, holds an *utpala* which possibly supports a book to suggest she could represent Ārya-Sarasvatī.

Three of the goddesses thus appear to correspond with the three identified goddesses from the group of four flanking the images of Avalokiteśvara discussed above. Although Ekajaṭā is prescribed as a companion to Amoghapāśa or Avalokiteśvara in several texts, she is not so employed in Orissan art aside from this example at Ganjam though she is paired with Mahāmāyūrī on images of Tārā. It would thus appear that the unique combination of five goddesses on this image juxtaposes companion deities from two different conventions, i.e., Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī and Ārya-Sarasvatī (along with Hayagrīva) from Avalokiteśvara conventions and images of Mahāmāyūrī and Ekajaṭā from Tārā conventions. A similar juxtaposition appears on the image of Durgottāriṇī-Tārā from Lalitagiri where images of Bhṛkuṭī, Ārya-Sarasvatī (or Tārā) and Sudhanakumāra from established Avalokiteśvara conventions are combined with an image of Ekajaṭā from Tārā conventions.

The various companion deities associated with Avalokiteśvara in these 8th-9th century Orissan images suggest a formative stage of development prior to the crystallization of iconographic conventions, a stage dominated by incessant experimentation and the proliferation of deities. Although the placement of a companion deity at each corner surrounding a centre divinity may indicate a *maṇḍala*, it does not appear that, when all four are female, they are specifically associated with the *Tathāgata-maṇḍala* concept as outlined in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* and other texts, i.e., that the four represent Prajñās of the Tathāgata Buddhas. They simply appear to be a group of independent goddesses who function primarily as directional deities, as in cases where the group consists of both male and female figures, though obviously they exude contrasting aspects and symbolism. Although some of the goddesses eventually become identified as Prajñās, at this stage they serve primarily as testimony to the proliferation of female deities, as exemplified in various early texts including the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*. In respect to pose, they may assume a hieratic *vajraparyaṅka* pose like Tathāgata Buddhas in the upper corners or a more relaxing pose, befitting an attendant, and face inward towards the centre deity. By the 10th century most function primarily as attendants though, as in the case of the companions of Khasarpaṇa, they each have their own peculiar pose and iconography. An exception is the Vajradharma/Rakta-Lokeśvara of Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri where all four goddesses are in *vajraparyaṅka*. The bottom two are at the corners of the pedestal and, as in the case of the companions of the *maṇḍala* of Mahāvairocana at Udayagiri, their pose is consistent with that of the *pūjopakaraṇas* and other homogeneous groups of trend (II).

2. Prajñā Development and Imagery

Essentially, as pointed out by M. Ghosh, the Prajñās of the five Tathāgatas are not active female principles (aside from Tārā) but are rather quiescent, being confined to the orbit of these Tathāgatas. In various texts they are often referred to as *svabha* of these Tathāgatas and the word *svabha*, i.e., reflection of oneself, is significant, "as it gives the true character of these Prajñās who are created after the likeness of the Tathāgatas."[26] Being essentially inert and subservient to the Tathāgatas, their individuality was not stressed in Buddhist texts. There is not a single *sādhana* devoted to them nor is there any *maṇḍala* centred around them. When included in texts, she continues, "they appear in passive roles either in the embrace of the Tathāgatas or, when represented singly, in the intermediate points of the compass, the cardinal directions of the circle being occupied by the Tathāgatas." Despite their close association with the Tathāgatas, however, there is little uniformity in respect of a

particular Prajñā consistently being paired with a particular Tathāgata in textual accounts, except perhaps for Pāṇḍarā, and, as Ghosh further mentions, this is probably due to the different schemes of the various *maṇḍalas*.[27]

Although Tārā, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Māmakī and Buddha-Locanā are included among the female companions mentioned in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, they are not associated with any Tathāgata Buddha and thus cannot be considered as Prajñās. In the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* five female emanations are created and named after the germ syllables but no separate name is given to them, though they are additionally associated by their directional alignment in the *maṇḍala* with a specific Tathāgata. Elsewhere in this Tantra, however, four of the Tathāgatas entered into the *kāyavākcittavajra* of Vairocana and by metamorphosing themselves into females appeared as Buddha-Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsinī and Samaya-Tārā. Later on (ch. XVII) these four goddesses are stated to be the representatives of four of the five elements, i.e., earth, water, fire and air respectively.[28] These four Prajñās are also mentioned in the *Hevajra Tantra* (I.i.22) while in Kāṇha's commentary (*Yogaratnamālā*) on this text it is evident that the four again represent the four elements. By virtue of their common elements, as noted by M. Ghosh,

> Locanā (earth) is deemed to be associated with Vairocana (white) of the Tathāgata-kula whose family symbol is a wheel, Māmakī (water) with Akṣobhya (black or dark blue) of the vajra-kula whose symbol is a thunderbolt, Pāṇḍarā (fire) with Amitābha (red) of the padma-kula whose symbol is a lotus and Tārā (air) with Amoghasiddhi (dark green) of the karma-kula whose symbol is a double thunderbolt or a sword.[29]

In the *Pañcākāra* treatise of the *Advayavajra-saṁgraha*, dating to the reign of Mahīpāla (c. A.D. 988-1038), all five Prajñās are described in respect to their direction, germ syllable, colour, symbol, cosmic element and *kula* but in regard to pose, *mudrā*, etc., it is merely stated that they resemble the Tathāgatas, each of whom is two-armed and seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. They are noted as *pañca-Tathāgata-svarūpā* and, except for Locanā who is in the centre with Akṣobhya, are referred to as *yoginīs* and are not associated with their respective Tathāgatas specifically by name.[30]

Thus, even as late as the 11th century, later than any of the images of Avalokiteśvara with his surrounding companions, there is little descriptive material in texts pertaining to the Prajñās, aside from their direction, colour, symbol, etc. They appear primarily as a homogeneous grouping of goddesses placed at the intermediate points of a *maṇḍala*. As a homogeneous group they are closely related to the evolving trend to personify materials, weapons, elements, etc., in female form in the expanding *maṇḍala* design and its predilection for symmetry, and in the creation of groups of goddesses, such as *yoginīs*, Tārā-s, etc. In the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, as mentioned earlier, the four Bodhisattvas of the Vairocana circle are female emanations of the *pāramitā* of the four Tathāgatas of the four cardinal directions. As deified *pūjopakaraṇas* or materials used in ritual worship they appear at the four corners outside the diamond circle, i.e., in the second enclosure. In the 10th century Mahāvairocana-*maṇḍala* at Udayagiri, as indicated, they appear on the upper corners of the back-slab and the lower corners of the pedestal (fig. 144). They are seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, holding their offerings with both hands, and have the appearance of *apsaras* as prescribed. In the *maṇḍala* of Vajra-Tārā, where they appear at the cardinal points of the inner circle, they are each named Tārā. The four personified *āyudhas* in feminine form serve as the guardians of the gates as in the *Vajradhātu*- and the *Lokanātha-maṇḍalas*. In the image of Vajra-Tārā at Ayodhyā the four *pūjopakaraṇas* wear a tall conical crown and are richly adorned so that they appear like deities rather than *apsaras* (fig. 320).

Four Tārā-s are likewise associated with four of the Tathāgatas in the *sādhana* (no. 107) for Dhanada-Tārā in the *Sādhanamālā*. As noted by M. Ghosh,

Vajra-Tārā with her black (or dark blue) complexion and a thunderbolt in one (right) hand is to be associated with Akṣobhya of the vajra-kula. She may, thus, stand for Māmakī. Ratna-Tārā with yellow complexion and a jewel in one (right) hand is closely connected with Ratnasaṁbhava of the ratna-kula. Padma-Tārā with red complexion and a lotus in one (right) hand pertains to Amitābha of the padma-kula and seems to be identical with Pāṇḍarā. Buddha-Tārā with white colour and a wheel in one (right) hand belongs to Vairocana of the Tathāgata-kula and appears to be Locanā.[31]

Each is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*, holds an *utpala* in their left hand, and is peaceful in appearance. The four personified *pūjopakaraṇas*, each also named Tārā, occupy the intermediate points while the four personified *āyudhas* serve as guardians of the gate.

Even in the bronze plaques from Indonesia depicting Amoghapāśa surrounded by eight deities (in addition to his four companions Sudhanakumāra, Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva), the top four being identified as Tathāgatas, the homogeneity of the four female figures, seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with hands joined in *añjali*, has led to confusion in their identity, being referred to as Tārā-s, Prajñās or even Bodhisattvas.[32] G. Roerich likewise identifies as Tārā-s the four female deities at the intermediate points of the second circle of the *maṇḍala* of Amoghapāśa in a Tibetan *thang-ka*. Each is seated in *lalitāsana* with the right hand in *varada* and the left holding the stalk of a flower.[33] A late textual description in which the four companion goddesses are referred to as Tārā-s appears in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, Ms. no. G. 8055) dating to A.D. 1826 where Sukhāvatī-Lokeśvara, with his consort Tārā seated on his left thigh, is surrounded by Vajra-Tārā, Ratna-Tārā, Padma-Tārā and Viśva-Tārā.[34]

The only known Orissan example in which a homogeneous group of Prajñās accompany the Tathāgatas to form a *maṇḍala* is *stūpa* no. 37 from the group of khondalite *stūpas* in front of Monastery 2 at Ratnagiri (fig. 123). The Prajñās are not placed at the intermediate points but are seated in *caitya*-medallions on the dome above the niches of the drum housing their respective Tathāgata. Māmakī is thus placed above Akṣobhya on the east; the Prajñā of Ratnasaṁbhava is above him on the south; Pāṇḍarā is above Amitābha on the west; and Tārā is above Amoghasiddhi on the north. Each Prajñā is two-armed and is seated in either *vajraparyaṅka* or *sattvaparyaṅka*. Their left hand rests on their thigh while the right hand holds their attribute against their chest—a *vajra* for Māmakī, a jewel for the Prajñā of Ratnasaṁbhava, a lotus for Pāṇḍarā, and the *utpala* for Tārā. The only distinguishing feature is thus their attribute/flower.

Included among the few detached images which may represent a Prajñā in this elemental form is a bronze from Acutrajpur which D. Mitra has identified as Pāṇḍarā (fig. 322).[35] She is two-armed and is seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus with a single row of petals above a footed oblong seat. Her right hand is in *varada* while her left hand, resting on the seat behind her thigh, holds the stalk of a lotus. She is richly adorned and wears a short crown with a centre projection. Her solid oval-shaped halo has a raised border of two mouldings edged with flames. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century. A similar two-armed stone image at Ayodhyā possibly represents the Prajñā of Ratnasaṁbhava. She is seated in an abbreviated *lalitāsana* pose, the right leg only partially pendent, with her right hand in *varada*. Her left hand, raised chest high, holds the stalk of an *utpala* supporting a jewel (fig. 323). Pleats are visible on her *śāṭī* and her girdle has a rope-like design with an oval clasp. Her body adornment includes *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and her hair is combed back and piled on top of her head. The plain halo is pointed. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

The most important later text for iconography is the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where as many

Chart 19

PRAJÑĀ DESCRIPTIONS

Maṇḍala	Heads	1 hands	2	3	4	4	3	2	1 left	colour	pose
						LOCANĀ					
NSP no. 24	1	kartrī							tarjanī	white	yab-yum
NSP no. 24	1	cakra							tarjanī?	white	pratyālīḍha
NSP no. 2	3	cakra	vajra	utpala white			sword	cintāmaṇi	ghaṇṭā	white	vajraparyaṅka
NSP no. 1	3	embracing	wheel	sword			cintāmaṇi	lotus	embracing	white	yab-yum
NSP no. 20	3	varada	abhaya	vajra	arrow	bow	rosary	ratna-	tarjanī-pāśa	yellow	sattvaparyaṅka
NSP no. 21	4	dharmacakra	sword	arrow	vajra	book	bow	vajraghaṇṭā	dharmacakra	yellow	sattvaparyaṅka
NSP no. 3	1	cakra	vajra	sword	arrow	bow	noose	ghaṇṭā	kapāla	white	tāṇḍava dance
NSP no. 26	3	cakra	staff	abhaya	vajra	sword	vajra	chain	vajraghaṇṭā	yellow	padmāsana
Sādhanamālā 107	1	wheel							utpala	white	sattvaparyaṅka
						MĀMAKĪ					
NSP no. 24	1	kartrī							tarjanī	yellow	yab-yum
NSP no. 24	1	vajra							tarjanī	blue	pratyālīḍha
NSP no. 2	3	vajra	cakra	utpala bl. red			sword	cintāmaṇi	ghaṇṭā	black	vajraparyaṅka
NSP no. 1	3	embracing	utpala red	sword			cintāmaṇi	lotus	embracing	blue	yab-yum
NSP no. 20	3	abhaya	vajra	arrow			bow	noose	tarjanī	blue	sattvaparyaṅka
NSP no. 21	4	sword	vajra	arrow	goad	noose	bow	ghaṇṭā	tarjanī	blue	sattvaparyaṅka
NSP no. 3	1	r. arrow	sword	vajra	cakra	cintāmaṇi	lotus				
		l. bow	goad	ghaṇṭā	noose	kapāla	khaṭvāṅga			blue	tāṇḍava
NSP no. 26	3	club	spear	trident			lotus	mirror	rosary	white	padmāsana
Sādhanamālā 107	1	vajra							utpala	black	sattvaparyaṅka
						PĀṆḌARĀ					
NSP no. 24	1	kartrī							tarjanī	red	yab-yum
NSP no. 24	1	lotus							tarjanī?	red	pratyālīḍha
NSP no. 2	3	opens lotus	vajra	cakra			cintāmaṇi	sword	bell/stalk/noose	red	vajraparyaṅka
NSP no. 1	3	embracing	lotus red	sword			cintāmaṇi	cakra	embracing	red	yab-yum
NSP no. 20	3	abhaya	vajra	arrow			bow	rosary	lotus	white	lalitāsana
NSP no. 21	4	vajra	arrow	sword	goad	ghaṇṭā	noose	bow	lotus	red	sattvaparyaṅka
NSP no. 3	1	arrow	lotus	sword	vajra	ghaṇṭā	noose	kapāla	bow	red	tāṇḍava dance
NSP no. 26	3	agni-bāṇa	vajrāṅkuśa	ḍamarū			?	navaṁśa-ratna	bow	red	padmāsana
Sādhanamālā 107	1	lotus							utpala	red	sattvaparyaṅka
ECMT	1	arrow							bow		ardhaparyaṅka
						TĀRĀ					
NSP no. 24	1	kartrī							tarjanī	green	yab-yum
NSP no. 24	1	utpala blue							tarjanī?	green	pratyālīḍha
NSP no. 2	3	viśvavajra	cakra	utpala bl. yel.			sword	cintāmaṇi	ghaṇṭā	green	vajraparyaṅka
NSP no. 1	3	embracing	utpala yel.	sword			cintāmaṇi	lotus	embracing	yellow	yab-yum
NSP no. 20	3	abhaya	vajra	arrow			bow	utpala blue	tarjanī	red	sattvaparyaṅka
NSP no. 21	4	sword	vajra	arrow	goad	ghaṇṭā	bow	noose	tarjanī	green	sattvaparyaṅka
NSP no. 3	1	utpala red	sword	goad	arrow	bow	kapāla	noose	cakra	green	tāṇḍava dance
NSP no. 26	3	sword	kartrī	trident			shield	kapāla	utpala	black	padmāsana
Sādhanamālā 107	1	ratna							utpala	yellow	sattvaparyaṅka
ECMT	1	varada							nīlotpala	?	ardhaparyaṅka
						VAJRADHĀTVĪŚVARĪ					
NSP no. 2	3	vajra	cakra	lotus			sword	cintāmaṇi	ghaṇṭā	black	vajraparyaṅka
NSP no. 20	3	varada	sword	arrow			bow	book	nīlotpala	yellow	sattvaparyaṅka
NSP no. 26	4	kartrī	goad	ḍamarū	rosary	spear	noose	lotus white	cintāmaṇi	golden	pratyālīḍha
NSP no. 25	1	vajra-tarjanī							kapāla	red	yab-yum
ECMT	1	abhaya							?	green	ardhaparyaṅka

as seven *maṇḍalas* describe the forms of the Prajñās. Although considered as a homogeneous group, the forms are widely variant and in no two *maṇḍalas* do the Prajñās have the same attributes in their hands. They may have from one to four heads while the number of arms varies from two to twelve. They may be seated in *vajraparyaṅka, sattvaparyaṅka* or *lalitāsana*, dance in *ardhaparyaṅka*, or stride in *pratyālīḍha* while their facial expressions may be peaceful or terrifying.[36] In order to properly identify them one is virtually obliged to have in hand the corresponding *maṇḍala* text. Although there are few sculptural examples of these multi-armed Prajñās in India, D. Mitra has tentatively identified a three-headed, six-armed goddess from the bronze hoard at Acutrajpur as the Prajñā of Amoghasiddhi described in the *Tricatvāriṁśadātmaka-Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (fig. 318).[37] She is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*. Her lower right hand is in *abhaya*, the middle hand wields a *vajra* and the uplifted back hand holds an arrow. The corresponding left hands hold the stalk of an *utpala*, display *tarjanī-pāśa*, and carry a bow. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

There are other small three-headed images scattered throughout Orissa which may represent Prajñās though due to their fragmented state they can no longer be identified, including examples at Ayodhyā, Kupāri (fig. 342), and Gareḍipañcana. At the latter site the three-headed image is eight-armed but most of her hands are broken off with only a noose remaining intact on the left side (fig. 343). The local priests worship her as Durgā due to the presence of a lion on the pedestal. Within the same Thākurāṇī shrine is a three-headed, four-armed goddess (recently stolen) which is worshipped as Amṛta-Locanā. She likewise is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. Her principal right hand brandishes a sword above her heads while the left hand, resting on her knee, holds a severed-head. The lower back right hand holds a *kapāla* and the uplifted back left hand holds a shield. There is little to indicate whether these are Brahmanical or Buddhist images. They are discussed below in section D.

B. GODDESSES OF KNOWLEDGE AND TEACHING

Included among the more benign forms of Buddhist female deities popular in Orissa are several who hold a book or who are the embodiment of a *dhāraṇī*, thus suggesting their association with knowledge and its dissemination, the most popular being Prajñāpāramitā who is the embodiment of the Mahāyāna scripture of the same name. The *dhāraṇīs*, short works mostly composed of meaningless syllables, are "a peculiar kind of Buddhist literature which is supposed to generate mystic power if repeated continually for a long time." Accordingly,

> the Buddhists believe that when the Dhāriṇī is repeated in deep meditation for a long time with concentration and faith, the mantra vibrations materialise themselves in the concrete form of a deity which the worshipper visualizes, and thus obtains Siddhis or success. Once realized, the deity never leaves the worshipper and gives him everything that he desires.[38]

In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is a list of twelve goddesses called the Dhāriṇī-s who collectively are placed in the family of the Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi of green colour. They are each two-armed and hold in the right hand the *viśvavajra* while their left hand holds their own special symbol. In no case, however, is a book held by any of these goddesses in this *maṇḍala*,[39] though in independent forms with multiple arms Cundā invariably has a book as one of her attributes. Uṣṇīṣavijayā, though having eight arms in her independent form, does not hold a book nor does the multi-armed Parṇaśavarī who assumes the more destructive *pratyālīḍha* pose and thus is not included in this section. Aside from Prajñāpāramitā, the most popular goddess having a book as her attribute in Orissan sculpture is Sarasvatī, a Brahmanical goddess of learning adopted into the Buddhist pantheon.

1. Ārya-Sarasvatī

Though in the beginning Sarasvatī was worshipped as a sacred river, the banks being occupied by the Vedic Aryans who are best known for their many hymns, by the Paurāṇic age the river became deified as the Goddess of Learning and this is invariably how Sarasvatī is depicted in art. Her great popularity with the Buddhists is evident in the *Sādhanamālā* where eight *sādhanas* are devoted to her worship. As Vajra-Sarasvatī (*sādhana* nos. 161, 163, 167), she has three faces and six arms. She stands in *pratyālīḍha*, is red in colour, and carries in her three right hands a lotus supporting a book, a sword and a *kartrī* while in her left hands she holds a *kapāla* (of Brahmā), a jewel and a *cakra*.[40] In her form as Vajravīṇā-Sarasvatī (*sādhana* no. 165) she is two-armed and plays on a *vīṇā*, a form especially popular in Brahmanical art where she may have from two to eight arms. As Mahāsarasvatī (*sādhana* no. 162) she is of white colour, is two-armed and shows *varada* with her right hand while the left holds the stalk of a white lotus. In her Vajraśāradā form (*sādhana* no. 166) she holds a lotus in her right hand and carries the book in her left hand. She has three eyes and bears a crescent on her crown. As Ārya-Sarasvatī (*sādhana* nos. 164, 168), also named Vajra-Sarasvatī, she appears as a maiden of sixteen in the prime of youth, has a white complexion, and holds the stalk of a lotus supporting the book in her left hand. The *dhyāna* is silent about the object in her right hand, or the *mudrā*, and there is no mention of her *āsana*.[41]

Invariably, as described in *sādhana* no. 162, Sarasvatī displays a benevolent form in the prime of youth:

> She has a smiling countenance, is extremely compassionate, wears garments decorated with white sandal flowers. Her bosom is decorated with the pearl-necklace, and she is decked in many ornaments, she appears a maiden of twelve years, and her bosom is uneven with half-developed breasts like flower-buds; she illumines the three worlds with the immeasurable light that radiates from her body.

She may be surrounded by four deities identical in form with herself, i.e., Prajñā in front, Medhā to her right, Smṛti to her left, and Mati in the west.[42]

D. Mitra has identified six images at Ratnagiri which correspond to the iconography of Ārya-Sarasvatī, i.e., with the book being supported on a lotus held in her left hand. One is a standing image included in a frieze along with other deities including Mañjuśrī. Her right hand is lowered in *varada* and she assumes a graceful *tribhaṅga* pose. Her coiffure is rolled up and rests on the back of her left shoulder.[43] There are also two monolithic *stūpas* which contain an image of Ārya-Sarasvatī within a niche, *stūpa* no. 16 from the group east of Stūpa No. 1 where she faces east (the other two surviving images being Tārā and Aparājitā),[44] and the single niche from a *stūpa* among the group at the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1.[45] In both cases she is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada*. In the first image her left hand is placed on the seat in mode (A) while in the second image it is raised slightly in mode (B).

Of the larger, dislodged images the best preserved is the example found in two fragments near Cell 15 of Monastery 1 (fig. 324). She is in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right leg pendent. Her right hand, resting on her knee, shows *varada* while the left hand, placed on the seat, holds the stalk of a lotus supporting a book. She wears a diaphanous *śāṭī* and a folded *uttarīya*. She is richly adorned, has a beaded *yajñopavīta*, and wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. She has a pleasing smile and her head is framed by an ornate trefoil-shaped halo. The upper right corner of the back-slab is broken off while the upper left corner contains a *vidyādhara*. Ārya-Sarasvatī is flanked on either side by a standing attendant, the one on her right now missing. The pedestal has a *sapta-ratha* design and is decorated with lions and ritual paraphernalia. The image, found covered with a fine paste of sandalwood, is made of

chlorite and can be dated to the 11th century. A second image, almost identical in style, is badly fragmented with the attributes missing so its identification as Sarasvatī remains tentative.[46] A third image, discovered near the paved forecourt in front of Monastery No. 1, is badly worn but conforms to the iconography of the two previous images.[47] Another fragmented image, described earlier as Tārā, may also represent Sarasvatī but again the identifying attributes are missing (fig. 301).

It is possible that one of the bronzes from Acutrajpur represents Sarasvatī, identified as Tārā by D. Mitra[48] and as Prajñāpāramitā by other scholars.[49] Her identification as Sarasvatī or Prajñāpāramitā depends on whether or not there was a book placed on the lotus held in her raised left hand, this area being badly worn (C-16). She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada*. She has a short beaded-crown with three projections. Her hair, tied by a string, is arranged in a fan-shaped coiffure at the back of the head. The image can be dated to the late 11th-early 12th century. Iconographically the image conforms closest to Ārya-Sarasvatī, provided the indistinct object partially intact on the lotus is a book. Although there are two-armed forms of Prajñāpāramitā when she does not display *dharmacakra-mudrā*, the right hand invariably holds a red lotus and she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*.[50]

There is also an image of Ārya-Sarasvatī at Nāgaspur, placed in a modern pavilion with other Buddhist images. She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* (fig. 325). As with the other images, being worshipped as Hindu deities, surface details are partially obfuscated by accretions of paste and grime from *pūjā* rituals. Her right hand is in *varada* while the left hand is placed on the heel of her right foot, the left leg being pendent. Both arms below the elbow appear to be modern restorations. The left hand was probably placed on the seat as the lotus stalk supporting the book originates from this area, though the manner in which the stalk issues from under the arm may indicate that the arm was crossed in front of the chest so that the exact *mudrā*, and hence the identity of the goddess, is unclear and remains tentative. She is richly adorned and wears large *pātra-kuṇḍalas*. Her facial features and coiffure are mostly obscured. Her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Details of the pedestal are not visible. The image can be dated to the late 11th century.

Ārya-Sarasvatī also appears occasionally as an attendant deity, as on the twelve-armed Cundā in the Patna Museum where she is on the right corner of the pedestal, or on the badly-worn image of Avalokiteśvara from Ganjam where she is the bottom of five goddesses, appearing behind Hayagrīva at the lower left in addition to her inclusion as one of a group of four companion goddesses for Amoghapāśa and Vajradharma/Rakta-Lokeśvara.

2. Prajñāpāramitā

Prajñāpāramitā occupies an exalted position in the Buddhist pantheon. As mentioned earlier, she is believed to be the personification of "transcendental knowledge" embodied in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, an important Mahāyāna *sūtra* worshipped in India as early as the 5th century with offerings of flowers and perfumes. This *sūtra* "was believed to have been given by the Buddha himself to the nāgas to guard until mankind should be sufficiently enlightened to understand its Transcendent Wisdom. It is said to have been restored to mankind by Nāgārjuna, in the second century B.C."[51] In addition to her role as the goddess of "Supreme Knowledge", in various texts she additionally is conceived as the mother of all Buddhas as well as the wife of the Buddha Gautama.[52]

Her great popularity is evident in the *Sādhanamālā* where nine *sādhanas* (nos. 151-59) describe the procedure for her worship while a hymn (no. 160) is devoted to her praise. Of these only one (no. 156) describes the four-armed form of the goddess, the other eight

delineating her two-armed form. There are also four other descriptions of the four-armed form of the goddess, one from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and three from the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* while in the *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa Tantra* is a description of her two-armed form. In only two of the *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* is she assigned to the *kula* of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya. In respect to colour for the two-armed forms, these images of the goddess can be divided into three basic types: a) the white (*śukla* or *sita*); b) the yellow (*pīta, kanaka* or *suvarṇa*); and c) the blue (*nīla*), the latter only appearing in the *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa Tantra*.[53] Multi-armed images of Prajñāpāramitā have been found outside of India but as yet none have been discovered within India.[54]

In respect to the two-handed white form of Prajñāpāramitā, there are three *sādhanas* (nos. 151, 154, 155) in the *Sādhanamālā*. In *sādhana* no. 151, for example, is the following description:

> The worshipper should meditate on the navel the form of Sita-Prajñāpāramitā, as two-armed, one-faced, white in colour, and beautiful in appearance, with half curly hair, as sitting on the white lotus, carrying in her right hand the red lotus, and the Prajñāpāramitā book in her left. She sits in the vajraparyaṅka attitude, and is decked in all sorts of ornaments. She originates from the knowledge of the letter '*Aṁ*' and releases immense delight....This goddess is stamped with the image of Akṣobhya (on the crown).[55]

The description in *sādhana* no. 155, ascribed to the authorship of *paṇḍita* Śrīpadmavarddhana, is similar except there is no mention of Akṣobhya. Her lips, palms and soles are all red in colour, she wears white garments, and holds the book near her breast.[56] In *sādhana* no. 154, however, her two hands are disposed in *dharmacakra-mudrā* and each holds a lotus rising up on the sides to support a *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. She likewise is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a white lotus.[57] There are thus two modes of representation for the white form.

There are five *sādhanas* (nos. 152, 153, 157, 158, 159) in the *Sādhanamālā* which describe the two-armed form of yellow (or golden) Prajñāpāramitā. In *sādhana* no. 159, ascribed to the authorship of *ācārya* Asaṅga, it is stated:

> Prajñāpāramitā is yellow (*kanakavarṇa*) in colour and is beautiful in appearance. Her entire body is adorned with the effigies of the Tathāgatas. She shows the vyākhyāna-mudrā and two lotuses, each of them having the Prajñāpāramitā-book on it, rising from her right and left sides. She holds (the figures of) five Tathāgatas on her crown and she is surrounded by the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas. She sits on a double-petalled lotus.[58]

Sādhana no. 152 is almost identical, with a lotus on either side, each having the *Prajñāpāramitā*-book, and bearing the five Tathāgatas on her crown, though there is no mention of being surrounded by Bodhisattvas.[59] In the other three *sādhanas* (nos. 153, 157, 158) the mode is slightly different as there is only one lotus, issuing up on the left side, which supports the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. According to *sādhana* no. 153, for example,

> Prajñāpāramitā is yellow in colour, bears the image of Akṣobhya on her crown of matted hair (*jaṭā-mukuṭa*), wears celestial ornaments and dress which include silken veil. Her hands display the vyākhyāna-mudrā and she bears on her left side a lotus with the Prajñāpāramitā-book on it.[60]

Sādhanas nos. 157 and 158 are nearly identical in respect to iconographic details, though Akṣobhya is not mentioned and in no. 157 the lotus supporting the book is identified as a *nīlotpala* while her expression is described as being singularly amorous.[61]

In the *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa-tantra* (fol. 40A) is the only example of a blue form for Prajñāpāramitā. As described by the Lord,

> Now I shall reveal the nature of Prajñāpāramitā who sits in the sattvaparyaṅkāsana, and who is sixteen years in age. She is blue in colour, full of good fortune, and is stamped with (the figure of) Akṣobhya. Her right and left hands hold respectively a red and a blue lotus on each of which rests a book on Kāmaśāstra (a treatise on love and erotics). She has youthful and elevated breasts, large eyes, and pleasant speech.[62]

She is thus seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*, rather than in *vajraparyaṅka* as in the case with the other forms, and the book is not the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* but the *Kāmaśāstra*.

There are thus four basic modes for the two-armed Prajñāpāramitā, as noted by D.C. Bhattacharyya, with mode A-1 depicting the hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā* while a lotus supporting a book rises up on either side. In two of the three *sādhanas* the five Tathāgatas are on the crown. In mode A-2 the hands are again in *dharmacakra-mudrā* but there is only a single lotus supporting a book and it rises up on the left side. In one *sādhana* an effigy of Akṣobhya is on the crown. In mode A-3 a red lotus is held in the right hand while the left hand holds a book. In mode A-4 the right hand holds a red lotus and the left has a blue lotus, each supporting a book, and Akṣobhya is on the crown.[63]

In four-armed textual descriptions the colours of Prajñāpāramitā are limited to white and yellow. Three of the five descriptions appear in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha*, including the only examples of her white form. In both of these descriptions the iconography is nearly identical. She shows *dharmacakra-mudrā* with her principal set of hands while her other right and left hands hold respectively a rosary and the book. The yellow form is similar (fol. 85A):

> This is the description of Prajñāpāramitā and the explanation of her name. The goddess has one face and golden colour. She possesses the ornaments like the aureole (*cakra*), the earring (*kuṁḍala*), the torque (*kaṇṭhī*), the bracelet (*rucaka*), the girdle (*mekhalā*), and the anklet (*nūpura*). She has four hands of which a pair of right and left hands are disposed in the dharmacakra-mudrā, and the other two hands hold the rosary and the book. Her breasts are elevated. She sits in the vajrāsana on a lotus.[64]

In *sādhana* no. 156 of the *Sādhanamālā* is a slightly different description for the yellow form of the four-armed Prajñāpāramitā:

> The goddess Prajñāpāramitā is to be conceived as having a crown of matted hair, four hands and one face. Two of her hands should be in dharmamudrā (*dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*), and she should be adorned with ornaments of manifold jewels. Her colour should be as luminous as gold. She should wear artistic garments including a veil. Her left hand should hold a blue lotus with the Prajñāpāramitā-book on it, and her right hand should show the abhaya-mudrā. She should sit on a red lotus in vajraparyaṅkāsana.[65]

There is also a description of a four-armed Prajñāpāramitā of golden colour in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where she is included as one of the twelve *pāramitā* goddesses, though the other eleven have only two arms. With her principal

hands she displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* while her other (left?) hand holds a lotus supporting the *Prajñāpāramitā*-book. Her other right hand, according to D.C. Bhattacharyya, probably holds the *cintāmaṇi*-banner, the usual right-hand attribute of the twelve *pāramitā* goddesses.[66]

There are thus three basic modes for the four-armed form of Prajñāpāramitā which are only slightly varied as in each mode her principal set of hands are in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. In mode B-1 the other right hand displays *abhaya* while the left hand holds the stalk of a *nīlotpala* which supports a book. In mode B-2 the remaining right hand holds the *cintāmaṇi*-banner while the left hand holds a lotus bearing a book. In mode B-3 the other right hand holds the rosary while the left hand carries the book. Each of these three modes is confined to a single text, i.e., mode B-1 appears only in the *Sādhanamālā*, mode B-2 appears only in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and mode B-3, of which there are three descriptions, appears only in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha*.

Of the nine or ten surviving examples of Prajñāpāramitā in Orissa, all but one are two-armed. Three of the two-armed examples are small images housed in niches of monolithic *stūpas* at Ratnagiri. The first image, now dislodged, depicts the goddess seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*.[67] Her hands show *dharmacakra-mudrā* and a lotus stalk passes under and over her left arm with the flower supporting a book. She is richly ornamented and wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* with fan-shaped projections of the ribbon visible on either side of her head. Stylistically the image can be dated to the 11th century. Iconographically, except for the *sattvaparyaṅka* pose, the image corresponds to mode A-2. In the second image, housed in a niche of *stūpa* no. 41 from the group in front of Monastery No. 1, Prajñāpāramitā is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her hands in *vyākhyāna-mudrā*.[68] An *utpala*, passing over both arms, rises up on either side, each supporting a book. Iconographically the image corresponds to mode A-1. The third image, housed in a niche of *stūpa* no. 45 in the same area, is similar except a book appears only on the left lotus.[69] Iconographically the image appears midway between these two modes.

The best preserved and most beautiful two-armed image of Prajñāpāramitā is the example recently uncovered while repairing a canal at Tārāpur (fig. 327).[70] She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. A lotus stalk issuing up on the left side passes under and over her left arm to blossom opposite her face. The blossom and the book on it are mostly obfuscated by accretions of paste from *pūjā* rituals, the image now being worshipped as a Brahmanical goddess by the local populace. She is richly adorned and wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, the details of the latter also obfuscated by paste. Her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa* decorated with beaded borders and edged with flames. The lintel of the *toraṇa* is supported at either side by a *virāla* motif. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while the five Tathāgatas are aligned at the top. The centre stalk supporting the *viśvapadma* seat has meandering creepers on the upper register which house the *sapta-ratnas* in circular sprays. The lower register has kneeling devotees at the corners while at the centre is a lamp and bowls heaped with offerings. The image can be dated to the 11th century and corresponds to mode A-2 except for the addition of the Tathāgatas.

Iconographically similar is the image embedded into a niche of the wall behind the Padmeśvara Śiva temple at Bāṇeśwarnāsi, the niche now transformed into a small shrine (fig. 326). The image is well preserved except for the hands which were broken off but have been wrongly "restored" to *añjali-mudrā*.[71] An *utpala* issuing up from the left passes under and over her left arm with the blossom, opposite her face, supporting a book. She is richly adorned and wears a triple-strand *yajñopavīta*. Her diadem at the base of her tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* has three triangular projections and the ends billow up behind her ears. Her head is framed by an ornate trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex and a seated Bodhisattva

Chart 20

TWO-ARMED PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Mode	Text	1 Right hand	1 Left hand	Colour	Pose	Crown/Companions
A-1	Sādhanamālā no. 154	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	white	vajraparyaṅka	
A-1	Sādhanamālā no. 152	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	yellow	candrāsana	5 Tathāgatas
A-1	Sādhanamālā no. 159	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	yellow		5 Tathāgatas/Bodhisattvas
A-2	Sādhanamālā no. 153	vyākhyāna	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	yellow		Akṣobhya
A-2	Sādhanamālā no. 157	vyākhyāna	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	yellow	vajraparyaṅka	
A-2	Sādhanamālā no. 158	vyākhyāna	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	yellow	vajraparyaṅka	
A-3	Sādhanamālā no. 151	red lotus	book	white	vajraparyaṅka	Akṣobhya
A-3	Sādhanamālā no. 155	red lotus	book at breast	white	paryaṅka	
A-4	Ekallavīra-Caṇḍa	red lotus/Kāmaśāstra	blue lotus/Kāmaśāstra	blue	sattvaparyaṅka	Akṣobhya

FOUR-ARMED PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ DESCRIPTIONS FROM TEXTS

Mode	Text	1 Right hands	2	2	1 Left hands	Colour	Pose	Crown
B-1	Sādhanamālā no. 156	vyākhyāna	abhaya	utpala/book	vyākhyāna	golden	vajraparyaṅka	
B-2	Niṣpannayogāvalī	vyākhyāna	cintāmaṇi-banner	lotus/book	vyākhyāna	golden		
B-3	Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha	vyākhyāna	rosary	book	vyākhyāna	white		
B-3	Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha	vyākhyāna	rosary	book	vyākhyāna	white		
B-3	Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha	vyākhyāna	rosary	book	vyākhyāna	golden	vajraparyaṅka	

ORISSAN IMAGES OF PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ

Mode	Site			Pose	Features
A-1	Ratnagiri stūpa 41	vyākhyāna/utpala/book	vyākhyāna/utpala/book	vajraparyaṅka	
A-2	Maṅgalapur	x /lotus	x /lotus /x	vajraparyaṅka	5 Tathāgatas/2 companions
A-2	Bāṇeśwarnāsi	x	x /utpala/book	vajraparyaṅka	Bodhisattvas/2 companions
A-2	Ratnagiri stūpa 45	vyākhyāna/lotus	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	vajraparyaṅka	
A-2	Ratnagiri stūpa area	vyākhyāna	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	sattvaparyaṅka	
A-2	Tārāpur	vyākhyāna	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	vajraparyaṅka	5 Tathāgatas
A-2	Nāgaspur	vyākhyāna	vyākhyāna/lotus/book	vajraparyaṅka	
A-?	Sonepur	x /lotus	x /lotus	sattvaparyaṅka	2 Bodhisattvas/4 companions

Mode	Site	1 Right hands	2	2	1 Left hands	Pose	Features
B-?	Chaudar	vyākhyāna/lotus	varada	lotus/book	vyākhyāna/lotus	vajraparyaṅka	2 Bodhisattvas/2 companions

at each lower corner. The *toraṇa* is placed in front of a *pīḍha-muṇḍi* as on the Khadiravaṇī Tārā from the same site which is in the Patna Museum (C-22). A female deity (?) is placed on the top *pīḍha* moulding on either side while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The lintel of the *toraṇa* is supported on each side by an ornate baluster and a *virāla*. Prajñāpāramitā is flanked by a *caurī*-bearing female deity (?) on either side. The upper part of the pedestal is decorated with the swirling arabesques issuing from the centre lotus stalk. The lower part contains three kneeling devotees on the right, a pedestal supporting the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* at the centre, and two dancing figures next to a seated Vajrasattva on the left. The image can be dated to the 11th century. Iconographically the image corresponds to mode A-2 except for the addition of the companion deities. Unfortunately I am unable to identify the latter from my photograph.

In an image from Maṅgalapur, now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, Vajrasattva and a stand supporting a manuscript also appear on the pedestal to suggest she probably represents Prajñāpāramitā (fig. 328). She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with both arms broken off at the elbow. A lotus on the left passes under and over her left arm though the blossom and book are missing. The lotus issuing up on the right side, the blossom missing, only passes behind her arm to suggest it may not have supported a book. She is richly adorned, wears a triple-strand *yajñopavīta*, and her body is gracefully flexed to her right. She has a pleasing smile and wears a diadem at the base of her tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* similar to the image at Bāṇeśwarnāsi. Her head is likewise framed by an ornate trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* edged with flames (fig. 491). The Tathāgatas are dispersed around the *toraṇa*. As at Tārāpur the alignment consists of Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amitābha (at apex), Ratnasaṁbhava and Amoghasiddhi. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while other garland-bearers are arranged around the *toraṇa*, one between each Tathāgata. Prajñāpāramitā is flanked on either side by an attendant, partially obscured behind her thighs, with the one on the right showing *añjali-mudrā* while the left one has the right hand raised in *vitarka-mudrā*. The upper register of the pedestal contains the *sapta-ratnas*, each housed in a circular spray, while the lower register has four kneeling devotees on the right half, a stand supporting the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* at the centre, bowls of offerings and Vajrasattva on the left. The image can be dated to the second-half of the 11th century. Iconographically the image seems to be midway between modes A-1 and A-2, there being two lotuses but the second book appearing on the pedestal.

In the image placed in front of the Sureśvarī temple at Sonepur worshipped as Buddha-Tārā, as discussed previously under Mahāśrī-Tārā, the goddess is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* (fig. 311). Though the only description which prescribes this pose is her blue form in the *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa-tantra*, where she holds a red and blue lotus in her right and left hands respectively, each supporting a book on *Kāmaśāstra*, other examples of her seated in this pose are known, as in an illustration labelled "Prajñāpāramitā of the Gṛdhrakūṭa-parvata" in the A.D. 1015 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (Cambridge University Library Ms. No. Add. 1643).[72] In this painting the goddess displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* while a lotus issues up from under her arm on either side. Neither lotus, however, bears a book. She is flanked by an attendant on either side. This "Prajñāpāramitā of the Gṛdhrakūṭa-parvata" is also illustrated in an A.D. 1071 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. A 15).[73] In this painting she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* but there are no lotuses. She is flanked by four companion goddesses. In the stone image from Sonepur, headless and with the arms broken off at the elbow, a lotus stalk rises up on either side, passing under and over her arms, but the blossoms are broken off so it is not known if they supported manuscripts. She is flanked on either side by a Bodhisattva duplicating her *sattvaparyaṅka* pose. Each displays the *dharmacakra-mudrā* with an *utpala* supporting a manuscript rising up from under their left arm. The addition of these two Bodhisattvas, probably representing Mañjuvara/Mañjughoṣa, with hands in the teaching *mudrā*, lends support

to the identification of the goddess as Prajñāpāramitā. The four companion deities on the pedestal are difficult to identify due to accretions of grime. The image can be dated to the late 10th century.

The image of Prajñāpāramitā at Nāgaspur, being worshipped along with other Buddhist images as the Sāta Bhaunī, is lacking surface details due to *pūjā* rituals (fig. 329). She is seated in a rigid *vajraparyaṅka* pose on a *viśvapadma*. Her hands are in *dharmacakra-mudrā* and a lotus stalk issues from under her left arm with the full-blown blossom supporting a book, the latter partially obscured by accumulations of paste and grime. Her coiffure is likewise covered with paste while the upper part of the back-slab is broken off. The sides of the back-slab are decorated with a baluster carved in low-relief. Only the upper part of the pedestal is visible and it is badly worn. A devotee is partially visible on the right corner while piles of offerings can be seen on the left corner. The image can be dated to the late 11th century.

Formerly there was a four-armed image of Prajñāpāramitā at Chaudar but its present location is not known.[74] She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with her major set of hands displaying *dharmacakra-mudrā*. Her back right hand is in *varada-mudrā* while the lowered back left hand is partially broken but probably held a manuscript. A lotus stalk issues up on either side behind the goddess with the blossoms in full-bloom opposite her head. She is richly adorned, has a soft, warm smile, and wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. Her head is framed by an ornate trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while a seated deity is on each end of the lintel supporting the *toraṇa*. There is also a seated companion on either side of Prajñāpāramitā. N.K. Sahu suggests the figures at the ends of the lintel are Bodhisattvas and identifies the two seated companions as Tārā[75] though I cannot verify either their sex or *mudrā*/attribute in the available photograph. The upper register of the pedestal is decorated with the *sapta-ratnas*, each *ratna* housed in a circular spray issuing from the centre lotus stalk, while the lower register contains, beginning on the right, a kneeling devotee, a bowl heaped with offerings, a lamp, two more bowls heaped with offerings, a stand supporting indistinct objects, an *ācārya* seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands in *añjali-mudrā*, and a kneeling devotee. The image can be dated to the 11th century. The iconography, with one hand in *varada* and a full-blown lotus issuing up on each side, does not conform to textual descriptions.

Although a four-armed Prajñāpāramitā reportedly has been excavated at Udayagiri it more likely represents Cundā. It is one of numerous sculptures from the site which have been removed and are not available for scholarly study.

3. Cundā

An equally popular Buddhist goddess, and one with more variety in her form, is Cundā. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, as indicated earlier, she is one of the twelve Dhāriṇīs. As the embodiment of the Cundā-*dhāraṇī* or the Cundā-*mantra* she is endowed with all of the mystic powers that this *dhāraṇī* or *mantra* presents. As a Dhāriṇī she, like all of these deities in this *maṇḍala* (no. 21), is grouped under Amoghasiddhi. She is also included in numerous other *maṇḍalas*, including the *Kurukullā-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 174) where she has all five Tathāgatas on her crest;[76] the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where she may have Vairocana on her crown[77] and in the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (no. 26) of the same text where she is a *krodha* deity paired on the south gate with Ṭakkirāja who is similar to Ratnasaṁbhava in appearance.[78] Elsewhere in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 130) she is described as "Vajrasattva-mukuṭāṁ", indicating that she has Vajrasattva on her crest.[79] Such various associations, as pointed out by S.K. Saraswati, no doubt played a role in increasing her popularity.[80] Her name has been

variously spelt as Cundā, Cundrā, Candrā, Caṇḍā, Cuṇḍrā and even Cundavajrī. Her antiquity dates to at least as early as the 3rd century A.D. where she is named Candrā in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* while in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* she appears as Cundavajrī. As Cundā she is also mentioned in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva in the 7th century and images of her are found in illuminated *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts of the 11th century.[81]

There are seven known textual descriptions of Cundā, four in the *Sādhanamālā* and three in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, with her number of arms being two, four or twenty-six, though other forms are known where her arms number six, eight, twelve, sixteen and eighteen. The lone example of a two-armed form appears in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where, as in the case of the eleven other Dhāriṇīs, she holds a *viśvavajra* in her right hand. She is white and in her other hand she holds a rosary to which a *kamaṇḍalu* is suspended.[82] The three *sādhanas* (nos. 129-31) devoted to her in the *Sādhanamālā* are all quite similar; in each she is four-armed, with one reading:

> She is of the colour of the autumn moon, and is four-armed. She shows the varada-mudrā in the right hand and holds the book on a lotus in the left. The two other hands hold the bowl. She is decked in all ornaments.[83]

In the *Kurukullā-maṇḍala* of Aṣṭabhūja-Kurukullā in *sādhana* no. 174, where she is seated in the Īśāna (N.E.) corner and is identical in iconography with the other seven directional deities, their description is as follows:

> All these deities are red in colour. They wear a crown with the figures of the five Tathāgatas, and sit in the vajraparyaṅka attitude. With the two right hands they show the varada-mudrā and the arrow drawn to the ears. They carry in their two left hands the blue lotus and the bow.[84]

In the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (no. 26) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, as the consort of Ṭakkirāja, Cundā is also four-armed, though here her two right hands carry a *mudgara* (club) and the *kunta* (knife) while her left hands hold a lotus and the *daṇḍa* (staff). She is white in colour and is in *pratyālīḍha*.[85]

The most elaborate description appears in the *Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where she has twenty-six arms. She is seated in the Īśāna corner as a directional deity of the second circle of the *maṇḍala*.[86] She is moon-white in colour and exhibits the *cundā-mudrā* with her principal set of hands. Her other right hands show *abhaya* and hold a sword, garland of jewels, citron, arrow, axe, club, hammer, goad, *vajra, tripatāka* and rosary while her remaining left hands carry the *cintāmaṇi*-banner, lotus, *kamaṇḍalu*, noose, spear, *cakra*, sword, *tarjanī-mudrā*, bell, *bhiṇḍipāla* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* book.[87]

Although there are no known images of Cundā with twenty-six arms, there are numerous examples where she has sixteen or eighteen, including a painting in the Cambridge University Library (Ms. No. Add. 1643) of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* of a sixteen-armed image which has a label reading "Cundā in the excellent temple at Paṭṭikera".[88] As described by Foucher, her principal set of hands are in *dharmacakra-mudrā* while her remaining right hands display *varada* and hold a *vajra, cakra,* club, dagger, indistinct object and rosary. Her other left hands hold a vessel, axe, trident, bow, dagger, indistinct object and the sceptre.[89] Corrections and additions to this list have been made by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.[90] Eighteen-armed images identified as Cundā include a metal image from Nālandā,[91] a stone image from Bodh Gaya,[92] and a stone image in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rājshāhi.[93] Other multi-armed forms are discussed by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.[94]

Essentially there appear to be two basic forms for Cundā, aside from secondary forms as a companion deity in *maṇḍalas* where her form is identical with other deities, one in which her major set of hands hold a vessel on her lap and a second form, confined primarily to multi-armed images, in which they display the *cundā-mudrā*.[95] In four-armed images, by far the most popular, her major attribute is the *pātra* or bowl, her secondary attribute being the book, both of which are included as attributes in her multi-armed forms. In her two-armed form her identifying aspects, though held in one hand, are a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu* (spouted-vessel). A rosary is also one of her attributes, replacing *varada-mudrā*, in various paintings and sculptures of four-armed images, including a labelled example in the Cambridge University manuscript (No. Add. 1643) of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* reading "Lāhtadeśe Vuṁkarānagare Cundā", where she is red in complexion[96] and an unlabelled painting in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (No. A 15) of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) where she is of yellow complexion.[97] A four-armed bronze image with identical iconography is in the Nālandā Museum (Acc. No. 11164).[98] In these images Cundā, seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, holds a vessel in her major set of hands, placed on her lap in *dhyāna-mudrā*, while her other right hand has a rosary and the back left hand holds a book in the palm rather than on a lotus. There are in addition numerous similar four-armed images, generally identified as Prajñāpāramitā, in which a bowl is held on the lap with one hand, including a painting in a Nepalese manuscript of a *Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha* (Cambridge University Library) dating to A.D. 1750. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and holds a rosary in her major right hand in front of her chest while the left hand, resting on her lap, holds a vessel. Her uplifted back right hand holds a *vajra* while the left hand holds a book on its palm. On the folio where the illustration occurs is the beginning of the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-mantra*.[99] In an image of Prajñāpāramitā from the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon illustrated by W. Clark, the major right hand, in front of the chest, holds the *vajra* while the rosary is in the back hand. The principal left hand, on the lap, holds a vessel while the uplifted hand has the book.[100] There are also numerous images from Eastern India with a similar iconography except the *vajra* is replaced by *varada-mudrā*, including a metal image from Kurkihār, now in the Patna Museum (cat. no. 9696), dating to A.D. 1023, in which her principal right hand shows *varada* while the left hand, on her lap, holds a vessel. Her uplifted right hand holds a rosary while the left hand holds the *utpala* supporting the book.[101] A similar image from Maināmatī, in contrast, is identified as Tārā.[102] Although Tārā in her Dhanada form holds three of these attributes she does not hold a vessel, the lotus and book serving as two attributes. In numerous other examples from Nālandā, identified as Cundā by S.K. Saraswati, the iconography is the same except the vessel is missing from the principal left hand resting on her lap. Her principal right hand is in *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds the rosary. The uplifted back left hand holds the stalk of an *utpala* supporting the book. In still other cases, however, whether holding the bowl with one or two hands, the lotus in her uplifted back left hand does not support a book.[103]

Thus, though the four-armed images are the most popular, they also pose the greatest problems in respect to identification. Although the vessel and the book are her most identifying aspects, even these are absent in some images which are tentatively identified as representing her. The only constant element in these four-armed images appears to be the *mudrā* with either one or both hands on the lap, the palm(s) upward whether holding a bowl or not. Except for her description in the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where she is in *pratyālīḍha* while embracing Ṭakkirāja, she is assigned the *vajraparyaṅka* pose or, in *sādhana* no. 131 of the *Sādhanamālā*, the *sattvaparyaṅka* pose.

D. Mitra has tentatively identified fifteen images of four-armed Cundā at Ratnagiri, one being a small ivory dating to the 9th century,[104] which can be classified into two modes based on the object held in the uplifted back left hand, being either a lotus in mode (A) or a *kamaṇḍalu* in mode (B). In one case, from a niche in a drum-slab, the uplifted left hand

Chart 21

TWO/FOUR-ARMED CUNDĀ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right hands 1	2	2	1 left hands	Pose	Kuleśa	Colour
NSP maṇḍala 21	viśvavajra			rosary/kamaṇḍalu		Amoghasiddhi	white
Sādhanamālā 129	dhyāna/bowl	varada	lotus/book	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka		white
Sādhanamālā 130	dhyāna/bowl	varada	lotus/book	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	Vajrasattva	white
Sādhanamālā 131	dhyāna/bowl	varada	lotus/book	dhyāna	sattvaparyaṅka		white
Sādhanamālā 174	varada	arrow	bow	nīlotpala	vajraparyaṅka	5 Tathāgatas	red
NSP maṇḍala 26	club	knife	staff	lotus	pratyālīḍha	Ratnasaṁbhava	white
MS. No. Add. 1643	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	book	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka		red
•Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha	rosary	vajra	book	dhyāna/bowl	vajraparyaṅka		
•Pao-hsiang Lou	vajra	rosary	book	dhyāna/bowl	vajraparyaṅka		

ORISSAN IMAGES OF CUNDĀ

Site	right hands 1	2	2	1 left hands	Pose	Image	Mode
Ratnagiri	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	lotus	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	stūpa 226	A
Ratnagiri (3)	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	lotus	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	stūpas	A
Ratnagiri	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	lotus	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	detached	A
Ratnagiri	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	lotus	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	stūpa 25	A
Ratnagiri	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	x	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	village	A?
Ratnagiri (2)	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	lotus	dhyāna	sattvaparyaṅka	stūpas	A
Ratnagiri	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	lotus/kamaṇḍalu	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	drum-slab	A-B
Udayagiri	?	?	?	?	?		?
Ratnagiri (4)	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	stūpas	B
Ratnagiri	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	ivory	B
Acutrajpur (4)	dhyāna/bowl	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	dhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	bronze	B

•identified as Prajñāpāramitā

holds a full-blown lotus and a water-pot.[105] The majority of the images are housed in niches of monolithic *stūpas* and can be dated from the 9th to the 11th century. They all have their principal set of hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* with the palm of the right hand holding a small, generally flat, vessel (*pātra*). The back right hand holds a rosary in all of the examples (fig. 330). Two examples in mode (A) are seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* while all others are seated in *vajraparyaṅka*.[106]

From the bronze hoard discovered at Acutrajpur, D. Mitra has tentatively identified five as representing Cundā, including one with six arms. The four-armed images are all identical in respect to iconography and correspond to mode (B) with the uplifted back left hand holding a *kamaṇḍalu* (fig. 331). The major set of hands are in *dhyāna* with the palm of the right hand holding a small bowl while the uplifted back left hand has a *kamaṇḍalu*. She wears a *śāṭī*, fastened by a girdle, and an *uttarīya* worn in an *upavītī* fashion. She is richly adorned and wears either a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* or a crown with three triangular projections. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and her body is held rigid. On the pedestal of the largest image there is a *dopicchā-siṁha* (lion with one head and two bodies) at each corner (C-19). The images date from the 9th to the 11th century.[107]

The six-armed image has a similar iconography with the added two hands showing *varada* and holding a lotus on the right and left respectively (fig. 332). It thus combines mode (A) with mode (B) in respect to holding both the *kamaṇḍalu* and the lotus in left hands while the *varada-mudrā* in the lowest right hand relates it more closely to four-armed descriptions.[108] She is dressed in a finely decorated *śāṭī* and a diaphanous *uttarīya* worn in an *upavītī* fashion. She is richly adorned and wears a beaded-*yajñopavīta*. She wears a tiara with three projecting crests at the base of her *jaṭā-mukuṭa* while fan-shaped ribbons flutter out above each ear. Her eyes and the circular mark on her forehead are inlaid with silver. A lion is at each front corner of the pedestal beneath her seat. The image can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.[109]

In none of these images, four-armed or six-armed, is a book one of her attributes so that identification has to remain somewhat tentative. There is a book in one of the left hands of an eight-armed Cundā from Bhubaneswar now in the Orissa State Museum (fig. 333). She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her principal set of hands, in *dhyāna-mudrā* on her lap, holding a small vessel. Her lowered right hand displays *varada* while the uplifted hand holds a rosary. The object in the middle hand is indistinct, the upper corners of the back-slab and part of this attribute being broken off. The book is held in the uplifted back left hand while the remaining two hands, partially obliterated, presumably held the *kamaṇḍalu* and lotus. She is richly adorned. Surface details and facial features are badly worn. Her hair is tied in a bun on top of her head. There is a kneeling devotee on either side of the foliated lotus stem in the centre of the pedestal while at each corner is a seated companion goddess, the left one being Ekajaṭā. The image can be ascribed to the 9th century. As in the case of the six-armed form, the image evolves from the four-armed form though the added attribute in the right hand is not identifiable.

There is also a twelve-armed image in the Patna Museum, probably from Udayagiri, which may represent Cundā, though it has also been identified as the Pañcarakṣā goddess Mahāmantrānusāriṇī.[110] In contrast to other images of Cundā, she is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right leg pendent (fig. 334). Her principal set of hands, in *dhyāna-mudrā* on her lap, hold a small bowl. Her lowered two right hands display *varada* and hold a citron in the open palm while the three uplifted hands hold an arrow, *vajra* and rosary. The three uplifted back left hands hold a lotus supporting a manuscript, a bow and a serpent while the lower two hold a noose and a *kamaṇḍalu*. She is rigidly posed and richly ornamented. Her hair is rolled into a chignon on top of her head and her jewelled diadem has a large *kirīṭa* at the

Chart 22

MULTI-ARMED CUNDĀ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS AND IMAGES

Niṣpannayogāvalī maṇḍala no. 20 (26-armed, 3-headed Image)		*Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (No. Add. 1643) 16-armed Image		Nālandā 18-armed metal Image (National Museum, New Delhi)		Niyāmatpur 18-armed stone Image (Varendra Research Society Museum, Rājshāhi)	
right hands	left hands	right hands	left hands	right hands	left hands	right hands	left hands
1. Cundā-mudrā	Cundā-mudrā	Cundā-mudrā	Cundā-mudrā	dharmacakra	dharmacakra	dharmacakra	dharmacakra
2. abhaya-mudrā	cintāmaṇi-flag	varada	kamaṇḍalu	varada/abhaya*	kamaṇḍalu	varada/citron	kamaṇḍalu
3. sword	lotus	vajra	axe	jewel/citron*	lotus*	abhaya	lotus
4. ratnadāma	kamaṇḍalu	cakra	trident	bell/ratnadāma*	noose	bell/sword*	flag*
5. citron	noose	club	bow	abhaya/sword*	flag	ratnadāma	noose*
6. arrow	bow	dagger	noose*	pen (?)*	cakra	goad*	cakra
7. axe	spear	arrow*	flag*	rosary (?)*	conch*	arrow/axe*	bow/conch*
8. club	cakra	rosary	book*	vajra	inkpot	vajra	pot
9. hammer	sword or conch*			vandanā or rosary*	book	rosary	book
10. goad	tarjanī-mudrā						
11. vajra	bell or pot*						
12. tripatāka	bhiṇḍipāla						
13. rosary	book						

Udayagiri (?) 12-armed Image (Patna Museum Acc. No. 6500)		Nālandā 12-armed metal Image (Indian Museum, Calcutta)	
right hands	left hands	right hands	left hands
1. dhyāna/bowl	dhyāna	dharmacakra	dharmacakra
2. varada	kamaṇḍalu	varada/citron	kamaṇḍalu
3. citron	noose	ratnadāma*	noose
4. arrow	serpent	rosary	conch
5. vajra	bow	abhaya	lotus/book
6. rosary	lotus/book	sword	flag

Bhubaneswar 8-armed stone Image (Orissa State Museum)		Acutrajpur 6-armed bronze Image (Orissa State Museum)	
right hands	left hands	right hands	left hands
1. dhyāna/bowl	dhyāna	dhyāna/bowl	dhyāna
2. varada	lotus?	varada	lotus
3. ?	kamaṇḍalu	rosary	kamaṇḍalu
4. rosary	book		

*additions or "corrections" made by J.E. van Lohuizen-Leeuw.

centre. Her head is framed by an unembellished and elongated-oval halo. At the top of the back-slab in the centre is an effigy of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya. Cundā is flanked on either side on the upper half of the back-slab by a standing Bodhisattva, the one on the left corner now broken off along with a section of the back-slab. The corners of the pedestal are occupied by a seated Ārya-Sarasvatī on the right and a four-armed Ekajaṭā (?) in *pratyālīḍha* on the left. Ekajaṭā has her major right hand in *varada* while her uplifted right hand holds an axe. The uplifted left hand holds a lotus (?) while the lowered left hand, badly damaged, drags a noose (?). Next to Ārya-Sarasvatī is a kneeling devotee with hands in *añjali* while left of the pendent leg of Cundā is a water vessel supporting a conch-shaped lamp and a tripod supporting a bowl with lotus. The image dates to the 9th century.

Iconographically the *lalitāsana* is the same pose prescribed for the twenty-six armed image in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* though this Orissan image differs in respect to the *dhyāna-mudrā* for the principal set of hands, standard on all Orissan images, which replaces the *cundā-mudrā* prescribed for multi-armed images whereby the hands are placed in front of the chest. Other notable differences include a serpent held in one left hand and the image of Akṣobhya at the top of the back-slab. As with all Orissan images she holds a bowl with her principal set of hands and one of her right hands has a rosary. This is the only Orissan example, however, where a book is supported on a lotus and is one of only two images which have a book as an attribute, the other being the eight-armed image.

Reportedly one or more Cundā images have been unearthed at Udayagiri during recent excavations but the images are not as yet available for scholarly research.

4. Uṣṇīṣavijayā

As noted by A. Getty, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, who is very popular in Nepal and Tibet, is one of the earliest feminine divinities. As her name implies, she has "the intelligence of the most splendid Perfect One" and in Japan she is looked upon as the deification of the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa*.[111] In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, as indicated, she is included as one of the twelve *dhāriṇī* deities and thus may represent the deified form of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāriṇī*. Like the other *dhāriṇī* deities of this *maṇḍala* she is two-armed and holds a *viśvavajra* in her right hand. She is white in colour and her distinguishing attribute, held in her left hand, is a jar full of moonstones. These *dhāriṇī* deities, as mentioned, are collectively placed in the family of Amoghasiddhi who is green.[112] In the *maṇḍala* of Vajra-Tārā, where she is also two-armed, she is a directional goddess situated in the upper regions (zenith). According to different texts and *sādhanas*, she may be either white or yellow in colour and have as her sire either Vairocana or Ratnasaṁbhava. Whereas her left hand, as in the case of the other companion deities, may be in *tarjanī-mudrā*, her right hand holds either a *cakra* or a *vajra*.[113] As an independent deity, in contrast, she is multi-armed.

Three *sādhanas* (nos. 191, 211, 212) in the *Sādhanamālā* describe her form and in each case she has three heads and eight arms, is white in colour, resides in the womb of a *caitya* and bears the image of Vairocana on her crown:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as (Uṣṇīṣavijayā) who is white in complexion, three-faced, three-eyed, youthful and is decked in many ornaments. Her right and left faces are respectively of yellow and blue colour. Her four right hands display the viśvavajra, Buddha on lotus, the arrow and varada pose, and her four left hands show the bow, the noose with the tarjanī, the abhaya pose and the well-filled water-vessel.[114]

In *sādhana* no. 211 we are additionally told that she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and that the Buddha seated on a lotus in one of her right hands is the Tathāgata Amitābha.[115]

In the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 8055, fol. 44a) is the description of a one-faced, six-armed form of Uṣṇīṣavijayā, the relevant *dhyāna* reading:

> Uṣṇīṣavijayā is single-faced and six-handed. The (principal) right hand is in the act of touching the heart. The first pair of hands (from above) holds the double vajra, and the staff. The (remaining) hand of the second pair holds (the effigy of) the Tathāgata. The third pair holds the arrow and the lotus. She is seated in the Vajrāsana.[116]

It is primarily the three-headed and eight-armed form that appears in sculpture and D. Mitra has tentatively identified as Uṣṇīṣavijayā a small image discovered in the area in front of Monastery No. 2 at Ratnagiri, the image most likely dislodged from the niche of a monolithic *stūpa* (fig. 335).[117] She is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her principal right hand in *varada* and her corresponding left hand in front of her chest displaying *tarjanī-mudrā*. Her other three right hands are broken off. Her lower left hand, placed on her seat, holds a stalk of a flower bearing a vessel while the other two hold a bow (partially broken off) and a rosary. She is richly ornamented, wears a beaded *yajñopavīta*, has a third eye in the centre of each forehead, and each head is crowned by a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. Dispersed in the background around her heads are the five Tathāgatas. They are each seated in *vajraparyaṅka* except for Vairocana, at the apex above the crowns of Uṣṇīṣavijayā, who is depicted almost in a flying posture. The pedestal is decorated with a kneeling bearded devotee and a censer on the right corner while on the left corner are two bowls heaped with offerings. The image can be ascribed to the late 10th or early 11th century. Iconographically the image holds five of the prescribed attributes or *mudrās*, six if we add the arrow which would accompany the bow. The only missing attributes, in two of the right hands, are the lotus supporting an effigy of a Tathāgata and the *viśvavajra*. Considering the placement of Amitābha, at the lower right just above the broken upper hand of Uṣṇīṣavijayā, he may also have served as this attribute.

C. BHṚKUṬĪ

Although Bhṛkuṭī is best known as a companion goddess to various forms of Avalokiteśvara, she also has independent forms, both benign and terrifying, though the latter are more popular in Tibet, China and Japan.[118] Though her name translates as "Frown", expressive of her wrathful nature and her manner of manifestation from the frowning head of Avalokiteśvara, various Indian scholars have primarily considered her as a form of yellow Tārā.[119] M. Ghosh, in her study on Bhṛkuṭī, suggests that she represents a goddess independent of Tārā whose conception is prior to the growth of Vajrayāna and cites examples dating to the 6th century from Nālandā where she and Tārā both serve as companions to Avalokiteśvara. Whereas Tārā, according to her, represents the Bodhisattva's great compassion and his active function of allaying the sufferings of human beings, Bhṛkuṭī, withdrawn from worldly matters, reflects the practice of wisdom of the Bodhisattva and thus confines herself to the spiritual aspect of Avalokiteśvara. Being indifferent to worldly affairs in the manner of a yogin, she wears matted hair and does not bear any ornaments in these sculptures of her formative stage.[120] Similar descriptions appear in early texts including the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* where she is three-eyed, has tufts of hair, has a rosary suspended from one hand, is unadorned and shining white. Her halo is coloured yellow, white and red.[121] In the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* she is mentioned several times, even having an important *mudrā* named after her (chapter 45), and is regarded as the dispeller of great dreads (*mahābhayaharī*).[122]

In the later work of Tāranātha, Bhṛkuṭī is mentioned on two occasions, both in connection with the journey of the *upāsaka* Śāntivarman from Puṇḍravardhana to the top of Potalaka hill, the sacred abode of Avalokiteśvara. On the first occasion, upon failing to cross

a great river on the way, he prayed to Tārā and an old woman appeared with a boat and took him across:

> Further on, failing to cross another sea, when he prayed to Bhṛkuṭī, a girl with a raft appeared and took him across. Then he reached the fringe of a forest and could not pass through it because of a forest fire. When he prayed to Hayagrīva it rained and the fire was extinguished. Lightning showed him the way. Again, he could not proceed because the path was cut off by a ravine many yojana-s deep. When he prayed to Ekajaṭī, a huge serpent appeared and served as a bridge, enabling him to cross it. Then his path was obstructed by many apes, as big as elephants. When he prayed to Amoghapāśa, these huge apes gave him the way and brought delicious food for him.[123]

Once reaching the hill, and finding it impossible to climb, he prayed to Ārya-Avalokiteśvara and there came down a ladder made of canes. Dense fog, however, prevented him from seeing the way until he prayed for a long time. He then saw an image of Tārā at the third stage of the hill and on its middle the image of Bhṛkuṭī.[124] This is repeated later on during the visit of Buddhaśānti and Buddhaguhya to the top of the hill. At the foot, as indicated above, Ārya-Tārā sat preaching the Doctrine to the *nāgas* while at the middle of the hill was Bhṛkuṭī preaching the Doctrine to the group of *asuras* and *yakṣas*.[125]

In respect to iconography, there are two *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* which are devoted exclusively to Bhṛkuṭī. In *sādhana* no. 169 she is described as being poised on the orb of the moon over a lotus (*padmacandrāsanasthāṁ*) and as emanating from the yellow *bija-mantra Bhrrim*:[126]

> The goddess Bhṛkuṭī should be conceived as four-armed, one-faced and yellow in colour, three-eyed and as blooming with youth. She shows the varada-mudrā and the rosary in her two right hands, and carries the tridaṇḍī and the kamaṇḍalu in the two left. Her crown is stamped with the effigy of Amitābha.[127]

The posture of the goddess is not mentioned to suggest that she may be depicted in any pose. *Sādhana* no. 170 is nearly identical except nothing is said about the number of eyes or the stance of the goddess and there is no mention of the Tathāgata. Her appearance is noted as placid (*śānta*) and she wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. Neither of these two *sādhanas* specify ornaments for Bhṛkuṭī which suggests, according to M. Ghosh, that she is conceived as devoid of ornaments.[128] Similar descriptions of Bhṛkuṭī as a companion goddess appear in *sādhana* nos. 14-15, devoted to Khasarpaṇa, except *varada* is replaced by *vandanābhinayī*. Again body ornaments are not mentioned. In *sādhana* no. 15 it is stated that a *caitya* is in her coiffure and she wears a red cloth. Her pose likewise is not mentioned.[129] In *sādhana* no. 30 she appears as a directional deity in the *maṇḍala* of Padmanartteśvara where she is two-armed, white in complexion, and is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*. As a companion to Amoghapāśa in an elaborate *sādhana* found in the *Tanjur*, she is reddish-yellow in colour. Her right hands display *abhaya-mudrā* and hold a rosary while her left hands carry a pot and a *tridaṇḍī*. She has a third eye, bears a *caitya* in her headdress and, in this instance, is profusely ornamented.[130] According to A.K. Gordon, Bhṛkuṭī has two forms, in both of which she is single-headed with four arms and is in a standing pose. In the first form her right hands display *varada* and hold a rosary while the left hands carry a staff and a lotus. In the second form she stands with legs crossed and displays *abhaya* and holds a rosary in her right hands while the left hands hold a trident and a *kalaśa*.[131] Bhṛkuṭī is also mentioned in three *maṇḍalas* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* but these forms, two of which depict her in *yab-yum* with a *krodha* deity, differ substantially from those described in the *Sādhanamālā* and from examples appearing in sculpture.

In a few cases in later painted illustrations her principal set of hands display either *añjali-mudrā* or *dharmacakra-mudrā*, including a miniature painting labelled as "Śrī-Potalake Bhṛkuṭī Tārāh" in a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* in the Cambridge University Library (No. Add. 1643) where she is depicted reclining on a bed. It is not clear if the principal set of hands display *añjali-mudrā* or *dharmacakra-mudrā*. Her upper right hand shows *vandanābhinayī* while the other left hand possibly holds a rosary, the object being indistinct.[132] In a Nepalese *paṭa* depicting Amoghapāśa, dating to A.D. 1436 (Rijksmuseum, Leiden), she displays *dharmacakra-mudrā* with her principal set of hands while her other hands show *vandanābhinayī-mudrā* and rest on the hip.[133]

Although her pose is often not mentioned, in the *Genzu-taizō-mandara*, as one of six companions to Avalokiteśvara, she wears a work robe and is seated in a half-lotus posture. In the two-armed form in the *maṇḍala* of Padmanarteśvara in the *Sādhanamālā*, as indicated, she is prescribed the *sattvaparyaṅka*, a pose also noted on a two-armed bronze from the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon while on a four-armed image in this collection the seated posture is midway between the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* and the *lalitāsana* with the right leg only partially pendent.[134] This latter pose also appears in a painting from the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* manuscript[135] while in an illustration of the Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī is in *vajraparyaṅka*.[136] In Orissan images all of these seated poses are included though the *sattvaparyaṅka* and *lalitāsana* are rare.

Invariably, in her fully conceptualized four-armed form, her three most common attributes are a rosary, a *kamaṇḍalu* and a *tridaṇḍī*, attributes, as pointed out by M. Ghosh, associated with *tapasvīs* "engaged in moral and ascetic practices in the pursuit of spiritual knowledge and wisdom and dharmajña deities of ascetic nature." Iconographically, she continues, "Bhṛkuṭī is most probably indebted to the conception of Pārvatī-Gaurī who underwent austere penance (*tapas*) in order to gain the hand of Śiva."[137] This similar iconography is evident on early images of Pārvatī in Orissa where she assumes a standing pose with her major right hand lowered in *varada* while the raised back hand has a rosary (fig. 337). Her lowered left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu* while the raised back hand holds a *ketakī* flower or *tridaṇḍī*. An image of Bhṛkuṭī corresponding to this iconography is included among the bronzes found at Acutrajpur (fig. 338). She stands in a slightly flexed pose and is characterized by a tall physical frame with refined plastic treatment. Her form, as described by D. Mitra, "affords the perception of the spiritual vigour of an ascetic goddess, the *tapasvinī* character of whom is clearly brought out not only by the attributes in her hands and *jaṭā-mukuṭa* but by the restraint in ornamentation and dress. The detached expression of the calm and placid face lit by a faint smile is befitting one withdrawn from worldly matters."[138] She wears a diaphanous under-garment, held by two cords artistically knotted, and an *ajina-uttarīya* in an *upavītī* fashion (C-28). Her lowered right hand shows *varada-mudrā* and the uplifted hand holds a rosary while the corresponding left hands hold a *kamaṇḍalu* and a *tridaṇḍī*. Her eyes are inlaid with silver and her lower lip is copper-red. A miniature *caitya* appears in her *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

In a second bronze image from Acutrajpur the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī assumes the *sattvaparyaṅka* pose on a lotus-seat with the stalk inserted into a conical projection of a lotus above a tree against which an *alasā-kanyā* is leaning to remove an anklet from her raised right foot (fig. 339). As noted by D. Mitra, this piece is unique "by virtue of a strange composition of a hieratic icon, represented in a scale smaller than that of a decorative secular figure." The treatment of the two figures is equally significant:

> Closely conforming to the canonical prescription of the śāstras, the icon, formal, aloof and almost rigid, is presented in its full frontality, while the mundane figure, pliant,

> vivacious and animated in the pleasures of worldly life, is rendered free, mobile and full of flexions. In contradistinction with the absence of the ornaments in the icon, the nāyikā is lavishly bejewelled. Equally variant is the expression of the two faces, one being calm and withdrawn from the worldly matters and the other beaming in expectation of mundane pleasures.[139]

The two principal hands of the goddess are clasped in *añjali* near her chest while her uplifted back right hand holds a rosary and the corresponding left hand has a staff or *tridaṇḍī*. She wears a *śāṭī*, held by a cord, and an *ajina-uttarīya* worn in an *upavītī* fashion. She is mostly bereft of ornaments though her eyes are inlaid with silver. A *stūpa* is visible in her *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. Her large circular solid halo is ringed with flames while fixed on the back is a disc inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of about the 10th-11th century.[140]

Bhṛkuṭī is also included as one of four Buddhist goddesses on the largest of the *stūpas* from the bronze hoard at Acutrajpur. She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her principal right hand in *varada* while the left hand is placed on her seat, the attribute no longer discernible. Her uplifted back hands hold a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu*. She wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* but is without body ornaments. The Buddhist creed is inscribed on the *stūpa* in two lines in characters datable to the late 11th century (fig. 126b).[141]

There is a standing image of Bhṛkuṭī in a niche of a shrine at Talcher which conforms to her standard iconography as given in the *Sādhanamālā* (fig. 336). Her lower right hand is in *varada* while the lower left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. Her uplifted back right and left hands hold a rosary and a *tridaṇḍī* respectively. She wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* or conical crown and her head is framed by a *toraṇa*. Surface details are mostly obliterated. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the 10th-11th century.

The large seated image in the premises of the Bāsulī Thākurāṇī shrine at Baṇiāsāhi within the city of Cuttack identified as Cundā by N.K. Sahu,[142] discussed earlier in this chapter, is also iconographically similar to either Dhanada-Tārā or Bhṛkuṭī, if Buddhist, or to Pārvatī, if Brahmanical (C-20). The lower left hand now duplicates the *varada* pose of the lower right hand while the uplifted left hand holds a crudely fashioned goad, the standard attribute for late images of Pārvatī. These hands, seemingly refashioned, could just as easily have held a *tridaṇḍī* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. Her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa*. Her three eyes are covered with foil. The absence of a *caitya* or a Tathāgata precludes us from identifying the image as Buddhist. The image can be dated to the late 13th-early 14th century.

As a companion goddess in Orissan sculpture, Bhṛkuṭī invariably appears on the left side of the main divinity and may be depicted either standing or seated. These images are discussed in detail in chapter X.

D. UNIDENTIFIED SEATED GODDESSES

There are many sculptures of Buddhist goddesses scattered throughout Orissa which remain unidentified, either because one or more of the identifying *mudrās* or attributes are missing due to breakage, or because the combination and/or placement of attributes do not conform to any known textual description. A good example among unidentified two-armed goddesses where attributes or *mudrās* are missing is the image from Ratnagiri formerly in the possession of Brindavana Jena, noted when discussing the Prajñās of the Tathāgatas.[143] She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with four flanking goddesses, two on either side, on the upper half of the back-slab (fig. 340). Both hands are broken off at the wrist though the left was placed on the lap. The poses of the flanking goddesses are similar to the Bodhisattvas flanking the Tathāgatas in fragments of two *maṇḍalas* with sixteen Bodhisattvas based on the

Vajradhātu-maṇḍala discussed earlier. Also at Ratnagiri, in the niche of *stūpa* no. 195 from the Stūpa-area, is a two-armed goddess seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*. Her right hand is in *varada* while her left hand holds a trident. She is richly adorned and wears a tall conical crown.[144]

Included among four-armed unidentified goddesses at Ratnagiri are two found on monolithic *stūpas* from the large group at the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1. In the first example the goddess is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a plain seat. Her lower right hand holds an arrow while her raised hand has a *vajra*. Her upper left hand carries a bow while the principal left hand is in *tarjanī-mudrā*.[145] In the second image the goddess is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right leg pendent. Her lower right hand, extended to her knee, displays *varada-mudrā* while the left hand, placed on the seat behind her thigh, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. Her uplifted back right hand holds a *kartrī* while the left hand has a rosary. She is richly adorned and wears a tall crown.[146] The presence of an *utpala* suggests this may represent a form of Tārā.

An *utpala* is also one of the attributes of a four-armed image at Baḍa-Tārā worshipped as Baḍa-Tārā by the local populace, but unfortunately this is the only intact attribute. She is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. The image is badly worn and, being in active worship, is covered with paste so that surface details are partially obfuscated, in particular the face where foil is inserted into the eyes to produce a mask-like effect. Her lowered back right hand rests on the knee and possibly displays *abhaya* though the *mudrā* is indistinct. The lowered back left hand is placed on the seat and holds the stalk of the *utpala*. The principal left arm, badly damaged, is outstretched while the right arm, raised shoulder high, is broken off at the elbow. It is possible that she was in the act of dispensing an arrow from a bow, in which case she could represent Tārodbhava Kurukullā. She is richly ornamented and her body leans slightly to her right. Her head is framed by an oval-shaped halo embellished with lotus petals and edged with flames. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Her pedestal has a *tri-ratha* design with the recessed outer *rathas* each containing a bowl of offerings. The projecting centre *ratha* is decorated with a kneeling Tārā on the right, her hands causing a lotus to bloom. On the left side is a pot-bellied standing Ekajaṭā. She raises a *kartrī* in her right hand and carries a *kapāla* in her left hand. The image can be dated to the 10th century (fig. 345, C-14).

Also unidentified is a four-armed image from Bhubaneswar now in the Orissa State Museum which is labelled as Tārā. The goddess is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right leg pendent. All four arms are broken off at the elbow and the only intact attribute is a *kapāla* held in one of her left hands which is on the knee. She is richly adorned and her hair is arranged in a large balloon-shaped bun at the nape of her neck on the left. Her facial features are obliterated while the upper corners and top of the back-slab are broken off. Only the base of the *toraṇa* framing her head is intact and it is supported at the sides by a baluster carved in low-relief. An acolyte stands on each corner of the pedestal while kneeling next to the centre lotus rhizome on the left is a monk, all three figures appearing within the foliage of the stalk. The image can be dated to the 10th century. In the absence of attributes or *mudrās*, aside from the *kapāla*, the identity of the goddess remains unknown. There is nothing even to indicate if it is Buddhist or Brahmanical.

Among the bronze images from Acutrajpur is a six-armed goddess who also remains unidentified (fig. 341).[147] She is seated in a disciplined *vajraparyaṅka* pose on the pericarp of a lotus. Her principal set of hands are lowered with the left hand, resting on the knee, holding a small circular object. The attribute in the lower right hand is partially broken, only the upper portion being intact, and is staff-like with projections or serrated edges. The middle right hand holds a sword while the uplifted back hand holds a bell (?). The uplifted back left hand holds a noose while the object in the middle hand is indistinct, appearing like a

lotus-bud or small vessel. D. Mitra suggests the two indistinct objects could be *vajras* and points out that the bell could also be a hammer.[148] Although the circular object in the lower left hand could be a jewel, the only positive identifications are for the sword and the noose. She wears a *śāṭī*, held by a girdle, and an *uttarīya*. She has a short crown and included among her body ornaments are coiled armlets resembling foliage. Her facial features are mostly rubbed off. Her solid halo, having a semi-circular top, is edged by leaf-shaped flames. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

A particularly interesting six- or eight-armed image, badly broken and set on a pedestal of another broken image, is preserved in the Dondua-*maṭha* near Kalyānapur along with other Buddhist images, all under active worship as Hindu deities (fig. 344). The goddess is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her body strongly flexed to her right. Her lower right hand shows *varada* while her lower left hand rests on the thigh in a similar manner but most likely held a small object now missing. Although her other arms are broken off it appears that the principal set of hands may have been dispensing an arrow from a bow, the left arm being outstretched while the right hand crossed in front of the chest. She is richly adorned but her head and back-slab are broken off. The head now set on her shoulders may be from another image as it appears slightly large for the body. She is flanked on either side by a standing male. The attendant on the left raises his right hand while his left hand, placed on his thigh, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. The image can be dated to the 10th century. In that only one *mudrā* remains and the number of hands is not clear, the identity of the goddess cannot be determined. The pedestal placed beneath this image has a scene of Acala attacking Māra.

In addition to the three-headed, multi-armed image of an unidentified Devī from Kupāri mentioned in connection with the Prajñās, there is a larger image of a three-headed, eight-armed goddess housed in the small Thākurāṇī shrine on the north side of the Buddhanātha Śiva temple at Gareḍipañcana where it is placed next to a smaller image of a seated goddess with three heads and four arms, the latter image being worshipped as Amṛta-Locanā. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine if the larger image, worshipped as Durgā by the local priests, due to the lion carved in the centre of the pedestal, is Buddhist or Brahmanical (fig. 343). She is full-bodied and is seated in a well-disciplined *vajraparyaṅka* pose on a *viśvapadma*. All eight arms are broken off at the wrists and the only intact attribute is a noose opposite her left shoulder. Both lower right and left hands were placed on or above the knees. She is richly adorned and a third eye appears on each forehead. The conical crowns of each head merge at the top but surface details are obfuscated by accretions of paste. It is not possible to discern if there is an effigy of a Tathāgata in the crown and the upper part of the back-slab is broken off. In addition to the lion at the centre of the pedestal, there is a kneeling devotee on the right and lotus rhizomes on the left. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

The smaller four-armed image, recently stolen, also depicts the goddess seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* but it is better preserved. Her principal right hand brandishes a sword above her three heads while her left hand, resting on her knee, holds a severed-head. The lower back right hand holds a *kapāla* and the uplifted back left hand holds a shield. She is richly adorned and wears a beaded *yajñopavīta*. Her facial features suggest her more active nature than the larger more contemplative goddess with eight arms. Each head has a jewelled diadem and the hair of each is matted. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal is decorated with lotus rhizomes. The image also can be dated to the 11th century.

Although there is no direct evidence to identify these images as being Buddhist, there is little doubt of Buddhist influence on their conception, in particular the multiple heads, a feature quite rare with Brahmanical goddesses except for the *mātṛkā* Brahmī or *yoginīs*. In Buddhist iconography multiple heads appear not only with individual goddesses, but also with groups, including the Prajñās as mentioned earlier and with the Pañcarakṣā goddesses, i.e., the Five Protective Goddesses. The latter are particularly popular in later Vajrayāna/ Tantrayāna Buddhist worship as they are identified with five mystic spells or charms which, regarded as the words of the Lord, were endowed with potential divinity.[149] The twelve-armed image of Cundā from Udayagiri in the Patna Museum has also been identified as representing the Pañcarakṣā goddess Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, as indicated earlier, based on descriptions in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (*Pañcarakṣā-maṇḍala*) and *sādhana* no. 206 of the *Sādhanamālā* (fig. 334), though she has only one head and does not display *dharmacakra-*, *abhaya-* and *tarjanī-mudrā*. The citron, rosary, lotus supporting a book, serpent and noose are likewise not prescribed for Mahāmantrānusāriṇī in these texts but appear with this image to suggest it more likely represents Cundā. The large eight-armed image at Gareḍipañcana may possibly be Mahāpratisarā, described in the *Sādhanamālā* as seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and holding in her right hands a *cakra, vajra*, arrow and sword while her left hands carry a noose, trident, bow and axe,[150] though only the noose remains intact (fig. 343). She has three visible heads.

Multiple-headed Brahmanical/Śākta images are rare in Orissa, exceptions including several *āvaraṇa-śakti* images on the Gaṅgeśvarī temple at Beyālisbāṭi and a three-headed, multi-armed Devī in the sanctum of the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Durdurabasta. The latter, presently worshipped as Vilāsunī, is badly worn and no attributes are identifiable. It is thus not possible to determine if she is Brahmanical or Buddhist. In the *jagamohana* of the Bhagavatī temple at Vaṭeśvara is a bronze image of a five-headed, ten-armed Mahā-Bhairavī worshipped as Pañcamukha-Kālī.[151] At Avana the presiding deity is a three-headed Cāmuṇḍā worshipped as Brahmī by the local populace.

E. GODDESSES SEATED ABOVE/TRAMPLING UPON CORPSES OR HINDU DEITIES

The worship of the Pañcarakṣā goddesses, as noted by D.C. Bhattacharyya, "meant to the Buddhists a sort of combined worship of both the fearful (*ugra*) and serene (*saumya*) aspects of the supreme goddess. The Buddhists worshipped the five goddesses, on the one hand to pacify their wrath and anger, and on the other to obtain their favour and grace."[152] Although the *ālīḍha* and *pratyālīḍha* poses in particular stress the aggressive character of a deity, the *ugra* or terrifying nature of a deity is not limited to only active poses, as evident in the case of the Pañcarakṣā goddesses who are prescribed seated poses. The type of weapons, number of arms, physical attributes and colour likewise are seldom sole determinants in respect to the character of the deity. There is, however, an iconographic form which leaves little doubt as to the terrifying nature of the deity, and that is when a corpse, demon, evil spirit, or Brahmanical deity is placed beneath the feet of the divinity. Although the number of Buddhist deities who are represented in this manner in one or other of their forms is quite large, only a few examples appear in Orissan art, aside from the male gods already mentioned, including Aparājitā, Parṇaśavarī and Kurukullā.

1. Aparājitā

Only one *sādhana* (no. 204) in the *Sādhanamālā* is devoted to the worship of Aparājitā and its description is very brief:

Aparājitā is yellow in complexion, two-armed, one-faced, is decked in various gems,

> and tramples upon Gaṇeśa. Her right hand is raised, displaying the act of dealing a slap, while the left carries the noose round the raised index finger against her chest. Her face is awful, terrible and ferocious. She is the destroyer of all wicked beings, and her parasol is raised over her head by the host of wicked and ferocious gods, Brahmā and others.[153]

She also appears as a companion goddess in the *maṇḍala* of Aṣṭabhujā Kurukullā in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 174) where she is four-armed, has an effigy of Ratnasaṁbhava on her crown and is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*; or she is red and has all five Tathāgata images on her crown.[154] The three-faced and six-armed Sitatapatra Aparājitā likewise shows little affiliation with the two-armed form aside from *tarjanī-pāśa* displayed in one of her hands.[155]

There are three surviving examples of Aparājitā in Orissan sculpture and each depicts her two-armed form. In the image from *stūpa* no. 16 from the group of monolithic *stūpas* east of Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri, housed in the western niche, she is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her pendent left foot placed on the head of a prostrate elephant.[156] Her right hand is raised in *capetadāna*, i.e., in the act of dealing a slap, while her left hand is at the chest in *tarjanī-pāśa*. She is richly adorned and wears a beaded *ratnopavīta*. Her hair is arranged in a bun on top of her head and she wears a jewelled tiara with three ornate *kirīṭas*. Her head is framed by an unembellished oval halo. Her facial features are pleasing rather than terrifying. The image can be dated to the late 9th-early 10th century.

A recently excavated image of Aparājitā at Udayagiri has the upper part, including the head and right arm, broken off (fig. 347). She assumes a strongly flexed *ālīḍha* pose with her left foot planted on the back of a prostrate Gaṇeśa. It is possible that another prostrate figure was under her right foot though most of this area is defaced. Aparājitā wears a *śāṭī* decorated with oblique bands and fastened with a chain-link girdle. She is richly adorned and ends of a scarf flutter in the background. Her left hand, mostly broken, is at the chest in *tarjanī-mudrā*. She is flanked by an attendant on either side with the one on her right, standing on a prostrate figure, holding the shaft of her parasol. Both attendants are female and have their hair matted in a bun on top of their head. The image can be dated to the mid-8th century.

The image at Lalitagiri is better preserved (fig. 346). Aparājitā stands in an *ālīḍha* pose with her left foot on the back of Gaṇeśa while a prostrate figure appears beneath her right foot. Her raised right arm is broken off above the elbow while her left hand is in front of her chest in *tarjanī-mudrā* though no noose is visible. She wears a heavy *śāṭī* which hangs to her ankles and her scarf flutters in the background to suggest her aggressive action. She is richly adorned and wears two types of earrings. Her hair is arranged in a bun on top of her head. Her jewelled tiara has a prominent centre *kirīṭa* and the ribbons flare up on either side of her head. She has a pleasing countenance and her head is framed by an unembellished oval halo carved behind her parasol. A *vidyādhara* is at the top left corner of the back-slab while the opposite corner is broken off. She is flanked by an attendant on either side with the right one, standing above a series of wavy lines, holding the parasol. The left attendant holds a *caurī* (?). The image can be dated to the late 8th-early 9th century.

In contrast to 10th century images at Nālandā where Aparājitā is attended by a male holding the parasol, the male probably representing a "wicked god" such as Brahmā,[157] Aparājitā in these two early Orissan images is flanked on each side by a female attendant, in one case the attendant holding the parasol is herself standing on a prostrate figure. As the "destroyer of all *māras*", Aparājitā in addition stands with her right foot on the back of a retreating *māra* or wicked being, a feature likewise not encountered on the images at Nālandā. Also deviating from the *sādhana* description is the fact she is blissful and benign

in appearance, rather than fearful and terrifying, and she does not hold a noose in the hand displaying *tarjanī*.

As the "destroyer of all *māras*" or wicked beings she also appears as a secondary figure on the pedestal of numerous images of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* where, as suggested by J. Leoshko, her presence "might thus be understood as a symbol of the task of overcoming *māras*, a reiteration of the message of the Buddha's gesture of *bhūmisparśa*."[158] Her appearance on the pedestal is described in detail in chapter X(e).

2. Parṇaśavarī

There are two *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* which are devoted to the six-armed form of Parṇaśavarī and they are nearly identical except for their colour. In *sādhana* no. 148 she is of yellow complexion and has Akṣobhya on her crest:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as (Parṇaśavarī) of yellow complexion, with three faces, three eyes and six arms. Her first face is blue, the right white and the left red, and she smiles in a pleasing manner. She is decked in all sorts of ornaments, bears a garment of leaves, is arrogant in her youthful bloom, is stout in appearance and carries in her right hands the vajra, the paraśu and the arrow, and in her left the tarjanī with the noose, the cluster of leaves and the bow. Her jaṭā-mukuṭa is decorated with flowers and the image of Akṣobhya; she has the effulgence of the sun as her aureole, stands in the pratyālīḍha attitude on the moon over the white lotus, trampling under her feet the vighnas. She threatens the host of (other) vighnas with the clenched fist of the left hand exhibiting the tarjanī against the chest, and shakes her right fist at (the host of the vighnas)...[159]

In *sādhana* no. 149 she is of green complexion while her right and left faces are of blue and white colour respectively. Her faces show an angry laugh and an effigy of Amoghasiddhi is on her crown. She is youthful, wears a tiger-skin and garment of leaves, has a slightly protruding belly, and tramples under her feet various diseases and pestilences. In her *mantra* she is called a *piśācī* (ogress) and "*sarvamāripraśamanī*", i.e., healer of all epidemic diseases.[160] Elsewhere she is named "*sarvasavarāṇām bhagavatī*" or goddess of all the Śavaras.[161] Her name, the leaf-garment that she wears, and the characteristic applied to her, as noted by numerous scholars, "distinctly indicate her association with the leaf-clad Śavara tribe—proving her to have been recruited from some non-Aryan cult."[162] As a *piśācī*, i.e., one who eats meat, her worship may include the offering of roasted fish, etc., as mentioned in the *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa-Tantra*.[163]

There is also a description of a six-armed form with three faces in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. G. 8055, fol. 44A):

> Parṇaśavarī has three faces. Their colours are yellow, red and green. She has six hands, of which the three right hands hold the staff bearing double thunderbolt, the club and the arrow, while the left hands have the lasso, the lotus and the bow.[164]

Elsewhere in the same manuscript (fol. 66B) she is called a *piśācī* and carries a noose and the *paraśu*.[165] A two-armed form also appears in *sādhana* no. 150 of the *Sādhanamālā*, where she is called Parṇaśavarī Tārā, and she likewise holds a noose and *paraśu*.[166] As a *dhāriṇī* goddess in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, she is green in colour and holds a *viśvavajra* in her right hand while her left hand holds the peacock's feather, her symbol of recognition.[167] In *sādhana* no. 148 of the *Sādhanamālā* is an alternate form in which she has four arms. She holds the *vajra* and the *paraśu* in her right hands while her left hands hold a cluster of leaves and display *tarjanī-pāśa*, the bow and arrow of

the six-armed form thus being omitted. She bears the effigy of Akṣobhya on her crown.[168]

The worship of Parṇaśavarī supposedly is effective in preventing outbreaks of epidemics and in assuring safety to the terror-stricken.[169] She is also said to threaten the *vighnas* (obstacles) and invariably in sculpture she is depicted trampling on Gaṇeśa, the Hindu lord of obstacles, even though there is no indication in the texts that these *vighnas* should be personified as Gaṇeśa.

Although there reportedly was an image of Parṇaśavarī in the Gokarṇeśvara temple compound at Dharmaśālā, it is no longer there and the only verifiable example is the image in a niche of a monolithic *stūpa* from the group at the southwest corner of Stūpa No. 1 at Ratnagiri.[170] In contrast to textual imagery, however, she is not depicted trampling the *vighnas* under her feet but rather is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. She has three faces with each showing a pleasant countenance. In her three right hands she holds an arrow, a *paraśu* and a *vajra* while her corresponding left hands hold a bow, a branch with a cluster of leaves and display *tarjanī-pāśa*. She is richly adorned and each head has a tall crown. Beneath her seat is an incense-burner and three indistinct objects.

A broken elephant head, probably belonging to a small image of Gaṇeśa, is noticed in a wall of earth in the excavated monastery area at Udayagiri. The discovery of an image of Aparājitā at the site suggests that this fragment may have belonged to an image of Parṇaśavarī yet to be retrieved.

3. Kurukullā

There are numerous *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* devoted to Kurukullā who may have two, four, six or eight arms and goes by various names. Except for her two-armed form, in which she holds a rosary, a cup of *utpala* full of nectar and is white in colour, she is red in complexion, whether terrifying or benign in appearance. According to A. Foucher, she is "the heart of Tārā", and is worshipped by unhappy lovers, though she can only be invoked when no woman is near. According to one *sādhana*, as translated by Foucher,

> the Happy One is red of colour; red is the lotus on which she is seated; red is her clothing; red, her crown; she has four arms; at the right, she makes the abhaya-mudrā, and with the other hand holds the arrow; at the left, with one hand she holds the precious bow, and with the other the red lotus. Amitābha is seated in her tiara; she lives in a grotto in the Kurukullā mountain; she beams with the emotion of love in all the freshness of youth; it is thus that one must imagine Kurukullā.[171]

She is thus said to confer success in the Tantric rite of *vaśīkaraṇa*, i.e., the rite of enchanting men, women, ministers and even kings. As noted by B. Bhattacharyya, some of the *sādhanas* contain interesting methods of casting spells on various people. Her *mantra* reads "*oṁ kurukulle hūm hrīḥ svāhā*", and when this *mantra* is repeated ten thousand times, all men are bewitched, while thirty thousand times is necessary to subdue a minister and no less than a *lakh* times to subjugate a king.[172]

In her six-armed form, of which there are two, and in her eight-armed form, which is attributed to the famous *siddhācārya* Indrabhūti and contains a *maṇḍala* with twelve surrounding divinities, two of her arms display the *trailokyavijaya-mudrā*. These forms, however, seldom appear in sculpture. By far the most popular forms are the four-armed ones of which there are two basic modes, one benign in appearance and the other terrific. The benign mode is most popular and there are six *sādhanas* (nos. 171, 172, 177, 178, 184, 188) in the *Sādhanamālā* devoted to this form which, in one, is designated as Tārodbhava-Kurukullā,

including the example quoted above. All six are similar with only slight differences in respect to iconography. Invariably she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* while beneath her seat are images of Kāmadeva and Rati riding on the demon Rāhu. In some cases the arrow is drawn to the ear and ready to be dispensed.[173] The bow may be made of flowers while the arrow may be a red lotus. In general the right hands display *abhaya* and hold the arrow while the left hands carry the bow and red lotus. In *sādhana* no. 178 *abhaya* is replaced by *varada*.[174] She is in the fullness of youth and displays amorous sentiments.[175]

Three *sādhanas* (nos. 179, 183, 186) in the *Sādhanamālā* are devoted to the second and more terrifying mode of four-armed Kurukullā, referred to in no. 179 (*Uḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-Kurukullā-sādhana*) as Uḍḍiyāna- or Oḍiyāna-Kurukullā, i.e., Kurukullā as worshipped in Uḍḍiyāna, while in *sādhana* no. 183 (*śrī-Hevajra-tantrakrameṇa svādhiṣṭhāna-Kurukullā-sādhana*) and in *sadhana* no. 186 (*Hevajra-krama-Kurukullā-sādhana*) she apparently is associated with Hevajra. All three *sādhanas* are similar and characterize her in this fierce mode as wearing a garland of skulls, having five skulls on her crown, with protruding teeth and tongue, wearing garments of tiger-skin, having brown hair rising up above her head in the shape of a flame, and as dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a corpse. Her three red eyes are round and moving. Her principal set of hands are engaged in stringing an arrow of red lotus to the flowery bow while her second pair of hands hold the goad of flowers and the red lotus.[176] In the *Hevajra Tantra* (I.xi.c) she holds a blue lotus and by merely meditating upon her one brings the threefold world to subjection.[177]

In the *maṇḍala* of the eight-armed Kurukullā in the *Sādhanamālā* the eight directional goddesses on the petals surrounding her are each red in colour and have five Tathāgatas on their crown. They sit in *vajraparyaṅka*, display *varada* and draw the arrow up to the ear with their right hands while the left hands hold an *utpala* and the bow.[178] Basically they are identical with the four-armed Kurukullā form in which *varada* replaces *abhaya*.

In the six-armed form where she is known as Māyājālakrama Kurukullā (*sādhana* no. 181), she sits on the back of the serpent Takṣaka while in the description of her two-armed white form, i.e., Śukla-Kurukullā, she wears the following eight serpents as ornaments:

> Her hair is tied up by the serpent Ananta of blue colour, her necklace is formed by the milk-coloured Vāsukī, and her prominent ear-ornament by red Takṣaka, her sacred thread is the green Karkkoṭaka, her girdle is the white Padma the lord of serpents, her anklet is the serpent Mahāpadma of the colour of the lotus stalk, her bracelet is the yellow Śaṅkhapāla, her armlet is Kulika of the colour of smoky clouds.[179]

It is apparent that her spells were not only for bewitching but also were invoked for protection against serpents. In the *Hevajra Tantra* (II.v.39-47), for example, Hevajra relates to Nairātmyā the *mantra* which is effective not only for subduing women and for threatening the wicked, but also for overthrowing the serpents.[180] This is also alluded to by Tāranātha in his chapter on the activities of king Buddhapakṣa and the brahmin Bṛhaspati who provided articles of worship for a monastery named Devagiri, built on the model of Ratnagiri on a hill on the seashore near Bhangala. Tāranātha, after relating the story of the brahmin Śaṅku and his failed attempts at subduing all eight classes of *nāgas* through a spell received (incompletely) from a *ḍākinī*, writes the following about Bṛhaspati:

> As he was an adept in the Kurukullā spell, the king asked him 'Show me Takṣaka, the king of the Nāgas.' He threw a stone into the sea after chanting the Kurukullā spell. Then the sea started boiling and at its centre emerged the dome of the palace of the Nāgas. The king along with his attendants saw this. But the Nāga could not be shown. (By the mere sight of the dome) many men and cattle died of the Nāga

poisoning, and everything disappeared again into the sea.

This brāhmaṇa Bṛhaspati built many temples of the Buddha in the city of Kaṭaka in Oḍiviśa and he arranged for the entertainment of a large number of saṁgraha-s.[181]

The eight serpents worn by Kurukullā represent the *Aṣṭakulanāgas* or eight chief families of *nāgas* of epic fame who also serve as ornaments for various Hindu deities.[182]

In the *Lalitā-māhātmya* (35.38-40) attached to the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Kurukullā, like Tārā who was the chief navigator in Amṛta lake, is a navigation goddess who helps ferry devotees across Vimarśa lake in Śrīpura, the capital city of the supreme goddess Śrī Lalitā and her consort lord Kāmeśvara:

> The gentle lady, the deity of the boats is well known as Kurukullā. She has dark complexion and features like Tamala tree. She wears dark-coloured bodice.
>
> She is surrounded by other deities of boats, all on a par with herself. Her hands are placed on a jewel-set oar. She is perpetually in a state of intoxication.[183]

Although Indian sculptural images of Kurukullā are quite rare, particularly in her Tārodbhava form,[184] there are numerous examples in Orissa, including two small images on monolithic *stūpas* at Ratnagiri. In the first example, the four-armed Kurukullā is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with her major right hand in *abhaya*, the heel resting on her knee, while the left hand, placed near her other knee, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. Her uplifted back right hand is stringing an arrow to the bow held in her outstretched back left hand (fig. 348). She is richly adorned and wears a *yajñopavīta*. She has a tall crown and her head is framed by an elongated-oval halo. On her pedestal are bowls heaped with offerings and an incense-burner. In the second example, Kurukullā is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* and is dispatching an arrow from a bow with her principal set of hands, her pose thus appearing more animated.[185] Her lowered back right hand displays *abhaya* while the lowered left hand holds the stalk of an *utpala*. She wears a short crown and her hair is gathered near the back side of her head. Both images can be dated to the 10th century.

Larger in size is the rock-cut image at Udayagiri (fig. 349). She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right leg pendent. Her principal right hand, resting on her knee, displays *varada* as in *sādhana* no. 178, rather than *abhaya*, while her left hand, placed on the seat behind her thigh, holds the stalk of an *utpala*. Her uplifted back right hand holds an arrow with a blossom at the top suggesting it is a red lotus while her outstretched left hand holds the bow. She is richly adorned but surface details are badly weathered. Her hair is arranged in a bun on top of her head. Offerings and an incense-burner are on the pedestal. On the rock beneath her pedestal is a meandering creeper and an inscription of her *dhāraṇī*. The image can be dated to the 8th century.

We thus see three different seated poses for Kurukullā in these three images. In none of the examples are Kāmadeva and his consort depicted below Kurukullā. In two examples she is dispensing an arrow while in the third one she is merely holding the bow and arrow. In all three examples the lotus held in one of her hands is an *utpala* rather than a red lotus. There are other images scattered throughout Orissa which possibly represent Kurukullā in her Tārodbhava form including the image from Baḍa-Tārā discussed earlier (fig. 345). N.K. Sahu mentions the existence of two images in the village of Kurukullā in Cuttack district, one of which was removed to Baripada, though I have not seen these images.[186]

Images of the four-armed terrifying mode of Kurukullā, i.e., Uḍḍiyāna-Kurukullā, are also quite rare in India though the motif is popular in Nepal and Tibet.[187] In this mode she

is depicted dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a corpse. The only surviving Orissan example is the bronze image from Acutrajpur now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 350). She corresponds closely to the descriptions in the *Sādhanamālā* with the toes of her left foot on the chest of a corpse lying in the *kāyotsarga* pose on the pericarp of a *viśvapadma*. The foot of her raised and bent right leg touches her left thigh. Her principal right hand, raised above her ear, has just dispensed an arrow from the bow held in her outstretched left hand. Her lowered right hand holds a goad while the corresponding left hand holds the stalk of an *utpala*, as prescribed in the *Hevajra Tantra* (I.xi.12-15). She is draped in a cloth of short width which is tightly fitted around her thighs, considered necessary for her vigorous dance, and is richly ornamented.[188] She wears a long garland of skulls and her hair rises up like flames. She has three eyes, bared teeth and an angry expression. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

4. Vajravārāhī/Nairātmyā/Vajrayoginī

In one *sādhana* Vajravārāhī is given the epithet "Śrī-Herukadevasyāgramahiṣī" or "the first queen of the god Śrī-Heruka", and her union with Heruka is the cult of the *Cakrasamvara Tantra*, though Heruka is also associated with other goddesses including Nairātmyā and Vajrayoginī. She is called *ḍākinī* which in Buddhist works may signify any Prajñā with whom the *Yuganaddha* (*yab-yum*) worship may be performed.[189] The name Vajravārāhī or "adamantine sow" is applied to her due to an excrescence near her right ear which resembles the face of a sow. She is particularly popular in Tibet where she is believed to be incarnate in every successive abbess of the monastery of Semding. A. Getty relates a legend about one of these abbesses who had such an excrescence behind her ear. Though insulted by Dzun-gar, an invading Mongol warrior, through magic she was able to stop his pillage and convert him to Buddhism.[190]

There are several *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* which describe two distinct forms of Vajravārāhī, who is also known as Buddhaḍākinī and Vajravairocanī, one with two arms and the other with four arms. Even when two-armed, as noted by B. Bhattacharyya, she may have several forms based on her weapons, one of which is described as follows:

> The worshipper should think of himself as goddess Vajravārāhī whose colour is red like the pomegranate flower and who is two-armed. She exhibits in her right hand the vajra along with the raised index finger, and shows in the left the kapāla and the khaṭvāṅga. She is one-faced and three-eyed, has dishevelled hair, is marked with the six auspicious symbols and is nude. She is the essence of the five kinds of knowledge, and is the embodiment of the Sahaja pleasure. She stands in the pratyālīḍha attitude, tramples upon the gods Bhairava and Kālarātrī, wears a garland of heads still wet with blood which she drinks.[191]

We are further informed that the four petals on which she stands are occupied by the four goddesses Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā and Rūpiṇī who are one-faced and four-armed, carrying a *ḍamarū* and *kartrī* in their right hands while their left hands have a *khaṭvāṅga* and *kapāla*.[192]

Another two-armed form is invoked in rituals performed with the specific purpose of bewitching men and women. She is dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* above a corpse. According to this *sādhana* (no. 220), she wields the *kartrī* in the right hand while the left hand holds the *kapāla*, the arm cradling the *khaṭvāṅga* as in the first form and in images of Heruka and Nairātmyā. In her four-armed form, where she is called Ārya-Vajravārāhī, she assumes the *ālīḍha* pose on a corpse. Her two right hands hold a *vajra* and goad while her left hands carry a *kapāla*, the arm cradling a *khaṭvāṅga*, and display *tarjanī-pāśa*. She appears terrible with contortions of eyebrows, protruding tongue, bared teeth, the adamantine excrescence and protruding belly (*sādhana* no. 224).[193]

As the Prajñā of Sambara in the *Sādhanamālā*, in *yab-yum* form, she is two-armed and holds the *vajra* and *kapāla* full of blood:

> Her girdle is the khaṭvāṅga, her colour is red and she is three-eyed. She wears a garland of severed heads, is endowed with the five auspicious symbols, has dishevelled hair and no garment. She shows the image of Buddha (Vairocana) on her crown.[194]

In the *Sambara-maṇḍala* (no. 12) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where she is in *yab-yum* with the twelve-armed Sambara, she likewise has Vairocana as her sire.[195] As the Prajñā of Saptākṣara in the *Sādhanamālā*, she stands in *ālīḍha* and holds a *ḍamarū* and *ghaṇṭā* in her first pair of hands while her second pair carries human-skin. In another *sādhana*, the human-skin is replaced by the bow and arrow.[196] As Jñānaḍākinī in the *Saṭcakravarti-maṇḍala* (no. 25) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* she embraces her consort, Vajrasattva (Jñānaḍāka) who is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on Bhairava and Gaurī above a *viśvapadma* over a lion. She is red in colour and raises her right hand in *vajra-tarjanī* while her left hand, around Jñānaḍāka, bears a *kapāla*.[197] In the *Sādhanamālā*, as Prajñā of Hevajra, she dances in *ardhaparyaṅka* and holds a *vajra*, sword, jewel and the *khaṭvāṅga* in her four hands.[198] In the *Mahāmāya-maṇḍala* (no. 9) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* her name is Buddhaḍākinī and she is the Prajñā of Mahāmāya. She is red in colour, has four heads, and dances the *tāṇḍava* in the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose with her consort. She holds a *kapāla*, arrow, bow and *khaṭvāṅga*.[199] Similar descriptions appear in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhanas* nos. 239, 240).[200] In the *Vajrayāne Pūjāvidhi* manuscript (No. G. 9968) of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, we have the following description of Vajravārāhī in *yab-yum* (fol. 7A):

> The goddess Vajravārāhī is red in colour, one-faced, and three-eyed. She has dishevelled hair, and her body is without any clothes. Her loins are adorned with a brief cloth. In two of her hands she carries the skull-cup full with blood. In the remaining right (and left) hands she shows the raised index finger to scare away the evil forces, the vajra, and the chopper. She is adorned with the five auspicious marks. Blood trickles down the sides of her mouth. She is in the act of copulation with the god (apparently her male counterpart), whom she arrests between her thighs. The goddess is to be conceived in this form.[201]

Iconographically Vajravārāhī is similar to Nairātmyā, the Prajñā par eminence of Heruka, who also may be shown singly or in *yab-yum* with her lord, though, as described in the *Hevajra-maṇḍala* (no. 5) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, as the Prajñā of Heruka/Hevajra she has either two hands or is depicted with eight faces, sixteen hands and four legs whereas Vajravārāhī has four arms and Vajraśṛṅkhalā has three faces and six arms when they serve as his Prajñā.[202] In an attempt to distinguish between the two, B. Bhattacharyya, aside from pointing out that Nairātmyā is an emanation of Akṣobhya while Vajravārāhī has Vairocana as her sire, and that Vajravārāhī has the excrescence near the right ear, states that the principal point of difference is "the position of the corpse which forms their vāhana. When it lies on its chest it is Vajravārāhī, but if it lies on its back the goddess is Nairātmyā."[203] This, of course, could only apply when they are depicted dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka*, as in the Vaśya-Vajravārāhī form of *sādhana* no. 220, though even here the corpse is described by him as lying on its back. In many instances, whether single or in *yab-yum*, the corpses under Vajravārāhī are identified as Bhairava and his consort Kālarātrī. Two *sādhanas* (nos. 230, 231) describe her form when single. According to *sādhana* no. 230:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as Nairātmyā who stands in the ardhaparyaṅka in a dancing attitude on the moon over the chest of a corpse. She is blue in colour, has brown hair rising upwards, and bears the image of Akṣobhya on her crown. Her face looks terrible with bare fangs and protruding tongue, and she carries the *kartri*

in the right hand and bears the kapāla and the khaṭvāṅga in the left. Her three eyes are red and round, and she is endowed with the five auspicious symbols.[204]

Her form here is thus identical with that of Vaśya-Vajravārāhī in *sādhana* no. 220 except for her colour and the effigy of Akṣobhya. As the Prajñā of Hevajra in the *Sādhanamālā* she also holds the *kartrī* in her right hand while the left hand holds the *kapāla.*[205] Aside from the excrescence of Vajravārāhī, the major differences, except in her Vaśya-Vajravārāhī form which is identical, are that Nairātmyā is depicted only in *ardhaparyaṅka;* and whereas she holds a *kartrī* in her right hand, Vajravārāhī invariably holds a *vajra.*

Vajrayoginī, like Vajravārāhī and Nairātmyā, is another Prajñā of Heruka. Four *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* describe two distinct forms, one red and the other yellow. The red form has two modes though in each one the goddess stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a corpse, is of a terrific mien with frowning round eyes, bare fangs, protruding tongue and red hair rising up like flames. According to *sādhana* no. 233 she holds a *vajra* in her right hand while her left hand holds a *kapāla*, the arm cradling the *khaṭvāṅga.*[206] The iconography is thus similar to one form of Vajravārāhī except she does not display *tarjanī* and she stands on a single corpse rather than on Bhairava and Kālarātrī. In *sādhana* no. 236 she has a *kartrī* in her right hand which displays *tarjanī* while her left hand has a *kapāla* filled with the blood of *devas* and *asuras.*[207]

In her yellow form, described in *sādhanas* nos. 232 and 234, she stands in *ālīḍha* and holds her own severed-head in one hand. She is accompanied by two *yoginīs* or *ḍākinīs*, one on either side, who carry a *kartrī* and a *kapāla.*[208] In *sādhana* no. 234 which is abbreviated, we are informed that the two companions are *ḍākinīs.*[209] The later Hindu goddess Chinnamastā, one of the ten *mahāvidyās*, is based on this headless form of Vajrayoginī and both are discussed in chapter XI.

A rare surviving example of Vajravārāhī in Orissa apparently is the image enshrined in the sanctum of the Bāsulī-Thākurāṇī temple at Badgaon, presently worshipped as Bāsulī by the local populace. According to H.C. Das the image, in active worship and thus unavailable for inspection, conforms to the *dhyāna* in the *Sādhanamālā* for her two-armed form displaying *vajra-tarjanī* with the right while holding a *kapāla* in the left hand, the arm cradling the *khaṭvāṅga*. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* with Bhairava and Kālarātrī beneath her feet.[210] Whether or not she has the excrescence resembling the face of a sow near her right ear is not known. I have not seen the image.

Another image which possibly represents Vajravārāhī was noticed by R.P. Chanda at Chaudar in A.D. 1928 and subsequently identified as Vajravārāhī by N.K. Sahu.[211] Her lowered right hand displays *vajra-tarjanī* while her left hand raises high a *kapāla* (fig. 351). A *khaṭvāṅga* leans against her left shoulder. She tramples on Bhairava and Kālarātrī as prescribed in the texts. Her pose, however, is *ālīḍha* and there is no visible excrescence near her right ear. She is mostly nude, except for body ornaments and a jewelled girdle, and her hair is dishevelled. Part of the back-slab is cut out behind her body while the upper portion is etched with flames emanating from her body. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner. She is being worshipped by a female devotee kneeling before her while above the devotee stands a monk offering homage in a mystic way, i.e., he holds a small human figure in his hands.[212] Seated on the lower right corner is a small image of Vajrasattva. Kālarātrī is emaciated with dishevelled hair while Bhairava (?) is two-armed and appears youthful. The image can be dated to the 11th century. A smilar image was discovered in Bihar.[213]

Although I know of no surviving Orissan images of Nairātmyā, the *ḍākinī/yoginī* on the lower right of the *maṇḍala* of the two-armed deity worshipped as Bāsulī at Kasbā, as

mentioned previously, corresponds to her iconography (fig. 281). She dances in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a corpse with her right hand raised, the object indistinct, while the left hand holds a *kapāla*, the arm cradling the *khaṭvāṅga*. Most of the other *ḍākinīs/yoginīs*, however, stand in *pratyālīḍha* in contrast to the figures on the Heruka image from Nālandā where they are all identical and dance in *ardhaparyaṅka* mimicking the pose of the main deity.[214] They are also identical in the *Hevajra Tantra* (I.viii.14-19) where, like Nairātmyā, they hold a *kartrī* in the right hand and the *kapāla* in the left hand, the arm cradling the *khaṭvāṅga*, while standing on a corpse.[215] The main deity of the image at Kasbā stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a corpse. The raised right hand wields a *vajra* (?) while the left hand, placed in front of the chest, probably held a *kapāla*. As the image is badly worn and covered with clothes, it is not possible to determine if a *khaṭvāṅga* was leaning against the left shoulder or not. It is likewise impossible, as mentioned earlier, to determine if it is male or female, Buddhist or Brahmanical, so its identification cannot be determined at this time. It wears a garland of skulls and its hair, fastened at the base by a serpent, rises up like flames. As indicated previously, it could be Mahākāla, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhairava, or a form of Vajrayoginī.

Other interesting image similar to these three Prajñās of Heruka is a two-armed female found in an open field near Dharmaśālā who is worshipped locally as Haladei-sunī (fig. 352). She is depicted taking a giant stride in the manner of Trivikrama, her foot lifted shoulder high, and though probably a *ḍākinī*, impropriety possibly dictated that she not be represented completely bereft of garments. She thus wears a lower garment around her thighs. It is fastened with a girdle whose loose ends hang over and between her legs. Her right foot is planted on the back of a prostrate corpse while another corpse is beneath the *khaṭvāṅga* leaning against her left shoulder. Her lowered right arm is broken off at the wrist so it is not clear if her weapon was a *vajra* or a *kartrī*. Her left hand raises a *kapāla* above her shoulder. She wears a long garland of skulls and other skulls decorate her diadem. Her facial features, suggesting a grim smile, are barely perceptible. Her dishevelled hair hangs down below her right shoulder. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Opposite her right shoulder is a small female deity, kneeling on a *viśvapadma*, who holds an indistinct object. In general the surface details are somewhat weathered and details are not crisp. The image can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century. That she is Buddhist in origin seems confirmed by a second similar image of a *ḍākinī* taking a giant stride housed in the *jagamohana* of the Vajra-Mahākālī temple at Kapila, originally dedicated to the Buddhist deity (Vajra-)Mahākāla but later converted to the worship of the Brahmanical goddess (Vajra-) Mahākālī (fig. 353). Only one corpse is beneath her foot. Her right hand wields a *kartrī* while the left hand lifts a *kapāla* close to her lips. Her left leg is lifted high and she wears a garland of skulls. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

By the 10th century *yoginīs/ḍākinīs* had become popular motifs on Hindu and Śākta temples throughout Orissa, either depicted distributing flesh as alms or dancing in a cemetery setting amidst jackals (fig. 516).[216] A late example, in which the *ḍākinī* takes a giant stride similar to the images at Dharmaśālā and Kapila, appears on the upper right corner of a slab on the Megheśvara temple at Bhubaneswar depicting a Bhairava-type figure seated amidst *yoginīs/ḍākinīs*.[217] As in the case with *yoginīs* in Buddhist art, such as the four often associated with Sambara or the troup of fifteen forming the *Yoginī-maṇḍala* in the *Hevajra-Tantra* (I, viii.10-22), they generally are worshipped in a group, such as appear in the Chausaṭ Yoginī-*pīṭhas*, of which two 10th century examples survive in Orissa. At Hirapur, where there are 81 figures in all, the nine Kātyāyinīs in exterior niches are all two-armed and stand or dance on a severed-head which is flanked on either side by a jackal. The two flanking the entrance are dancing and iconographically are similar to descriptions of Nairātmyā, or to the *yoginīs* in the *Hevajra-Tartra* who likewise hold a *kartrī* in the right hand while the left hand holds a *kapāla*, a *khaṭvāṅga* leaning against her left shoulder (fig. 354).

Chart 23

2/4-ARMED VAJRAVĀRĀHĪ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	1	2	2	1	Pose	Pedestal	
Sādhanamālā	vajra-tarjanī			kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	pratyālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī	
Sādhanamālā 220	kartrī			kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	ardhaparyaṅka	corpse	
Sādhanamālā 224	vajra	goad	tarjanī-pāśa	kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	ālīḍha	corpse	
		YAB-YUM VAJRAVĀRĀHĪ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS				Consort	
NSP maṇḍala 25	vajra-tarjanī			kapāla	vajraparyaṅka	Vajrasattva (Jñānaḍāka)	
Sādhanamālā	vajra			kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	ālīḍha	Sambara	
Sādhanamālā	vajra	sword	jewel	khaṭvāṅga	ardhaparyaṅka	Hevajra	
NSP maṇḍala 5	vajra	embracing	embracing	kapāla	ardhaparyaṅka	Hevajra	
NSP maṇḍala 9	kapāla	arrow	bow	khaṭvāṅga	ardhaparyaṅka	Mahāmāyā	
Sādhanamālā 239/40	kapāla	arrow	bow	khaṭvāṅga	ardhaparyaṅka	Mahāmāyā	
Sādhanamālā 248	kapāla	arrow	bow	khaṭvāṅga	raudrāsana	Mahāmāyā	
Sādhanamālā	ḍamarū	arrow	bow	ghaṇṭā	ālīḍha	Saptākṣara	
Sādhanamālā	ḍamarū	human skin	human skin	ghaṇṭā	ālīḍha	Saptākṣara	
Vajrayāne Pūjāvidhi	tarjanī	kapāla	vajra	kartrī	copulation	(un-named)	
Hevajra Tantra	vajra	embracing	embracing	kapāla	corpse	Hevajra	
		2-ARMED VAJRAYOGINĪ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS				Pedestal	Colour
Sādhanamālā 233	vajra			kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	pratyālīḍha	corpse	red
Sādhanamālā 236	kartrī-tarjanī			kapāla	pratyālīḍha	corpse	red
Sādhanamālā 232/34	kartrī			her severed-head	ālīḍha	cemetery	yellow
		2-ARMED NAIRĀTMYĀ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS					
Sādhanamālā 230/31	kartrī			kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	ardhaparyaṅka	corpse	blue
Site		ORISSAN IMAGES OF VAJRAVĀRĀHĪ/VAJRAYOGINĪ				Pedestal	
Badgaon	vajra-tarjanī			kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	ālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī	
Chaudar	vajra			kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	ālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī	
Dharmaśālā	x			kapāla/khaṭvāṅga	striding	2 corpses	
Kapila	kartrī			kapāla	striding	corpse	
Kasbā*	vajra?			kapāla	pratyālīḍha	corpse	

F. MĀRĪCĪ

The goddess Mārīcī was a particularly important deity in the Buddhist pantheon who has affinities with the Brahmanic sun-god Sūrya, both of whom ride in a chariot pulled by seven animals, though the horses pulling Sūrya are gradually transformed into pigs on the chariot of Mārīcī. In Tibet her title is "Goddess of the Dawn" and she is invariably invoked by the lamas every morning at dawn.[218] Sixteen *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* describe eight distinct forms of the goddess who may have one, three, five, or six faces while her arms number two, eight, ten or twelve. Additional forms with four or six arms are described in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. She may have one or two sow faces and in some forms is accompanied by four goddesses. She may ride in her chariot or she may trample figures under her feet, such as Prajñā and Upaya or Brahmanical deities such as Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Indra. Or she may simply stand on a lotus.

Nearly fifty images of Mārīcī have survived in Orissa, including twenty-seven small images in niches of minor *stūpas* at Ratnagiri, which represent six distinct forms, some having variant modes: 1) standing Aśokakāntā, two or four-armed; 2) seated, one-faced with six arms; 3) standing, three-faced with six arms; 4) standing, three-faced with eight arms/Mārīcīpicuvā; 5) standing, three-faced with eight arms and four companions/Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī; and 6) standing, six-faced with twelve arms/Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī. Though small, the images at Ratnagiri are especially interesting as they show numerous variant modes both in respect to the faces of Mārīcī and the animals pulling her chariot which may be either horses, obviously deriving from images of Sūrya, or pigs, their number varying from three to seven, suggesting an incipient iconography which has not as yet crystallized.

1. Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī

Two *sādhanas* (nos. 133, 141) in the *Sādhanamālā* describe a two-handed form of the goddess as Aśokakāntā when she holds the bough of an *aśoka* tree in her left hand, the right hand displaying *varada*, whereas in another two-armed form (*sādhana* no. 147), holding a needle and thread, she is named Ārya-Mārīcī. Her description as given in *sādhana* no. 133 reads:

> I bow to Mārīcī who rides the sow of golden colour, whose complexion is like the colour of molten gold. She stands in a sportive attitude on the moon over the lotus, and holds with her left hand the bough of an aśoka tree, and displays the varada pose in the right. She bears the image of the Tathāgata (Vairocana) on the crown, is decorated with bright jewels, wears white garments and grants assurance or safety (to the world).[219]

Although A. Getty illustrates an image of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī riding a pig, her right hand displaying *varada* and the left held in *vitarka-mudrā,* invariably she is depicted without the pig and may be either seated or standing.[220] It is this two-armed form which she adopts when serving as a companion goddess to various forms of Tārā, in which case her right hand may be in *varada, vitarka* or hold a *vajra* or a *caurī*.[221]

In the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* manuscript (No. G. 8055, fol. 30B) of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta is a brief description of a four-armed form where she is named Aśokakāntā-Tārā. She is yellow in colour and has one face. She holds a rosary and the *aśoka*-bough in two hands while the other two display *añjali-mudrā*. No mention is made of her pose or vehicle.[222]

There are at least eight surviving images of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī in Orissa with six of them appearing at Ratnagiri, five of which are housed in niches of minor *stūpas*. In these five small images she is seated in *lalitāsana* in three of them while in a fourth she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. The lower part of the fifth image is damaged. In all examples her right

hand is in *varada* while the slightly raised left hand holds the *aśoka*-bough. In the example where she is in *vajraparyaṅka* there are three horses (?) beneath her *viśvapadma* seat.[223]

The sixth image at Ratnagiri is much larger and is housed in a niche on the eastern pylon of Monastery 1 where it apparently served an apotropaic function in the manner of a *dvārapāla* (fig. 355). Though tentatively identified as a river goddess by D. Mitra,[224] the image more likely represents Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī while the missing companion on the western pylon was possibly a form of Tārā. Mārīcī stands in a slightly flexed pose on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand in *varada* and her raised left hand holding an *aśoka*-bough. She wears a long *śāṭī*, fastened by a chain-link girdle, and a transparent *uttarīya*. She is richly adorned and her hair is neatly arranged in a bun on top of her head. Her jewelled diadem has a large centre *kirīṭa*. The upper half of her halo is framed by lush creepers which serve as a canopy. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Each side of the back-slab is decorated with an emaciated *ṛṣi* standing on a lotus-pad with one hand holding a water-pot and the other holding a flower in one image and displaying *vandanābhinayī* in the other image. Mārīcī is flanked at the base on either side by a standing female attendant. The right attendant, looking up at her, holds an offering in her right hand while *aśoka*-boughs are draped over her shoulder. The left attendant leans her left hand on a lotus-pad while her right hand holds a *caurī* behind her head. The image can be dated to the second-half of the 8th century.

There is a small image of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī included with the hoard of bronzes from Acutrajpur (fig. 356). She stands with a slight flexion on the pericarp of a lotus. Her right hand is in *varada* while the raised left hand holds the *aśoka*-bough. She wears a *śāṭī*, an *uttarīya* and a *yajñopavīta* in addition to conventional body ornaments. A ribbon projects out above each ear and a miniature *stūpa* is on the front of her conical crown. A tubular halo or *toraṇa* rises up from the pedestal and is decorated at the apex with *aśoka*-branches. Her pig (*śūkara*) mount is on the front of the pedestal. As noted by D. Mitra the image is aesthetically of inferior quality.[225] It is possible that one of the four goddesses on the largest bronze *stūpa* from Acutrajpur is Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī, if the object in her left hand is an *aśoka* (fig. 126d). She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada*. Her left hand, placed on the seat, holds the stalk or branch of an indistinct flower.

At Lalitagiri is an image which probably represents a four-armed form of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī, though it does not conform to known textual descriptions, which may have served an apotropaic function similar to the two-armed image of the eastern pylon of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri (fig. 357). She stands in a graceful, slightly flexed pose with her principal right hand lowered in *varada* while her corresponding left hand, placed on her thigh, holds the *aśoka*-bough, as on two-armed images. Her uplifted right hand holds a rosary, prescribed for the four-armed form, while the left hand appears to hold a *vajra*, partially broken, which is prescribed for some two-armed forms, or an indistinct object. Her *śāṭī*, fastened by a chain-link girdle with a *kīrtimukha* clasp, hangs nearly to her ankles. She is richly adorned and exudes a pleasing, warm aura of self-absorption. Ribbons billow up behind each ear. Her jewelled diadem has a large centre *kirīṭa*. Her hair is matted in a chignon on top of her head. A plain halo is lightly carved behind her head and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. She is flanked by a female attendant on either side. The right attendant holds a *caurī* in front of her body with her right hand while her left hand holds an *aśoka*-bough. The left one lifts her right hand and places her left hand at the thigh but her attributes are indistinct. The pedestal lacks decoration. If the bough of the major deity is identified as paddy she could represent Vasudhārā, though I know of no four-armed forms and even with six-armed forms she does not hold a rosary. The image can be dated to the late 8th or early 9th century.

There also may be a four-armed form of Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī in a niche of a monolithic *stūpa* at Singhapur which is more closely aligned with the description in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* manuscript mentioned above (fig. 15). She may have three heads, however, rather than one. She stands in a rigid pose but the image is too badly weathered to determine if she is on a lotus or in a chariot, unless the object between her legs is a railing baluster which would suggest a chariot. Her principal set of hands are clasped in *añjali,* as prescribed in the text, but the objects in her uplifted hands are indistinct. As in the case of the Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī at Odisoandeigoda, just two kilometres away, the image can be dated to late 10th-early 11th century. Its identity, however, must remain inconclusive.

2. Six-Armed Seated Mārīcī

Two of the small images at Ratnagiri, as mentioned, depict her in a seated pose with six arms and one head, a form not described in canonical texts.[226] In the first example she is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka* on *viśvapadma* above five prancing pigs (figs. 358). Her principal right hand, in *varada*, holds a needle while the left hand, placed on the seat behind her thigh, holds a noose. Her raised right hands hold a sword and a goad while the left hands hold the *aśoka*-bough and the stalk of a full-blown lotus. She wears a long *śāṭī,* fastened by a girdle, a breast-band, *yajñopavīta,* conventional body ornaments and a jewelled diadem. Her hair is arranged in a chignon on top of her head. Her head is framed by an elongated-oval halo which narrows at the base. The pigs are all standing upright on their hind legs and moving to the proper left. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

In the second image the one-faced Mārīcī is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* above seven prancing pigs (fig. 359). She holds the same six *āyudhas* as in the previous image with her principal set of hands lowered and the other two sets raised. Her body ornamentation is similar, but without the *yajñopavīta,* and her hair is braided into a bun on top of her head. The centre pig faces forward while the three on either side face outward. Each is again standing on their hind legs but they lean slightly forward rather than being so erect. The image likewise can be ascribed to the 9th century.

Iconographically the *āyudhas* do not correspond to those held in six-armed forms described in texts, in particular the sword and lotus. These are not even prescribed for eight-armed forms. Although the sword is held in one of the right hands of the twelve-armed forms, the lotus is not mentioned in any textual descriptions.

3. Six-Armed Standing Mārīcī

The most popular form of Mārīcī among the small *stūpa* images at Ratnagiri is the six-armed standing image in which she has three heads, there being at least nineteen surviving examples. A six-armed form, as indicated, is the presiding deity of the *Mārīcī-maṇḍala* (no. 17) in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī.* She is described as having six arms and three faces but it does not name her *āyudhas* or indicate whether her left face is that of a sow. Her spiritual sire is Śāśvata or Vairocana and she is associated with seven sows representing seven rays of the sun-god.[227] It may be, as suggested by S.K. Saraswati, that the three-faced, six-armed form represented the basic conception of Mārīcī.[228] In the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* manuscript (No. G. 8055) she is simply named Mārīcī (fol. 44A):

> Mārīcī has three faces coloured white, blue and yellow. She has six hands. In the right hands she holds arrow, vajra, and the elephant goad. The attributes of her left hands are bow, bell and noose. She stands in the pratyālīḍha pose on a thousand petalled lotus.[229]

No mention is made of a chariot pulled by pigs or if her left face is that of a sow. A six-

armed form is also implied in part of *sādhana* no. 145 of the *Sādhanamālā* devoted to a form named Ubhayavarāhāṇanā in which she has twelve hands and three faces, two being of sows. According to the six-armed variant, Mārīcī is described as standing in *ālīḍha* within a shrine. She has three faces, the right and left ones being those of a sow. All faces are to have three eyes. Whereas the centre face is smiling, peaceful and exudes the emotion of love, the two sow faces are to be red and reddish. She is then stated to have as many hands as double the number of faces (*vaktrād-dviguṇa-bhujāṁ*). She wears a tiger-skin, a jewelled crown and her *jaṭā* is fastened with an *aśoka*. She is stated to be trampling upon Brahmanical gods (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and others) and with a fully charged bow with an arrow resembling an *aśoka*-bud is striking the Vasus, Lokapālas, Sādhyas, etc. Next comes the mention of *āyudhas* for twelve hands which do not include the bow and arrow just mentioned. There is no mention of a chariot.[230] In respect to the six-armed form, aside from the bow and arrow, no mention is made of her *āyudhas* or attributes.

Except for one, the nineteen images at Ratnagiri can be divided into two modes with nine in each. In mode (A) she has three human heads and her chariot is pulled by horses while in mode (B) her left face is that of a sow and her chariot is pulled by pigs. The only deviations relate to the number of animals pulling her chariot. In mode (A) there is one image with five horses (fig. 360), one with six horses, and seven with seven horses. In mode (B), two have three pigs (fig. 361), one has four pigs, and five have seven pigs (fig. 362) while in one case the pedestal was left uncarved. In the lone exception, on *stūpa* no. 38, Mārīcī has three human heads and her chariot is pulled by six pigs. There is very little deviation in respect to *āyudhas*. In one example the *aśoka* and bow are reversed and in several examples there are two arrows rather than one. In five of the images in mode (B) a noose is added to her major left hand displaying *tarjanī*. In that this is conspicuously absent in the images of mode (A) where horses pull the chariot, it is obviously a later feature which helps us to plot somewhat the overall iconographic development. In all cases Mārīcī stands in *pratyālīḍha* with her principal right hand raised above her shoulder brandishing a *vajra* while the corresponding left hand, in front of the chest, displays the *tarjanī-mudrā*, with or without the *pāśa*. The lowered right hand, in *ardhacandra* in front of the thigh, holds a needle while the middle hand holds an arrow, in some cases two arrows. The corresponding lower left hand holds the *aśoka*-bough while the extended upper hand holds the bow. Mārīcī is richly adorned and wears a tall crown. The animals on the pedestal may be depicted in side-view moving in one direction or their movement may be split in two directions, often with the centre horse facing forward to divide the composition. In the most developed compositions the animals radiate like spokes away from the centre. They often are depicted prancing on their hind legs. In several examples there is a female charioteer driving the horses or Rāhu driving the pigs. In still other examples there is merely a flower design between the feet of Mārīcī or the area is left blank. Invariably the niche is designed as the womb of a *caitya* out of which she is emerging. The images can be dated to the 9th-10th centuries.[231]

It is thus evident that in these small images at Ratnagiri the iconography of Mārīcī is not fully developed, particularly her association with sows, and it is heavily dependent on that of the Brahmanical sun-god and his chariot pulled by horses. Pigs are only just beginning to be associated with her, both in regard to the animals pulling her chariot and her sow face. Though the number of the animals vary, whether pigs or horses, seven is the most popular and this number will soon become standardized as on Sūrya images. Although the horse probably appeared first, the introduction of the pig did not immediately mean it superseded the horse as it is evident that both modes were being produced simultaneously at Ratnagiri during this developmental period. Mode (A), with three human faces and a chariot pulled by seven horses, even appears on a few large independent images in Eastern India, the most notable being the example from Sālihuṇḍaṁ in Andhra Pradeṣh, only a short distance south of the present Orissan border (fig. 363). Unfortunately most of her arms are broken

off. The only intact weapon on the right is an arrow held in her middle hand. Her major left hand, though in *tarjanī*, is extended outward rather than being in front of the chest. Her left face has terrifying features, including open mouth, bared fangs and protruding tongue, and she wears a tall conical crown over her centre head. She is flanked at the base on either side by a diminutive companion seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with the right hand in front of the chest and the left at the thigh similar to the pose of Vajrasattva. The female charioteer, larger than the attendants, is seated in *lalitāsana* at the front edge of the chariot above a diminutive image of Rāhu. Her right hand is at her thigh while the raised left hand holds a lotus. The horses all rear up on their hind legs, the front paws held chest-high, with the centre horse facing forward and the others facing outward.

In one of the latest examples in mode (A), Mārīcī is eight-armed and more accessory figures are added (fig. 364). The image, now in the National Museum at New Delhi, comes from Eastern India but no specific locale is mentioned. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a *viśvapadma* which serves as the floor for her chariot. Her principal right hand brandishes a *vajra* above her heads while the left hand, in front of her chest, displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her lower right hand has a needle while her other two arms are broken off. Her uplifted back left hand holds the *aśoka*-bough. The other two left hands are broken off though part of the bow is intact. She is richly adorned and the jewelled crowns of all three heads merge at the top. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Opposite each knee and shoulder of Mārīcī is a Tathāgata while the fifth, Vairocana, is above her right head. Each Tathāgata assumes a flying pose with the left leg stretched and the knee bent. Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, on the left side, both exhibit *dhyāna-mudrā*. Mārīcī is flanked at the base by four figures, two on either side, with three kneeling in profile with their hands in *añjali*. The fourth, seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on the left, holds one hand at the chest and the other at the hip in the manner of Vajrasattva. The female charioteer is four-armed and is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. Her principal right hand wields a *vajra* while the left hand is in *tarjanī-pāśa*. The back right hand, in *ardhacandra*, holds a needle while the attribute in the other left hand is indistinct. Rāhu appears in front of the centre horse who is depicted frontally. The other horses, facing outward, stand rather awkwardly on their hind legs with their front paws at the chest. A wheel is placed at either end of the series of horses along with a vessel heaped with offerings on the right and an incense-burner on the left. Along the outer edge of the back-slab are lightly-etched flames. The image can be dated to the late 10th century.

Although the six-armed image may have been her original form, and completely dominates at Ratnagiri, it is abruptly replaced in Orissa by her eight-armed form. Virtually all of the large independent images in Orissa are eight-armed, a rare exception being the six-armed image in mode (B) from Udalā now in the Baripada Museum (fig. 365). She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot drawn by seven sows. Her principal right hand brandishes a *vajra* above her heads while the left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her lower right hand holds a pair of arrows and the middle hand holds the needle, the reverse of most images. Her upper left hand, mostly missing, probably held the *aśoka*-bough while the other hand holds the bow. She wears a *śāṭī* which hangs almost to her ankles and she is richly adorned. Her left face is that of a sow and an effigy of Vairocana is on her crown. A *vidyādhara* is at the upper right corner of the back-slab while the left corner is broken off. There is no charioteer. The upper face of the chariot is decorated with lotus petals in the centre and a kneeling devotee on either side along with ritual paraphernalia. The seven pigs are prancing on their hind legs with the centre one facing forward. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

According to N.K. Sahu,[232] and A. Joshi,[233] there is also a four-armed image of Mārīcī from Udalā now in the Baripada Museum. She likewise rides in a chariot pulled by seven sows and bears a miniature effigy of Vairocana in her crown. Her principal right hand

brandishes a *vajra* while the left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her back right and left hands hold arrows and a bow respectively. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* and her left face is that of a sow. Except for the last feature the image, which I have not seen, corresponds to the example of Varāhamukhī at Ayodhyā (fig. 376).

In contrast to the six-armed textual description(s), in which the principal set of hands are dispensing an arrow from a bow, in all of these Orissan images the principal right hand is uplifted and brandishes a *vajra* while the left hand is in front of the chest showing *tarjanī*. The bow and arrow are generally held in the uplifted back hands while the needle and *aśoka*-bough replace the goad and bell prescribed in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha*. The thread (*sūtra*) is conspicuously absent on these images as a major attribute though when the *pāśa* is added to the *tarjanī-mudrā* it may additionally serve the purpose of thread for the needle.

4. Eight-Armed Standing Mārīcī/Mārīcīpicuvā

In *sādhana* no. 144 of the *Sādhanamālā* is an eight-armed Mārīcī, apparently unaccompanied by companion goddesses, named Mārīcīpicuvā. She holds the needle and thread in the first pair of hands, the goad and noose in another pair, the bow and arrow in the third set, while the fourth set holds the *vajra* and *aśoka*-bough. She has three faces with each displaying a mixture of three different sentiments (*rasa*):

> The worshipper should conceive himself as Mārīcīpicuvā who displays the sentiments of śṛṅgāra, vīra and harṣa in one of her faces, which is the colour of jāmbūnada (gold). In the middle face which is of the colour of the indranīla gem, the sentiments of bhaya, bhībhatsa, and raudra are displayed; and in the third face of crystal colour, the sentiments of karuṇā, adbhuta and śānta appear. She has three eyes in each of her three faces, which give freedom from the three great evils. Her essence is made of dharmakāya and sambhogakāya. She is clad in garments of yellow colour and resides happily in the mass of rays. She sews up the eyes and the mouths of the wicked with the needle and secures them with the string. She strikes their hearts with the aṅkuśa, draws them by the neck with the noose, pierces them with the bow and arrow, and shatters their hearts to pieces with the vajra, and then sprinkles water with the leaves of aśoka.[234]

We are then told that she tramples under her feet Prajñā and Upāya but it is not mentioned if she is riding a chariot. Although nothing is said about a sow face, it most likely is the blue face since this colour, as S.K. Saraswati notes, is often prescribed for the sow face in other *sādhanas*. He also suggests that this *sādhana* is wrong in describing it as the middle of the three faces as the sow invariably appears as the left face. He concludes by postulating that the centre face is the crystal-white face and that Mārīcīpicuvā thus belongs to the white category of the goddess.[235] Aside from the question in regard to the chariot, the major difference between this form and other eight-armed forms is the absence of companion deities.

Only four examples of this eight-armed form without companion deities have been identified in Orissa with one of them being a small niche figure from a monolithic *stūpa* at Ratnagiri. Probably the earliest example is the image from Acutrajpur though it is difficult to date with precision due to accretions of paste and paint which obscure surface details (fig. 367). It is the only example in which the chariot is pulled by horses rather than pigs. It is also the only example in which an image of Mārīcī pulled by horses has one sow face, all of the other examples having three human faces. There is thus little doubt of the transitional nature of the image which combines aspects of both modes of the six-armed form. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* with her principal right hand raised and brandishing a *vajra* while the left hand displays *tarjanī-mudrā*. Her second set of hands, placed at the thighs in *ardhacandra*, hold the needle and thread. Her other two right hands hold the goad and a pair of arrows

Chart 24

6-ARMED MĀRĪCĪ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	Right Hands 1	2	3	3	2	1 Left Hands	Faces	Animals	Pose/Chariot
Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha	arrow	vajra	goad	noose	bell	bow	3	x	pratyālīḍha
Sādhanamālā 145	arrow	?	?	?	?	bow	3	x	ālīḍha

6-ARMED MĀRĪCĪ IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site	Right Hands 1	2	3	3	2	1 Left Hands	Faces	Animals	Pose/Chariot
Ratnagiri stūpa	needle	sword	goad	lotus	aśoka	sūtra-pāśa	1	5 pigs	sattvaparyaṅka
Ratnagiri stūpa	needle	sword	goad	lotus	aśoka	sūtra-pāśa	1	7 pigs	vajraparyaṅka
Ratnagiri drum	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	5 horses	
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	6 horses	
Ratnagiri drum	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	7 horses	charioteer
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	7 horses	
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrows	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	7 horses	
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	7 horses	
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	7 horses	
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	7 horses	charioteer
Ratnagiri stūpa 116	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7 horses	charioteer
Ratnagiri stūpa 38	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3	6 pigs	
Ratnagiri drum	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3, 1 sow	3 pigs	
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3, 1 sow	3 pigs	Rāhu?
Ratnagiri drum	vajra	needle	arrow	aśoka	bow	tarjanī	3, 1 sow	4 pigs	flower
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrows	bow	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa	3, 1 sow	7 pigs	
Ratnagiri drum	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa	3, 1 sow	7 pigs	flower
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrows	bow	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa	3, 1 sow	7 pigs	Rāhu
Ratnagiri stūpa 26	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa	3, 1 sow	7 pigs	
Ratnagiri stūpa 165	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa	3, 1 sow	7 pigs	
Ratnagiri stūpa	vajra	needle	arrow	bow	aśoka	tarjanī	3, 1 sow	x	
Udalā	vajra	arrows	needle	aśoka?	bow	tarjanī-pāśa	3, 1 sow	7 pigs	
Udalā	vajra	arrows			bow	tarjanī-pāśa	3, 1 sow	7 pigs	

while the left hands hold the *aśoka*-bough and bow. She wears a minimal amount of body ornamentation. Each head has a tall jewelled crown. A plain halo frames her heads and a lotus rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The charioteer, placed between her feet rather than at the front edge of the chariot, is mostly obscured by accretions of paste though faint traces suggest she was standing in *pratyālīḍha*. The seven horses, the middle three mostly obliterated, prance in a vertical manner on their hind legs with their front paws at chest level. Stylistically the horses are closely related to examples on Sūrya images from the late 9th and early 10th century throughout Orissa, as on the Vārāhī temple at Caurāsi (fig. 383). This treatment of the horses, the placement of the lotus rosettes, the sparse body ornamentation of Mārīcī, her rather stiff pose, body proportions, and the fusion of elements from modes (A) and (B) of the six-armed form, suggest an early 10th century date. Iconographically, in respect to *āyudhas*, the added right hand holds the goad while the left, placed in *ardhacandra* to counterbalance the right hand holding the needle, has the *sūtra* or thread. It is thus a more practical form than the six-armed one which has a needle but no thread. It is different from the description in *sādhana* no. 144 in that the needle and thread are held in the second pair of hands and the fact that the *vajra*, in the major right hand, is paired with the noose, held by the corresponding left hand which is in *tarjanī*, whereas in the *sādhana* it is paired with the *aśoka*-bough. This particular iconography becomes standard on most later Orissan images, though of course the horses will be replaced by sows.

In the second major example of this Mārīcīpicuvā form, originally from Khiching but now in the Baripada Museum, there is a slight deviation from this iconographic programme in the placement of the needle (fig. 366). The hands with the needle and thread are not in front of the thighs in *ardhacandra* so that there is some confusion, as in the six-armed image from Udalā, as to which set the hands belong to. The second right hand thus holds a pair of arrows while the third hand has the needle. The left hand holding the *aśoka*-bough is placed between the bow and the shoulder of the arm showing *tarjanī-pāśa* to suggest that the bow is held in the top hand. Mārīcī is richly adorned and a third eye is visible on each forehead. A miniature *stūpa* is in the centre of her jewelled crown while above the crown is a branching *aśoka* tree. The lightly-etched wide halo probably symbolizes the womb of a *caitya*. A Buddhist *dhāraṇī* is inscribed on the left side of the back-slab. The head of Rāhu is carved in the centre of the face of the chariot where he serves as the charioteer. The sows are depicted prancing on their hind legs and all are facing to the left. At each corner of the chariot is a spoked-wheel and a kneeling devotee. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

The third example of Mārīcīpicuvā is a small image (11 by 7 inches) now housed in the Kalāgni temple at Kalanapur. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* holding a *vajra* in her raised right hand while her corresponding principal left hand is in *tarjanī-mudrā*. Her lowered set of hands, in *ardhacandra*, hold the needle and thread. Her remaining two sets of hands hold a goad and *aśoka*-bough below and the arrow and bow above. Her left face is that of a sow and her three conical crowns merge at the top. A lotus-rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A two-armed charioteer, raising the lash in his right hand, is seated at the front edge of the chariot. The sows, moving on all four legs, are carved in low-relief with four advancing to the right and three to the left. The image, possibly from Brahmavāṇa, can be dated to the 10th century.

The fourth example is a small image in a niche of a monolithic *stūpa* at Ratnagiri.[236] She stands in *pratyālīḍha* and is similar to the previous image except the hands holding the bow and *aśoka*-bough are reversed. She wears a single tall crown and her niche is arched at the top to symbolize the womb of a *caitya*. The charioteer and pigs were left uncarved. A late feature is the horizontal railing placed in front of Mārīcī.

5. Eight-Armed Standing Mārīcī/Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī

There are several *sādhanas* (nos. 134, 137, 142, 146) which describe a form of eight-armed Mārīcī accompanied by four companions in which she is referred to as Kalpokta-, Aṣṭabhujapīta- or Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī. The iconography is similar, aside from the colour of Mārīcī who may be either white or yellow, with only slight deviations particularly noticeable with the companion deities. According to *sādhana* no. 134, under the designation of Kalpokta-Mārīcī, she is white in colour with her right face red while her left face, that of a sow, is blue. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot pulled by seven pigs. Her four right hands hold a *vajra*, goad, arrow and needle while her left hands hold the *aśoka*-bough, bow, *tarjanī-mudrā* and the thread. She has an effigy of Vairocana on her crest and resides within a *caitya*. She is surrounded by four companions, each four-armed, with only Varttāli, on the east, having a sow's face. To the south is Vadāli, to the west is Varāli while on the north is Varāhamukhī. Rāhu is in the middle of the chariot holding the sun and moon.[237]

In *sādhana* no. 137 of the *Sādhanamālā*, under the designation Aṣṭabhujapīta-Mārīcī, the goddess is yellow while her right face is red and the sow's face on the left is blue with an angry mien, protruding tongue and frowning eyes. Her iconography is similar except the goad and arrow are reversed in her right hands while the thread and *tarjanī-mudrā* are reversed in her left hands and a noose is added to her major hand displaying *tarjanī*.[238] Vairocana is on her crest. Rāhu is on the chariot. Mārīcī resides in a *caitya*. All four companions have the head of a sow. The *vajra* and *aśoka-pallava* are reversed in the hands of Vadāli. Two other *sādhanas* (nos. 142, 146) describe an identical form for Mārīcī and again there are only slight variations in the disposition of the *āyudhas* of the companion goddesses.

The iconography of Vadāli and Varāli is nearly identical with the former usually holding a *vajra, sūcī, aśoka* and *pāśa* whereas Varāli holds a *vajra*, *sūcī*, *pāśa* and *aśoka*, the objects in the left hands merely being reversed. With Varttāli the *vajra* is replaced by an *aṅkuśa* though in *sādhana* no. 146 both are held in one right hand. The iconography of Varāhamukhī is different as she holds a bow and arrow in two hands while the other right hand holds the *vajra* and the left hand holds the *aśoka*-bough.

The majority of the large Mārīcī images in Orissa are of Aṣṭabhujapīta/Saṁkṣipta with the goddess being attended by four companions. A dozen of these images have survived and they can be divided into two variant modes based on the placement of the bow and the *aśoka*-bough in their upper two left hands. For the most part they conform to textual descriptions except the *vajra* is held in the principal right hand and is paired with *tarjanī-pāśa* of the corresponding left hand as in the Mārīcīpicuvā form. In mode (A), the *aśoka*-bough is held in the topmost left hand where it blossoms above the bow whereas in mode (B) it is held in the second-top hand and blossoms beneath the bow. In the latter the bow, held in the topmost hand, is thus correctly paired with the arrow held in the top right hand. In all examples except one the *pāśa* is included with *tarjanī* so that iconographically the images conform most closely with *sādhana* no. 137. This is also true in respect to the face of the companion deities, as in all but one example all four goddesses have the face of a sow. In the lone exception each goddess has three faces with the left one being that of a sow, thus duplicating the heads of Mārīcī. Except for Varāhamukhī, each of the companion goddesses show *tarjanī-pāśa* with the principal left hand even though this is not prescribed for any of the goddesses in the *sādhanas*. In some cases all four goddesses hold a bow and arrow as two of their weapons, again deviating from textual descriptions.

One of the largest and most beautiful of these Orissan images is housed in the modern Khuṭiā (Mārīcī) temple at Ayodhyā, originally the presiding deity of the Mārīcī Thākurāṇī temple (fig. 368). She stands in a dynamic *pratyālīḍha* pose and has three faces with the

Chart 25

8-ARMED MĀRĪCĪ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1	Companions	Colour
Sādhanamālā 134	needle	arrow	goad	vajra	aśoka	bow	tarjanī	sūtra	companions	white
Sādhanamālā 137	needle	goad	arrow	vajra	aśoka	bow	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	yellow
Sādhanamālā 144	needle	goad	arrow	vajra	aśoka	bow	noose	sūtra	no	white?
Site			8-ARMED MĀRĪCĪ IMAGES FROM ORISSA							animals
[1]Acutrajpur	vajra	needle	goad	arrows	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	no	split
Kalanapur	vajra	needle	goad	arrow	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī	no	split
Khiching	vajra	arrows	needle	goad	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	no	profile
Ratnagiri	vajra	needle	goad	arrow	aśoka	bow	sūtra	tarjanī	no	x
Ayodhyā	vajra	needle	x	x	aśoka	bow	sūtra-pāśa	tarjanī	companions	radiate
Astarañga	vajra	needle	x	arrow	aśoka	bow	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	frontal
Bairoi	vajra	needle	x	x	aśoka	bow	sūtra	x	companions	frontal
Khiching	vajra	x	x	x	aśoka	bow	x	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	x
Udayagiri?	x	needle	goad	x	aśoka	bow	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	radiate
Gareḍipañcana	vajra	needle	goad	arrows	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	radiate
Kaduapara (2)	vajra	needle	x	x	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	frontal
Rāmacaṇḍī	vajra	needle	goad	arrows	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	frontal
Sonepur	vajra	needle	goad	arrow	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	frontal
Tārāpur	vajra	needle	goad	x	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	frontal
Gopalpur	vajra	needle	goad	arrow	bow	aśoka	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	frontal
Sujanāgarh	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
[2](Nat. Museum)	vajra	needle	x	x	bow	aśoka	x	tarjanī-pāśa	companions	split

[1]chariot pulled by seven horses
[2]chariot pulled by seven horses, all three faces are human

left being that of a sow. Her principal right hand, uplifted but broken off at the elbow, wielded the *vajra* while her major left hand, placed in front of her chest, displays *tarjanī*. Her second set of hands, placed in *ardhacandra* at the thighs, hold a needle and thread with the latter forming a noose (*sūtra-pāśa*). Her third set of hands had a goad on the right (now missing) and the bow on the left while the top set holds an arrow on right, mostly missing, and the *aśoka*-bough on the left. The image corresponds to mode (A) in respect to iconography. She is richly adorned and wears a *yajñopavīta*. Her centre face wears large *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and an effigy of Vairocana decorates her tall conical crown. Part of the back-slab is carved out behind her body while on the upper corners is inscribed the popular Buddhist *dhāraṇī* "Ye dharma hetu prabhava..." in characters assignable to the late 10th century.[239] On the upper right edge of the halo is the four-armed, sow-faced Varttāli (fig. 379). She assumes a flying pose with her right leg tucked under her body and the left leg stretched out. The principal right hand brandishes a *vajrāṅkuśa* while the corresponding left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her lower set of hands, in *ardhacandra*, hold a needle and thread. An *aśoka* meanders up behind her left thigh to blossom opposite her left shoulder. The other three companions stand on the chariot. Vadāli, on the right of Mārīcī, stands in the *pratyālīḍha* pose but turns her head back towards Mārīcī. Her major right hand, uplifted, holds an *aśoka* and the left hand, at the chest, displays *tarjanī-pāśa* while the lower set hold a needle and thread. Varāli is at the front edge of the chariot in *pratyālīḍha* rather than her prescribed *ālīḍha* pose. Her major right hand wields the *vajra* while the left hand, at the navel, is in *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her lower set of hands hold the needle and thread. An *aśoka*-bough blooms above her left shoulder. Her placement at the front of the chariot, straddling the image of Rāhu, suggests that Mārīcī is moving westward across the sky in the manner of a solar deity. Varāhamukhī, on the left side of the chariot, faces away from Mārīcī, similar to the goddesses of dawn on Sūrya's chariot, and stands in *ālīḍha* rather than the prescribed *pratyālīḍha* pose (fig. 380). She holds the arrow in her uplifted right hand while the left hand holds the bow. Her lower right hand holds a needle while the left hand has a *sūtra-pāśa*. The top face of the chariot is *pañca-ratha* in design and is decorated with the face of Rāhu which spreads out like a *kīrtimukha* (fig. 384). Rāhu holds the sun and the moon. The base of the chariot has a *sapta-ratha* plan with a sow standing above each facet. The sows trod on all four limbs, rather than prancing on their hind legs, but radiate outward like spokes rather than moving straight forward. The centre sow moves to the right but turns its head towards the left. A smaller and more conventional representation of Rāhu appears at the base beneath the centre sow. The image can be dated to the late 10th century.

By the beginning of the 11th century Mārīcī is placed in the womb of a *caitya* as prescribed in the *sādhanas*. One of the earliest examples of this appears on the fragment from Khiching now in the Baripada Museum.[240] Her major right hand is raised and holds the *vajra* while the left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. The remaining right hands are missing while the other two intact left hands hold the *aśoka* and the bow. An effigy of Vairocana is visible in the centre of her bejewelled crown. Her heads are framed by a lightly-etched *caitya*. In front of the crowning members of the *caitya* is the four-armed Varttāli. Her raised right hand wields the *vajrāṅkuśa* while the left hand is at the chest in *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her back set of hands hold the arrow and bow. Though Varāhamukhī is the only companion prescribed the bow and arrow, in numerous Orissan examples all four goddesses have these weapons and this was most likely the case here, possibly influenced by the iconography of Sūrya where a goddess on either side is dispensing an arrow from a bow. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the early 11th century.

Similar in style is the small image now placed in the *jagamohana* of the Buddhanātha Śiva temple at Gareḍipañcana (fig. 369). Mārīcī stands in *pratyālīḍha* with the floor of her chariot designed as a *viśvapadma*. Her principal right hand wields the *vajra* while the left displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her lower set of hands, in *ardhacandra*, hold a needle and thread while

her third set have the goad and the *aśoka* which blooms just below the bow. The upper set of hands hold a pair of arrows and the bow. She is richly adorned and the effigy of Vairocana is on her jewelled crown. She emerges from the womb of a *caitya* which is crowned by an *aśoka* tree. All four companions stand in *pratyālīḍha*. Varttāli is at the upper left corner, Vadāli at the upper right corner, Varāli is between the legs of Mārīcī, Varāhamukhī is at the lower left while a kneeling devotee is at the lower right. Rāhu is on the front edge of the *viśvapadma* beneath Varāli. The centre sow is prancing on its hind legs and is depicted frontally. The other pigs, moving to the right and left, trot on all four legs. The image can be dated to the early 11th century.

In the image from Udayagiri shifted to Kendrapara by a local zamindar in the late 19th century and presented to the Indian Museum at Calcutta by R. Chanda, the chariot is provided with a low railing and this becomes standard on most later images of Mārīcī (fig. 370).[241] Mārīcī assumes a rigid *pratyālīḍha* pose and her iconography conforms to mode (A) with the *aśoka* held in the topmost left hand. She is richly adorned and wears a tall conical crown. A diminutive effigy of Vairocana is etched on the front edge of the *caitya* above her crown while Varttāli appears in front of the crowning members of the *caitya*. Each of the four companions stands in *pratyālīḍha*, each has a bow and arrow as two of their weapons, and each has three heads with the left one being that of a sow. Three of the right arms of Mārīcī are broken off and the image of Vadāli is mostly obliterated. Whereas Vadāli and Varāhamukhī stand above the railing, Varāli stands at the front edge between two railing posts. Rāhu, as charioteer, is on the face of the chariot below Varāli. The seven sows radiate outward on all four legs, as at Ayodhyā, though the centre one faces forward. At the lower corner on either side of the pedestal is a diminutive seated devotee. The image can be dated to the 11th century.

By the mid-11th century the *caitya* design becomes more pronounced so that the image of Mārīcī is actually encased by the design in contrast to the earlier images where it was carved in low-relief and served more as a background setting. A good example of this feature is the image at Astaraṅga where the back-slab is rounded at the top in the manner of a *caitya* (fig. 371). Mārīcī assumes a more dynamic *pratyālīḍha* pose and her iconography corresponds to mode (A) with the *aśoka* being held in her topmost left hand. She is richly ornamented and wears a *yajñopavīta*. A jewelled diadem appears at the base of her tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. Her exquisite facial features, including warm smile and sharply pointed nose, are similar to examples appearing on the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. All four companion goddesses stand in *pratyālīḍha*. Varttāli appears at the upper left and Vadāli at the upper right. Varāli stands between two railing posts at the front centre of the chariot while Varāhamukhī is above the railing on the left in the act of dispensing an arrow from her bow. A small image now lodged next to the *aśoka* held by Mārīcī possibly represents a devotee which may have been placed originally at the lower right as at Gareḍipañcana. A diminutive Rāhu is between the feet of Varāli while a larger image, holding the sun and moon, is placed beneath the sows. The seven sows are all represented frontally and moving on all four legs straight forward. This becomes standard on most later images. The image can be dated to the mid-11th century.

The image at Tārāpur is similar in respect to the placement of the four companion deities though the body proportions of these companions and that of Mārīcī are more lithe. The right knee of Mārīcī is not bent as much and in respect to *āyudhas* she conforms to mode (B) with the *aśoka* held beneath the bow (fig. 375). The upper face of the chariot is decorated with scroll motifs and the image of Rāhu, devouring the sun and moon, is placed beneath the sows where it is flanked on each side by kneeling devotees, bowls heaped with offerings, a censer, etc. (fig. 386). The image can be dated to the 11th century. The images of the four companion goddesses appear in the same position on the sculpture from

Chart 26 COMPANION GODDESSES OF AṢṬABHUJA-MĀRĪCĪ

Sādhana/Site	1	2	2	1	Colour	Pose
			VARTTĀLI			
sādhana 134	sūcī	aṅkuśa	pāśa	aśoka	red	
sādhana 137	sūcī	aṅkuśa	pāśa	aśoka	red	ālīḍha
sādhana 146	vajrāṅkuśa	sūcī	pāśa	aśoka	red	
Ayodhyā	vajrāṅkuśa	sūcī	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa		flying
Astaraṅga	vajrāṅkuśa	sūcī	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Garedipañcana	vajra	aṅkuśa	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Kaduapara	vajraṅkuśa	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Khiching	vajraṅkuśa	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Rāmacaṇḍī	vajra	aṅkuśa	?	?		ālīḍha
Sonepur	?	arrow	bow	?		pratyālīḍha
Tārāpur	vajraṅkuśa	sūcī	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa		ālīḍha
[1]Udayagiri	vajraṅkuśa	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
			VADĀLI			
sādhana 134	vajra	sūcī	aśoka	pāśa	yellow	
sādhana 137	aśoka	sūcī/sūtra	pāśa	vajra	yellow	pratyālīḍha
sādhana 146	aṅkuśa	sūcī	pāśa	vajra	yellow	
Ayodhyā	aśoka?	sūcī	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Astaraṅga	vajra	sūcī	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Garedipañcana	vajra	sūcī	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Kaduapara	vajra	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Rāmacaṇḍī	vajra	?	?	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Sonepur	vajra	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Tārāpur	vajra	sūcī	aśoka?	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
[1]Udayagiri	x	arrow	bow	x		pratyālīḍha
			VARĀLI			
sādhana 134	vajra	sūcī	pāśa	aśoka	white	
sādhana 137	vajra	sūcī	pāśa	aśoka	yellow	ālīḍha
Ayodhyā	vajra	sūcī	sūtra	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Astaraṅga	vajra	sūcī	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Garedipañcana	vajra	sūcī	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Kaduapara	vajra	sūcī	aśoka?	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Rāmacaṇḍī	vajra	arrow	bow?	tarjanī-pāśa		vajraparyaṅka
Sonepur	aṅkuśa?	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Tārāpur	sūcī	aṅkuśa	aśoka	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
[1]Udayagiri	vajra	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
			VARĀHAMUKHĪ			
sādhana 134	vajra	arrow	bow	aśoka	red	
sādhana 137	vajra	arrow	bow	aśoka	red	pratyālīḍha
Ayodhyā	arrow	sūcī	sūtra/pāśa	bow		ālīḍha
[2]Ayodhyā	vajra	arrows	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha
Astaraṅga	arrow	sūcī	sūtra	bow		pratyālīḍha
Garedipañcana	arrow	sūcī	sūtra/pāśa	bow		pratyālīḍha
Kaduapara	arrow	sūcī	sūtra/pāśa	bow		ālīḍha
Rāmacaṇḍī	vajra	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		ālīḍha
Sonepur	sūcī	aṅkuśa?	aśoka?	sūtra		pratyālīḍha
Tārāpur	vajra?	arrow?	bow?	aśoka?		ālīḍha
[1]Udayagiri	vajra	arrow	bow	tarjanī-pāśa		pratyālīḍha

[1]3 heads with the left head being that of a sow
[2]independent image

Sonepur, though body proportions are more squat,[242] while in the best preserved image at Kaduapara, Varttāli is at the upper left, Vadāli and Varāhamukhī at the corners above the railing posts, and Varāli at the front edge between the feet of Mārīcī. Mārīcī assumes a rather rigid *pratyālīḍha* pose (fig. 373). At Bairoi, the image is too badly worn and covered by accretions of paste and grime to analyze in detail while the image housed in the Budhār-caṇḍī temple at Sujanāgarh is in active worship and thus unavailable for inspection. In the compound of the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Śiva temple at Gopalpur, where she is worshipped as Baghei Thākurāṇī, her face is obscured by a mask (fig. 374). Perhaps the most unique treatment of these companion goddesses appears on the image at Rāmacaṇḍī (fig. 372). Varttāli is at the upper right corner and, though in *ālīḍha*, she looks back towards the east from whence Mārīcī arose as she traverses the sky. Varttāli holds the *vajra* in her raised right hand while the lower hand holds the goad. Her principal left hand is in *tarjanī-pāśa* while the lower hand, mostly obscured, probably holds the *aśoka* as at Garedipañcana. Vadāli and Varāhamukhī are on the corners of the chariot above the railing, the former in *pratyālīḍha* and the latter in *ālīḍha* as they face away from Mārīcī. Varāli, however, is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* above Rāhu at the front of the chariot in the manner of a charioteer. Her raised right hand wields the *vajra* while her left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa* in the conventional manner. Her other set of hands, in contrast, hold arrows and a bow. Another image of Rāhu appears below the centre sow and it is flanked by bowls with offerings and an incense-burner. The image can be dated to the second-half of the 11th century.

At Ayodhyā there is also a rare example of an independent image of one of these four companion goddesses (fig. 376). Though worshipped as Vārāhī by the local populace, and identified as Varttāli by N.N. Vasu[243] and N.K. Sahu,[244] her iconography is more closely related to Varāhamukhī in the *sādhanas*. She is four-armed and has the face of a sow. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a *viśvapadma* seat. Her principal right hand, upraised, brandishes a *vajra* while the left hand, at the chest, displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her lowered back right hand holds a pair of arrows while the outstretched back left hand holds the bow (partially obliterated). She is richly ornamented and wears a tall conical coiffure crowned by a lotus-finial. Foil has been inserted into her three eyes. Ribbons and floral rosettes appear above each ear. A flying *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the late 10th century. In respect to *āyudhas*, except for *tarjanī-pāśa* which replaces the *aśoka*-bough, her iconography is the same as prescribed for Varāhamukhī and in several Orissan images, including the examples at Rāmacaṇḍī and Udayagiri, it is identical. It is thus quite possible that there were similar images of the other three companions which may have been placed in external niches of the original Mārīcī temple. On the other hand, except for her one (sow) face, her iconography, provided there was a chariot on her missing pedestal, conforms to the four-armed Mārīcī from Udalā mentioned earlier.

6. Twelve-Armed Standing Mārīcī/Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī

In contrast to these eight-armed images which depict Mārīcī with an ideal feminine physique like "a virgin in the fullness of youth", there are five *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* which describe a more fearful form with six faces, twelve arms and a pot-belly. In three *sādhanas* (nos. 138, 139, 140) she is named Oḍiyāna Mārīcī while in *sādhana* no. 136 she is called Vajradhātvīśvarī-Mārīcī and in *sādhana* no. 143 she is simply named Mārīcī[245] or Vajravetālī.[246] The descriptions are nearly identical except for minor variations in respect to the *āyudhas* so that the images may be classified as one form of Mārīcī. In each *sādhana* the sixth face is that of a sow and is placed above the other five, a feature which possibly led A. Getty to consider this terrifying form to be the consort of Hayagrīva, mistakenly believing this sixth head was the head of a horse.[247] Each face has three eyes. The faces are coloured red, blue, green, yellow and white respectively, the sow-face also being blue in colour. She is fierce in appearance, pot-bellied, with tawny hair rising up like flames, wears

a garland of skulls, has a waist band of serpents and a tiger-skin as dress. Obstacles are said to be falling at her feet and she has Vairocana as her consort. She is of red complexion and stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot drawn by seven sows. Her female charioteer, of terrific appearance, has one hand in *tarjanī* or *tarjanikā-pāśa* and holds an *aśoka-pallava* in the other. From her *mantra* it appears that this form of the goddess is invoked for paralysing, bewildering and killing all wicked beings.[248]

According to *sādhana* no. 136, her right hands hold a *khaḍga* (sword), *mūṣala* (pestle), *śara* (arrow), *aṅkuśa* (goad), *ekasūcīka vajra* (single-prong) and a *paraśu* (axe) while the left hands show *sapāśa-tarjanī* (*mudrā* with index finger raised, the hand holding a serpent-noose), *kapāla*, head of Brahmā, *aśoka*-bough, bow and trident. In *sādhana* no. 138 the *āyudhas* are the same except the *aṅkuśa* is replaced by a *vajra*. In *sādhana* no. 139 the *aṅkuśa* is replaced by a *cakra* and a *khaṭvāṅga* is added, probably cradled by the hand holding the *kapāla*. In *sādhana* no. 140 the *aṅkuśa* is replaced by a *viśvavajra* (double *vajra*). *Sādhana* no. 143 has the identical weapons as no. 138. The only variations thus appear with one of the right hands, which may hold an *aṅkuśa*, a *cakra*, a *vajra* or a *viśvavajra*, and in the addition of the *khaṭvāṅga* in *sādhana* no. 139. In respect to her name, in *sādhana* no. 138 she is called "Dvādaśabhuja-raktavarṇa-Oḍiyāna Mārīcī"; in *sādhana* no. 139 she is named "Oḍiyāna Mārīcī"; while in *sādhana* no. 140 she is "Dvādaśabhuja-raktavarṇa-Oḍiyāna-svādhiṣṭhānakrama Mārīcī". In two painted versions, appearing in two *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts from Nepal, her labels read "Oḍḍiyāna Mārīcī" in the example in the Cambridge University Library (Ms. No. Add. 1643) and "Oḍiyāna Mārīcī" in the example in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (Ms. No. A 15). In both paintings the iconography is abbreviated with each image having only three heads and no chariot pulled by sows. In one image there are only ten arms.[249]

Although sculptural examples of this form of Mārīcī are quite rare,[250] in his study of the art of Mayurbhañja district of Orissa at the beginning of this century, N.N. Vasu mentions seeing an image of Oḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī in the Panchpir sub-division of this district, though he does not describe or illustrate it in volume I, intending to publish it in volume II which never came to fruition.[251] Since then two images have been discovered, one at Mārīcīpur on the seashore and the other close to Singhapur in the Dharmaśālā area, both in Cuttack district. In the image from Mārīcīpur,[252] Mārīcī stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot drawn by seven sows (fig. 377). The back of her chariot is designed as a *pīḍha-muṇḍi* or miniature shrine, as on numerous Sūrya images, rather than as the womb of a *caitya* as prescribed, though of course *caitya* can be interpreted as a shrine in general rather than a specific shape of shrine or cave. She has a pot-belly, a serpent-ornament stretched across her shoulder which hangs between her breasts, and a garland of skulls. She is richly adorned and wears a short *śāṭī* which ends just above her knees. She has six faces, the small sixth face represented as a sow and elevated above the other five as prescribed, though the two flanking faces on either side of the principal or centre face have recently been recarved by a Bengali sculptor, the original faces having been mostly obliterated. The sow face is framed by radiating serpentine curls, in the manner of the sow-faced Vārāhī, to which are added a pair of severed hands and two serpent hoods. The latter, along with the flame-like treatment of her coiffure rising above this sow face, are terrifying features conventionally associated with Cāmuṇḍā.

Unfortunately, many of the hands and *āyudhas* are broken off or improperly restored, including the lowest two right hands which now display *abhaya* and *varada*. Only the *ekasūcīka-vajra* and the *mūṣala* remain intact in the right hands. The principal right hand probably held the sword while the lowest hand may have held an arrow as in the painted versions. The other two hands would have held the goad and the *paraśu*, the handles of both weapons being partially intact. The only intact objects held in the left hands include

Chart 27 — 12-ARMED MĀRĪCĪ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	1	2	3	4	5	6	Name
Sādhanamālā 136	r. sword	pestle	arrow	goad	eka-vajra	paraśu	Vajradhātvīśvarī
	l. tarjanī-pāśa	kapāla	aśoka	Brahmaśira	bow	trident	
Sādhanamālā 138	r. sword	viśvavajra	pestle	arrow	eka-vajra	paraśu	Oḍiyāna
	l. tarjanī-pāśa	kapāla	aśoka	Brahmaśira	bow	trident	
Sādhanamālā 139	r. sword	cakra	pestle	arrow	eka-vajra	paraśu	Oḍiyāna
	l. tarjanī-pāśa	khaṭvāṅga/ kapāla	aśoka	Brahmaśira	bow	trident	
		AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ LABELLED IMAGES					
Ms. No. Add. 1643	r. sword	arrow	trident	vajra?	goad	pestle	Oḍiyāna
	l. tarjanī	pāśa	Brahmaśira	aśoka?	bow	shield	
Ms. No. A 15	r. sword	vajra	arrow	goad	pestle		Oḍiyāna
	l. tarjanī	Brahmaśira	bow	aśoka	shield		

12-ARMED MĀRĪCĪ IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mārīcīpur	r. x	x	eka-vajra	goad?	paraśu?	pestle
	l. tarjanī-pāśa	Brahmaśira	aśoka?	kapāla	x	kaṭurī
Odisoandeigoda	r. sword	aśoka	paraśu?	eka-vajra	arrow?	cakra
	l. tarjanī-pāśa	trident	Brahmaśira	x	bow	pestle

the *Brahmaśira* (severed head of Brahmā), a *katurī* (chopper) in the uplifted back hand, and a *kapāla* though the latter appears to be displaced as the principal left hand was probably displaying *sapāśa-tarjanī*, prescribed in the *sādhanas*, as suggested by the placement of the serpent. The second lower left hand held the *aśoka-pallava*, only the stalk still intact. The other two *āyudhas* would have been the *kapāla* and the bow. In essence the only deviation from textual accounts, also noticed in the painted versions, is the object held in the uplifted back left hand, a trident in the *sādhanas*, which is a *katurī* here and a shield in the paintings. There is a single companion goddess who serves as the charioteer, as prescribed, though she has four hands rather than two (fig. 387). She holds the *aśoka-pallava* in her raised right hand while her left hand displays *tarjanī*. Her back hands hold arrows and a bow. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* between two railing posts. The railing, along with the corner posts, is broken off. Between the feet of the charioteer is Rāhu holding the sun and moon. The seven sows pulling the chariot are frontally depicted and are flush in alignment as they move straight forward on all four legs, though the outside ones are slightly angled. The *pīḍha-muṇḍi* design behind Mārīcī consists of five *pīḍha*-mouldings of diminishing size crowned by an *amalaka*. The heads of Mārīcī are framed by a trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* formed by pearls dripping from a *kīrtimukha* in the *beki* (neck) of the crowning elements of the *pīḍha-muṇḍi*. There is a flying *vidyādhara* at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the beginning of the 11th century.

The second example of Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī is presently housed in a small shrine at Odisoandeigoda, near Singhapur (fig. 378).[253] Mārīcī is stout in appearance and stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot emerging from the womb of a *caitya*. Her principal right hand raises a sword above her heads while her left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa* as prescribed in the texts. Her lower right hand holds the *aśoka* while two other hands hold the handle of a *paraśu* (?) and arrows. A prong of an *ekasūcīka-vajra* is visible in the hand next to her breast. The topmost back hand holds a *cakra*. The lowest left hand, now broken off, held a trident which is mostly intact. The next lowest left hand, also broken off, held the *Brahmaśira* of which faint vestiges are visible. The object in the next hand, held straight out, is missing but was probably the *kapāla*. Although the next hand is also broken off, most of the bow is intact. The topmost left hand holds the pestle. Iconographically, in respect to *āyudhas*, with the *cakra* replacing the goad, the image corresponds most closely to *sādhana* no. 139, except the *aśoka* and pestle are reversed in regard to side. She wears a garland of skulls, is richly adorned, and has a serpent draped over her left shoulder which serves as her *pāśa*. She has five heads aligned horizontally though the side ones, and the sow-head in her coiffure, are badly worn. The *caitya* front is ornamented with the bead-and-reel motif. A lotus-rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The charioteer stands in *pratyālīḍha* between the two centre posts of the low railing at the front of her chariot. She is two-armed and holds the *aśoka-pallava* (?) in her raised right hand while the left hand displays *tarjanī*. She is stout in body proportions and like Mārīcī bears few feminine characteristics. The seven sows are aligned frontally and move straight forward on all four legs. The image can be dated to the late 10th-early 11th century.

References

[1] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 130-31.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[3] See J. Leoshko, "The Appearance of Amoghapāśa", figs. 45-49, 51, 54.
[4] L.A. Waddell, *JRAS* (1894), pp. 76-79.
[5] R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pp. 479-81.
[6] P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 234.

[7]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 129, 134.
[8]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pp. 484-86.
[9]*Ibid.*, pp. 471-77.
[10]*Ibid.*, p. 477.
[11]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pl. CCCXXXIX(B).
[12]*Ibid.*, I, p. 228, pl. CLXXIV(A).
[13]*Ibid.*, II, p. 441, pl. CCCXXXIV(C).
[14]Frederick M. Asher, *The Art of Eastern India, 300-800* (Minneapolis, 1980), pl. 163.
[15]N. Hock, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-83, 136-37, 163-67.
[16]A.J. Bernet-Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* (Cambridge, 1959), pls. 258, 260.
[17]M.. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30, fig. 6.
[18]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 49-50, pl. XXIV(A-C).
[19]A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, p. 126.
[20]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 151.
[21]D. Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur*, p. 132.
[22]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 21.
[23]A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, pp. 103-05.
[24]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 289,298. Yaśodhara and Pāṇḍaravāsinī are shifted to other positions in the *maṇḍala*.
[25]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, pp. 150-51.
[26]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
[27]*Ibid.*, pp. 92-94.
[28]*Ibid.*, pp. 95-98.
[29]*Ibid.*, p. 100.
[30]*Ibid.*, p. 101.
[31]*Ibid.*, p. 127.
[32]*Ibid.*, p. 128; J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, p. 87, pl. 258.
[33]G. Roerich, *Tibetan Paintings*, p. 59, pl. 14.
[34]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 22-23.
[35]D. Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur*, pp. 113-14, acc. no. 307.
[36]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
[37]D. Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur*, p. 123, acc. no. 282.
[38]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 220-21.
[39]*Ibid.*, pp. 337-42.
[40]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 351.
[41]*Ibid.*, pp. 349-51.
[42]*Ibid.*, p. 350.
[43]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 242, pl. CLXXXV(B).
[44]*Ibid.*, I, p. 50, pl. XXXIV(B).
[45]*Ibid.*, I, p. 135, pl. LXXX(A).
[46]*Ibid.*, I, p. 235, pl. CLXXVIII(B).
[47]*Ibid.*, II, p. 454, pl. CCCXLV(A).
[48]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 108, fig. 99, acc. no. 298.
[49]N. Ray, K. Khandalavala and S. Gorakshkar, *op. cit.*, p. 169, fig. 296.
[50]See D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 38-42.
[51]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
[52]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 30-31.
[53]*Ibid.*, pp. 37-38. See also Edward Conze, "On the Iconography of Prajñāpāramitā", Parts I & II, *Oriental Art*, Vol. II, No. 2 (1949) and Vol. III, No. 3 (1950).
[54]D.C Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 59-64.
[55]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 198.
[56]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 38.
[57]*Ibid.*, p. 38.
[58]*Ibid.*, p. 39.

[59]*Ibid.*, p. 39.

[60]*Ibid.*, p. 39

[61]*Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

[62]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 33.

[63]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 51.

[64]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 34.

[65]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 41.

[66]*Ibid.*, p. 41.

[67]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 148, pl. XCVII(B).

[68]*Ibid.*, II, p. 316, pl. CCXXXVII.

[69]*Ibid.*, II, p. 317.

[70]P.K. Ray, *OHRJ*, XXIX, No. 1, p. 49 and fig. 1.

[71]See N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa* (fig. 56) for a photograph prior to this "restoration".

[72]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 53, fig. 13.

[73]*Ibid.*, p. 54, fig. 11.

[74]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 58.

[75]*Ibid.*, p. 206. In an illustration of a four-armed Prajñāpāramitā on the cover of a manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* dating to A.D. 1028 in the collection of S.K. Saraswati there are four companion goddesses though none of them have been identified. See Monotosh Mookerjee, "An Illustrated Cover of a Manuscript of the 'Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā' in a Private Collection", *Lalit Kala*, No. 6 (1959), p. 60, pl. G.

[76]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 151.

[77]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLVII.

[78]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 82.

[79]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLVII; and A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[80]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLVII.

[81]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 221.

[82]*Ibid.*, p. 340.

[83]*Ibid.*, p. 221.

[84]*Ibid.*, p. 222.

[85]*Ibid.*, p. 222.

[86]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 58.

[87]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 222-23.

[88]*Ibid.*, p. 223.

[89]A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, II, pp. 145-46, 199, pl. VIII, 4.

[90]J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Paṭṭikera Chundā and variations of her Image", *Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume*, ed. A.B.M. Habibullah (Dacca, 1966), pp. 119-43.

[91]N. Ray, K. Khandalavala and S. Gorakshkar, *op. cit.*, fig. 212.

[92]Janice Leoshko, "Buddhist Sculptures from Bodhgaya", *Bodhgaya, the Site of Enlightenment*, ed. Janice Leoshko (Bombay, 1988), fig. 12.

[93]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 144.

[94]J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-43. For a headless image see Rakhal Das Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, ASI, XLVII (Delhi, 1933), pl. XVI(b).

[95]Though similar to the *dharmacakra-mudrā* the *cundā-mudrā* is slightly different according to D. Mitra (Achutrajpur, p. 119), a good example of it appearing on the 24-armed Bahubhujā-Cundā in the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* illustrated by W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 285, fig. 241.

[96]A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, II, pp. 144, 145, 200 (no. 58), and pl. VIII, 3.

[97]*Ibid.*, II, p. 213 (no. 32).

[98]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 119.

[99]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 58, fig. 19.

[100]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 206, fig. 6 A 61.

[101]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 59, fig. 20.

[102]F. Asher, *op. cit.*, pl. 250.

[103]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. XLVII-XLIX, figs. 131-40, 144.

[104]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 245, pl. CLXXXI(A).

[105]*Ibid.*, II, p. 299, pl. CCXLVII.

[106]*Ibid.*, I, p. 136, pl. LXXX(C).

[107]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 120-22, figs. 110-12.

[108]In a six-armed metal image from the Chittagong area the iconography is similar except the lotus is replaced by a manuscript. See S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII.

[109]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 122.

[110]See Achyutanand Jha, *Tathāgata Akṣobhya and the Vajra Kula* (Delhi, 1993), pl. XLIV.B. The image does not display *tarjanī* and *dharmacakra-mudrā*, however, nor does she have three heads. The image may be the twelve-armed goddess of the Beams collection identified as Prajñāpāramitā though the measurements are not the same. See R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 11.

[111]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[112]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 337-38.

[113]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[114]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 215.

[115]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXVIII.

[116]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 36.

[117]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 307. The dimensions as given do not appear to be correct as the image is taller than it is wide.

[118]Cf. L.A. Waddell, *JRAS* (1894), pp. 85-86; and Albert Grunwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 148.

[119]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25; A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, II, pp. 141ff; B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 309; and A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[120]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55; see A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 294-95 in respect to Bhṛkuṭī and Tārā.

[121]A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, p. 163; *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 21.

[122]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.

[123]*Tāranātha*, pp. 192-93.

[124]*Ibid.*, p. 193.

[125]*Ibid.*, p. 281.

[126]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 150. As she points out, it is not stated that Bhṛkuṭī *sits* on the orb of the moon.

[127]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 152.

[128]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

[129]*Ibid.*, p. 150.

[130]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 235.

[131]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[132]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 169; and S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 236. According to Saraswati the second left hand holds a manuscript.

[133]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XIII, p. 21, fig. 5.

[134]W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 160, fig. 5 A 32; p. 171, fig. 5 B 12.

[135]*Ibid.*, II, p. 288, fig. 256.

[136]R. Vira and L. Chandra, *op. cit.*, IX, 150a.

[137]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[138]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 111-12, acc. no. 274.

[139]*Ibid.*, p. 112, acc. no. 271.

[140]*Ibid.*, p. 113.

[141]*Ibid.*, pp. 131-32, acc. no. 353.

[142]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 219-20.

[143]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 460.

[144]*Ibid.*, I, p. 87.

[145]*Ibid.*, I, p. 138, pl. LXXXI(B).

[146]*Ibid.*, I, p. 138, pl. LXXXI(C).

[147]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 124, acc. no. 284.

[148]*Ibid.*, p. 124.

[149]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 69. They are so called because they supposedly protect the votaries from all possible evils.

[150]*Ibid.*, p. 79.

[151]See Thomas Donaldson, "Some Little-Known Metal Images from Orissa", *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1988), fig. 11.

[152]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 74-75.

[153]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 246.

[154]*Ibid.*, p. 151. She appears twice, as a directional deity and at a gate.

[155]*Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

[156]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 50, pl. XXIV(C).

[157]See S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXVIII, figs. 184-87.

[158]J. Leoshko, "The case of the Two Witnesses", p. 48. In the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* Aparājita and Aparājitā are wrathful *mantra*-holders who serve as guardians of the gate for Śākyamuni. *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, pp. 20-26.

[159]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 196-97.

[160]*Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

[161]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[162]B. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[163]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 35.

[164]*Ibid.*, p. 35.

[165]*Ibid.*, p. 35.

[166]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXIX.

[167]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 339.

[168]*Ibid.*, p. 197.

[169]*Ibid.*, p. 196.

[170]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 130.

[171]A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, II, p. 73.

[172]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 147.

[173]N.N. Vasu (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxix) describes her as holding an arrow and showing *abhaya* with her right hands while her left hands hold a quiver of jewels and string an arrow of red lotus-buds on a bow of flowers drawn up to the ear.

[174]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXXIX.

[175]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 149.

[176]*Ibid.*, p. 149.

[177]D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, p. 87.

[178]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 151-52.

[179]*Ibid.*, p. 148.

[180]D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, p. 112.

[181]*Tāranātha*, pp. 144-48.

[182]Cf. description of Kubjikā in the *Agni Purāṇa* (144.27-37), II, p. 415; or that of Tvaritā in the *Śāradā Tilaka-tantram* (X.4-6), ed. Arthur Avalon (Delhi, 1982 reprint), p. 26.

[183]*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, AITM, Vol. 26, trans. Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare (Delhi, 1984), pp. 1264-65.

[184]Painted versions are found in the Cambridge University Library manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (No. Add. 1643) and the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (No. A 15), both from Nepal. In the former, the accompanying label describes the goddess as "Lāhtadeśe Kurukulā-śikhare Kurukulā", which thus attempts to locate mt. Kurukullā in Lāṭa (Gujarat). See S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXXXVIII, and colour pls. 215, 249.

[185]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 130, pl. LXXVI(A).

[186]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 153.

[187]Cf. A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, fig. opposite p. 78; A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII(a-b); P. Pal, *Nepal/Where the Gods are Young*, fig. 48; W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 105, fig. 3 B 40, and p. 239, fig. 60.

[188]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 116, acc. no. 281.

[189]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 217.
[190]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-33.
[191]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 218.
[192]*Ibid.*, p. 218.
[193]*Ibid.*, p. 219.
[194]*Ibid.*, p. 161.
[195]*Ibid.*, p. 162.
[196]*Ibid.*, pp. 162-63.
[197]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
[198]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 158.
[199]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
[200]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 163-64.
[201]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 38-39.
[202]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LIX.
[203]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 203.
[204]*Ibid.*, p. 203.
[205]*Ibid.*, p. 157.
[206]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXI.
[207]*Ibid.*, p. LXI.
[208]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 247.
[209]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXI.
[210]H.C. Das, *OHRJ*, XXVIII, No. 1 & 2, pp. 54-55. Das does not actually describe the image.
[211]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 206-07.
[212]*Ibid.*, p. 207.
[213]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 174.
[214]*Ibid.*, fig. 172.
[215]D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, pp. 74-75.
[216]See Thomas Donaldson, *Kāmadeva's Pleasure Garden: Orissa* (Delhi, 1987), figs. 307-11.
[217]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, fig. 4221.
[218]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 132. See also S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLI.
[219]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 209.
[220]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
[221]*Ibid.*, p. 133.
[222]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 32.
[223]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 134.
[224]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 157-58. Her identification partially rests on her interpretation that the *ṛṣis* are standing in water and on the addition of two female attendants. In Orissan images of water goddesses, however, the only flower that they hold is the lotus while one of the attendants invariably holds an umbrella over the head of the goddess. There is also no suggestion of a mount nor does the goddess herself stand in water.

N. Hock (*op. cit.*, pp. 161-62) recognizes the apotropaic character of the image and the tree branch but suggests the image may represent Vasudhārā while the bough would represent paddy.

[225]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 115, acc. no. 275.
[226]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 133-34.
[227]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, pp. 52-53.
[228]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLV.
[229]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 34.
[230]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. XLIV-XLV.
[231]There is inscribed the Buddhist creed in characters of about the 10th century on a drum housing one of the images of Mārīcī standing in a chariot pulled by seven horses. See D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 133, pl. LXXVIII(A).
[232]According to Sahu both images from Udalā have Rāhu as the charioteer. He does not, however, appear on the six-armed image and, as mentioned, I have not seen the four-armed image. See N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 222.

[233]A. Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 155. Though referring to both images, he actually illustrates two views of the eight-armed image from Khiching and one of the six-armed image from Udalā.

[234]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 210-11.

[235]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLIV.

[236]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 133, pl. LXXVIII(B).

[237]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLII.

[238]Whereas the list of *āyudhas* in *sādhana* no. 134 read from top to bottom, in *sādhana* no. 137 they read from bottom to top.

[239]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 210.

[240]A. Joshi, *op. cit.*, fig. 51.

[241]The zamindar was the proprietor of Udayagiri. See R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, p. 13.

[242]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images*, fig. 26.

[243]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. xcv.

[244]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 210. According to him she carries the *vajrāṅkuśa* and needle in her right hands while her left hands hold the noose and *aśoka*.

[245]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLV.

[246]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 214.

[247]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[248]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XC.

[249]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXXIX-XCI, figs. 257-58.

[250]As noted by Saraswati, no sculptural representation of this form has been available so far. *Ibid.*, p. XLV.

[251]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. xcv.

[252]See T. Donaldson, *Oriental Art*, XXXIV, No. 3, figs. 2-6.

[253]I am grateful to B.K. Rath for this information.

FERTILITY DEITIES, COMPANION DEITIES AND PEDESTAL DECORATION

A. JAMBHALA/PĀÑCIKA

Jambhala is the Buddhist counterpart of Kubera, the Brahmanical god of wealth. Like Kubera he appears to have originally been a *yakṣa*. Kubera, as the regent of the north, "was called Vaiśravaṇa and his abode was Alaka in the Himalayas, abounding in wealth and magnificence, where he was attended by *yakṣas* and horse-headed men called kinnaras." Twenty-eight of the *yakṣas* were generals in the army of Vaiśravaṇa, as A. Getty further states, "and their chief was the yakṣa Pāñcika",[1] who is probably best known as the consort of the *yakṣiṇī* Hāritī. In early Indian art Pāñcika is often represented opposite Hāritī and may carry the lance in his right hand and a bag of money in his left hand, or he may be surrounded by children like Hāritī. When represented alone, "it is extremely difficult to decide which forms are Pāñcika when without the lance or not surrounded by children, and which are Kubera", Getty continues, but "as a general rule it may be said that Pāñcika never holds the nakula, while Kubera may carry either the mongoose or the money bag."[2] For the most part, in respect to later Buddhist art, Pāñcika appears to have been absorbed into Jambhala.

As the bestower of riches, Jambhala is very popular among the Buddhists and there are many *sādhanas* (nos. 284-89, 291-95, 296-99) in the *Sādhanamālā* which describe his forms, both terrifying and benign, single and in *yab-yum*. In most cases his parental Tathāgata is either Akṣobhya or Ratnasaṁbhava, though in some cases he is said to have all five Tathāgatas (*sādhanas* nos. 285, 289) or Vajrasattva (*sādhana* no. 297) on his crown. He may have two arms, four arms, or three faces and six arms. In that only two-armed examples are found in Orissan art, only two-armed forms will be discussed, in particular when he is in benign form and seated.

Three *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* describe this two-armed benign form as an emanation of Ratnasaṁbhava. He is of golden complexion and is richly adorned. He has a pot-belly and holds a *mātuluṅga* (citron) in his right hand while his left squeezes a *nakula* (mongoose). The *nakula*, as noted by B. Bhattacharyya, "is supposed to be the receptacle of

all gems and jewels, and when Jambhala presses the two sides of the mongoose it vomits the treasures within."[3] In Tibet it is claimed that "the mongoose symbolizes Kubera's victory over the Nāgas, guardians of the treasures." The *nakula*, A. Getty continues, "is merely a bag made of the skin of a mongoose, replacing the long narrow sack of the earlier images." His name of Jambhala, she further adds, most likely derives from the *jambhara* or lemon that he holds in his right hand.[4] As with Kubera, jars of *nidhi* (jewels) are associated with this form[5] while his pose is *lalitāsana*.[6]

At least six examples of Jambhala survive in niches of minor *stūpas* at Ratnagiri and they invariably conform to this description. In *stūpa* no. 226, from the area west and north of *Stūpa* No. 1, he is placed in the west niche while the other niches contain Buddha (east), Cundā (south) and Lokeśvara (north). Three *nidhi-kumbhas* are placed on his pedestal.[7] In an image from one of the monolithic *stūpas* from the area southwest of Stupa No. 1, there are five *nidhi-kumbhas* while on *stūpa* no. 88 from the area in front of Monastery No. 2 the image has seven *nidhi-kumbhas*.[8] Invariably one of the *nidhi-kumbhas* is knocked over with jewels spilling out. Included among the numerous large Jambhala images is an example found leaning against the eastern pilaster of the rear porch of Monastery No. 1 which has on its back side an incised *maṇḍala* diagram consisting of concentric circles and an eight-petalled lotus, a *mantra*, and the Buddhist creed inscribed in characters of the 9th-10th century, mentioned earlier. The pot-bellied Jambhala is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his right leg pendent. His right hand, in *varada*, holds a citron while the left hand holds a mongoose disgorging pearls. He is richly adorned and coiled locks of hair spread down to his shoulders. Six seated figures are visible in his tall *mukuṭa*, five being the conventional Tathāgatas while the sixth figure, with his hands in *kṣepaṇa-mudrā*, possibly represents Nāmasaṅgīti.[9] On either side of his head is a *vidyādhara*. The back-slab has a central projection at the top which contains his *mukuṭa* and a crowning umbrella. Below his seat are four *nidhi-kumbhas*, one tipped over with its contents spilling out, and a seated devotee at each corner. Proportionally the body is flat and elongated with the garland of *utpala* or *campaka* flowers hanging below the navel.

Two of the best examples at Ratnagiri are those housed in niches on the rear wall of the front porch of Monastery No. 1, one on either side of the doorframe (fig. 24). The one on the east flank has his head broken off. He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* supported at either end by a lion. His pendent right foot rests on a lotus. His rich body ornamentation includes a garland of *utpala* or *campaka* flowers and he has a pot-belly. His right hand, on his knee, holds a citron while the left hand squeezes a mongoose-purse which vomits jewels. At each upper corner of the niche is a hanging *kumbha*. Two *nidhi-kumbhas* are placed on the pedestal beneath the lotus supporting the foot of Jambhala. The image on the west flank is similar in respect to iconography and is better preserved (fig. 389). His ornate body ornamentation includes a beaded *yajñopavīta* and a garland of *utpala* or *campaka* flowers which likewise hangs only half-way to the navel. His facial features are well-defined with the eyebrows forming one continuous double curve. His hair is in a chignon on top of his head and his jewelled diadem has a large projecting centre crest. A pot hangs from each upper corner of the niche and there are seven *nidhi-kumbhas* on the pedestal, one being tipped over. Both images can be dated to the 8th century.

Similar in style and iconography is the image presently housed in a *muṇḍi* niche on the west wall of the rear porch of the entrance into the courtyard which D. Mitra identifies as Pāñcika, probably due to the image of Hāritī in the *muṇḍi* niche on the east wall.[10] He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his right foot pendent (fig. 390). His right hand, at the knee, holds the citron while the left hand squeezes the mongoose against his thigh. He wears a garland of *utpala* or *campaka* flowers and has a pot-belly. His body ornaments are more ornate than on the previous two images, in particular his arm-bands and jewelled

tiara. His hair is fashioned into a bun on top of his head and is fastened at the base with a rope. At each upper corner of the back-slab is a *kumbha* suspended by a chain. Six *nidhi-kumbhas* are on the pedestal, one being tipped over, while a lion is at each corner. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

Of the two bronze images of Jambhala discovered at Ratnagiri,[11] the best preserved example was found in *stūpa* no. 55 from the group of monolithic *stūpas* found east of Stūpa No. 1 (fig. 391). He is seated in *bhadrāsana* on a throne with both legs pendent rather than in the more conventional *lalitāsana*. His right hand, resting on his knee, holds a citron while the left holds the mongoose. He wears a garland of *utpala* or *campaka* flowers and is richly adorned. He has a pot-belly, three eyes and a prominent nose. His high *mukuṭa* is richly adorned and his head is framed by a circular halo with a beaded border edged with flames. The back-rest of his throne is terminated by a horizontal part with a gadrooned member at each end, the one on the left now missing, and is supported at either side by a *virāla* motif of a lion standing on an elephant. The feet of Jambhala rest on a lotus while at each front corner of the footed throne is a recumbent lion. Fixed to the back of the image is a metal disc inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the 9th-10th century.[12]

There is also a bronze image of Jambhala from the hoard at Acutrajpur, now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 392). He is seated in *lalitāsana* and, as noted by D. Mitra, "is characterized by a soft plastic treatment, full and round limbs, full lips and the pot-belly in conformity with the physical form expected of the god of wealth and plenty."[13] His right hand holds the citron while the left hand holds the mongoose disgorging jewels. He is richly adorned and wears a garland of *utpala* or *campaka* flowers. Locks of hair spread out on his shoulders. His facial features and high crown with three ornate *kirīṭas* and lotus finial are badly worn. His head is framed by a solid oval halo with a broad rim and decorative bands edged at spaced intervals by tongues of flames. The horizontal bar terminating the throne is decorated with a *makara* at each end and supported on either side by a *virāla* motif. At the front corners of the footed pedestal is a recumbent lion while in the centre are three *nidhi-kumbhas*, one resting beneath the foot of Jambhala. Fixed to the back side of the halo is a small disc inscribed with the Buddhist creed in indistinct letters.[14] The image can be dated to the 9th century.

In the image at Lalitagiri, equally characterized by soft plasticity of body, the pedestal is higher and the *nidhi-kumbhas*, five in number with one tipped over, are larger, more carefully detailed, more fully rounded, and, being encased in a niche formed by the throne, are given more prominence (fig. 393). Jambhala is seated in *lalitāsana* and holds the citron in his right hand. The jewels being disgorged from the mongoose in his left hand spill into one of the *kumbhas*. He is richly adorned and his tiara has a prominent centre *kirīṭa* which projects into his chignon. The upper corners of the back-slab are broken off. The image can be dated to the late 8th-early 9th century.

A similar treatment with the *nidhi-kumbhas* appears at Udayagiri though there are only three pots and they are badly worn (fig. 394). The citron and part of his right hand are broken off. He is richly adorned and wears two types of earrings. His facial features are softly modelled and he wears a tall jewelled crown similar to that worn by early images of Sūrya.[15] His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The image can be dated to the mid-8th century.

In an image of Jambhala attached to the wall of the inner gate in the compound of the Jagannātha temple at Baripada there are eight *nidhi-kumbhas* aligned beneath the lotus seat. He holds the citron and the mongoose in the conventional fashion and is seated in *lalitāsana*.[16] He is richly adorned, has a pot-belly, wears a beaded-*yajñopavīta* and an effigy

of Ratnasaṁbhava is on his jewelled crown. Opposite his head on either side is a miniature *stūpa*. The upper part of the back-slab is rounded. The image can be dated to the early 10th century.

In the image from Baḍa-Tārā there are at least six *nidhi-kumbhas* on the pedestal with the centre three tipped over (fig. 395). The pot-bellied Jambhala is seated in *lalitāsana* and the jewels spewing from the mouth of the mongoose spray out into five strings. He is richly adorned and wears a beaded *yajñopavīta*. His facial features are mostly obscured by accretions of paste. Floral half-rosettes fan out above each ear and his jewelled crown has a lotus finial. His elongated-oval halo has a beaded border and is decorated with lotus petals. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Part of the back-slab is cut out behind his body. The image can be dated to the 10th century.

There is also a badly damaged image found on the stone-paved court in front of Monastery No. 2 at Ratnagiri which possibly represents Jambhala with his consort seated on his thigh (fig. 396). The pot-bellied Jambhala is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma*. His right hand, mostly obliterated, rests on his knee while his left arm embraces Vasudhārā.[17] Jambhala is attired in a short *antarīya*, is richly adorned, and has a short *mukuṭa*. Vasudhārā holds a lotus in her left hand while her right arm is draped around the shoulders of Jambhala. Seated on the right of Jambhala is the two-armed Mañjuvara in *lalitāsana* on the back of a lion. He is smaller than Jambhala and Vasudhārā. He displays *dharmacakra* with an *utpala* rising up from under his left arm to support a book. Under the seat of Jambhala are two kneeling monks and at least four *nidhi-kumbhas*. The image can be dated to the late 10th-early 11th century.

Though several *sādhanas* describe his two-armed form in *yab-yum* with Vasudhārā, iconographically he is the same as when single with his right hand holding a citron and his left the mongoose while Vasudhārā carries ears of corn.[18]

B. HĀRITĪ

In early Indian art, as indicated, Hāritī is often depicted surrounded by many children. Though originally a *yakṣiṇī*, an ogress, a cannibal demon who once devoured all the children in Rājagṛha, she later became a protectress of children, worshipped in Northern India by bereaved parents, and believed in Nepal to prevent small-pox,[19] who customarily was installed in the porch of monasteries as noted by Hiuen Tsang[20] and I-tsing.[21] There are many versions of the legend of Hāritī including one in the *Samyuktavāstu* summarized by A. Getty:

> At the time when the Buddha was dwelling in the vihāra of the Bamboo Grove in Rājagṛha, there was a yakṣa protector of the region named Śātagiri. He was the brother of the yakṣiṇī Abhirati whose hand was promised to the son of the yakṣa protector of Gandhara called Pāñcāla. One day she confided to her brother that she wished to capture and eat all the children in Rājagṛha. Śātagiri remonstrated with her in vain, and, hoping to turn her from her evil design, sent word to Pāñcāla that his sister being now of age to marry, he wished to unite her with his son Pāñcika. The yakṣa Pāñcāla willingly agreed to this, and Pāñcika became the father of her five hundred children, of which the youngest was called Priyaṅkara. But in Rājagṛha there were bitter lamentations. All the children had disappeared, and in their despair the parents appealed to the king, who commanded a great feast to be prepared with all sorts of offerings to the yakṣa of the region. The yakṣa then made known to the bereaved parents in a dream that their children had been devoured by the yakṣiṇī Abhirati, and that they must go to the Buddha and ask for his protection. From that time, Abhirati was always called Hāritī, the 'Rapacious One', or the 'Stealer of

Children'.[22]

Approached by the distressed parents, Buddha decided to cure Hāritī of her cannibalism by making her feel and realize the suffering of the parents at the loss of a child. Going to the dwelling-place of Hāritī, and finding Priyaṅkara there, he hid him under his begging bowl. Unable to find her favourite son, she went to the abode of Vaiśravaṇa and he told her to return to Rājagṛha and to put her faith in the Buddha. She returned to Rājagṛha and, beseeching Buddha to let her see her son again, the Buddha replied that she must first promise to follow his precepts and accord security to all the people of Rājagṛha. She acceded to the Buddha's command and there was rejoicing in Rājagṛha:

> Now Hāritī, having forsworn all human food, asked of the Buddha what nourishment she and her 500 children were to receive. For answer, the Buddha sent for the monks of the vihāra and commanded them to offer to Hāritī and her children daily, at each repast, the same nourishment of which they themselves partook. Thereafter, in all the monasteries in India and Nepal, the command of the Buddha was obeyed.[23]

For this reason, comments I-tsing after recording a similar version of the legend, "the image of Hāritī is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of all Indian monasteries depicting her holding a babe in her arms, and round her knees three or five children."[24]

According to A. Getty, Hāritī may be depicted either seated or standing with a child at her breast or astride her hip while around her were usually other children symbolizing her sons. She sometimes holds a pomegranate in one of her hands, not only as a symbol of fertility but also due to its resemblance to human flesh, the Buddha supposedly giving her a diet of this red fruit to cure her of cannibalism.[25] In a *sādhana* discovered by L. Waddell in a Tibetan manuscript, Hāritī is described as being red in colour and holding a mongoose in her hand.[26] In Tibet she may be represented pressing a child to her right breast and a mongoose to her left breast. Her right hand displays *varada* while the left hand holds a bowl of jewels to suggest she is not only the "Giver of Children", but, due to the presence of the mongoose, the "Bestower of Wealth" as well.[27]

Two images of Hāritī have been identified in Orissa, one at Ratnagiri and the other at Lalitagiri. In the example at Ratnagiri the image is housed in a *muṇḍi* niche on the east wall of the rear porch of the front entrance complex, opposite the image of Pāñcika on the west wall, and like Pāñcika is too small for the niche to suggest this was not their original placement (fig. 397).[28] Whereas Pāñcika is carved of khondalite, Hāritī is carved of chlorite. She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a footed throne, the front edge of the seat decorated with the *raṅganī* motif of flower-rosettes housed in small squares. Her right hand, the arm resting on her thigh, holds the branch of a tree while her left hand is placed on her knee, the arm cradling a child seated on her thigh. The child holds a *modaka* (?) in his right hand while the left hand is placed on Hāritī's thigh for support. Hāritī is richly adorned and her hair is in a broad chignon on top of her head. She wears a jewelled diadem which has three ornate crests. Her head is framed by an unembellished oval halo. Beneath her seat is a *kukkuṭa* (rooster-cock), the conventional attribute of Kārttikeya, while the child on her thigh has a *vyāghranakha* necklace and *pātra-kuṇḍalas*, body ornaments also associated with Kārttikeya (Kumāra). In some images of Pāñcika, as mentioned by A. Getty, a bird is perched on his left hand while his right hand holds his *śakti* (lance).[29] It is quite possible that in this image the bird is somehow associated with the child who may symbolically represent Priyaṅkara.[30] The work may be dated to the 9th century.

The image at Lalitagiri depicts the goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a footed throne with her right hand resting on her knee though it is too badly worn to determine if it held

any attribute. Her left arm cradles the child seated on her thigh. He looks up at Hāritī as on the image from Ratnagiri and holds a *modaka* in his right hand, his left hand placed on her thigh for support (fig. 398). Hāritī is richly adorned and her hair is in a broad chignon on top of her head. Her facial features are badly worn as are most of the surface details due to the poor quality of stone. Her head is framed by an unembellished halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The pedestal beneath the seat is partially obliterated. The image can be dated to the late 8th-early 9th century.

It is possible that the image at Brahmavāṇa transformed into Pārvatī holding the youthful Gaṇeśa was originally Hāritī (fig. 38). Both hands of the goddess as well as Gaṇeśa are modern restorations or creations. There is a small flower in her right hand while lions appear at the corners of the pedestal. If the lions are part of the original iconographic programme then the image, provided there was no child on her thigh, was probably Tārā. Surface details, as indicated earlier, are refashioned with plaster. The upper part of the back-slab is missing. The image can be dated to the late 9th-early 10th century.

C. VASUDHĀRĀ

Vasudhārā is the consort of Jambhala and may be represented singly or in *yab-yum*. Though there are numerous descriptions of a six-armed form, as in the *Vasundharā-vratotpatyavadāna* (Calcutta Asiatic Society, Ms. No. B. 44, fol. 15A), the *Vasundharoddeśa* (Calcutta Asiatic Society, Ms. No. G. 4840, fol. 1B, 4b-5a) and the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Calcutta Asiatic Society, Ms. No. G. 8055, fol. 36b-37a),[31] where she is considered not only as the goddess of wealth and plenty, but also the goddess of wisdom,[32] in the *Sādhanamālā* only her two-armed form is described and that is also the only form known as yet in Orissan art. Like Jambhala, she may bear the image of either Akṣobhya or Ratnasaṁbhava on her crown. In all of the *sādhanas* (nos. 214, 215, 289) her form is identical though in nos. 214 and 215 she is surrounded by companions while in no. 289 she is surrounded by eight *yakṣiṇīs*. Her right hand displays *varada* while her left hand holds a sprout of paddy or corn (*dhānyamañjarī*) and in some cases she is associated with a pot overflowing with riches:[33]

> The worshipper should conceive himself as (Vasudhārā) who originates from the yellow germ syllable 'Vaṁ'. She is two-armed, one-faced, of yellow complexion, is in the prime of youth and is decked in all sorts of ornaments and garments. She carries in her left hand the ears of corn on a vessel showering gems, while the right exhibits the varada-mudrā. She is surrounded by many lady friends, rests on the moon over the double lotus, and bears the image of Ratnasaṁbhava on the crown.[34]

Though nothing is said in respect to her *āsana*, in the six-armed form she is generally prescribed the *lalitāsana* pose. Her right hands in this form display *varada-* and *namaskāra-mudrā* and hold a sheaf of jewels while her left hands hold the auspicious jar, the book of knowledge and the sheaf of corn.[35]

In addition to three large independent images of Vasudhārā at Ratnagiri there are possibly two small examples housed in niches of monolithic *stūpas*, including an example in *stūpa* no. 57 from a group east of Stūpa No. 1 where she is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*.[36] In the second small example, on *stūpa* no. 91 in the area in front of Monastery No. 2, it is not clear if the object in her slightly raised left hand represents ears of corn or the feathers of a peacock, if the latter she would be Mahāmāyūrī.[37] She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand, resting on her knee, showing *varada*. The three images are all similar in respect to iconography (fig. 399). Two of the images were found dislodged, one amidst debris above the courtyard in front of the shrine complex of Monastery No. 1 and the other on the stone kerb edging the verandah in front of Cell 19,[38] while the third is inserted in a niche of the

west flank of the later antechamber in front of the shrine. In the latter image Vasudhārā is seated in *lalitāsana* on a cushion placed above a footed pedestal with her pendent right foot resting on a smaller cushion (fig. 400). Her right hand, resting on the knee, holds a small round object which may represent a citron or a jewel.[39] Her left hand, held shoulder high, holds a sprout of paddy or corn. She wears a *śāṭī* held in place by a beaded girdle and is richly ornamented. Her diadem has three ornate projections and her bun-shaped coiffure is tied by a ribbon with a fan-shaped projection on either side. Her eyes are half-closed and her facial features are sharply defined. Her head is framed by an elongated-oval halo. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The other two images are nearly identical except the object in her right hand is definitely a citron and in one image a kneeling monk is added beneath the pedestal.

The fourth goddess in the bronze *stūpa* from Acutrajpur, as indicated, may represent Yaśodhara (Vasudhārā) so that the four correspond to the four female companions of Avalokiteśvara in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*.[40] She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand in *varada* (fig. 126d). The object in her raised left hand resembles paddy or a sheaf of jewels rather than the *aśoka*-bough.

A similar stone image of Vasudhārā exists at Khiching (fig. 402). She is richly adorned and wears her hair in a bun with loose coil-shaped curls cascading down to her shoulders. Her jewelled diadem has a projecting centre crest. Her head is framed by an oval halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper rounded corner of the back-slab. On the right corner of the pedestal is a kneeling devotee and a tall jar while on the left corner are tripods supporting vessels of offerings. The image can be dated to the early 10th century. Iconographically the manner in which the sheaf (jewels) hang from the left hand, suggesting she may have held a bowl, is similar to the sheaf of jewels or money bag held by Kubera or his Śakti Kauberī in numerous Orissan images in which the right hand may likewise be in *varada*[41] or it may hold a *gadā*. A good example in a female form in which the right hand holds a *gadā* or a goad[42] appears in an image presently placed in the Bāṇeśvara temple at Balasore. She is seated in *lalitāsana* and one large *nidhi-kumbha* is on her pedestal (fig. 401).

Also at Ratnagiri, mentioned earlier, is an image representing Vasudhārā seated on the thigh of Jambhala (fig. 396). Her right hand is draped over his shoulder while her left hand holds the stalk of a lotus so that the iconography deviates from that prescribed in texts.

D. COMPANION DEITIES

As in the case of Brahmanical deities, the companions or attendants in Buddhist images are often abbreviated duplicates of the major divinity they are serving, or are mirror images of the presiding deity of the *maṇḍala* in which they are placed. In other cases, also paralleled in Brahmanical art where these companions are often consorts, they may have little in common with the major deity in respect to iconography but reinforce identification, though in Buddhist art these companions, often important deities who may have an independent status, play a more critical role in determining the specific form of the divinity, especially in regard to Avalokiteśvara and Tārā. Even in the case of two sets of eight standing Bodhisattvas at Lalitagiri the attendants, though essentially nameless for all but one, help to clarify the identification of the particular Bodhisattva. Most are female though Sudhanakumāra is added as an accessory figure beneath the right attendant on the images of Samantabhadra, Kṣitigarbha and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin of Set A. Whereas Samantabhadra holds an *utpala* supporting a sword, one of his female attendants holds an *utpala* supporting a jewel, also one of his attributes, while the other attendant holds the sword (figs. 403-04). They assume a mirror-image seated pose with the hand holding the attribute placed on the raised knee. In Set B they assume a

similar *ardhaparyaṅka* pose but look up towards Samantabhadra and each holds the stalk of an *utpala* supporting a sword (fig. 149b).

With Maitreya, in Set A they are in a similar *ardhaparyaṅka* pose with each having the stalk of a flower rise up from under the arm resting on the knee, though it does not appear to be the *nāgakeśara* flower (figs. 150a, 405). In Set B each is seated with one knee raised and they hold their hands in *añjali* as they face Maitreya (fig. 150b). Lokeśvara is easily identified by his attendants as they are the two-armed Tārā on his right, opening the petals of an *utpala*, and the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī on his left (figs. 151a-b). The attendants of Kṣitigarbha are posed in the same manner as for Samantabhadra and Maitreya with the stalk of a *kalpadruma* rising up from under the inside arm in Set B (fig. 152b). In Set A for Ākāśagarbha the *utpala* stalk rises up from the hand resting on the seat and in each case holds a jewel (fig. 153a). In Set B the stalk rises up from the hand resting on the knee of the right attendant, again supporting a jewel, while the left attendant, standing and placed higher up on the back-slab, is a stocky male who holds the jewel in the right palm in front of his chest, his left hand at the hip (fig. 406).

In set A the attendants to Vajrapāṇi hold the stalk of an *utpala* in their left hand, resting on the knee or on the seat, which possibly supports a *vajra* (fig. 154a). In Set B they do not assume mirror-image poses as the right attendant is in *vajraparyaṅka* while the left is in *ardhaparyaṅka* (fig. 154b). In Set A both attendants of Mañjuśrī are frontally depicted in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 155a). Whereas Mañjuśrī holds only an *utpala* supporting a book, the left attendant holds a sword, his other major attribute. In Set C only the figure of Yamāntaka has survived (fig. 155c). With Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin the attendants are posed in *ardhaparyaṅka* in both sets but I am not able to discern if they hold his distinguishing attributes (figs. 156a-b).

In another image of Ākāśagarbha the right attendant is in *ardhaparyaṅka* with an *utpala* supporting a jewel rising up from under her left arm which rests on her knee (fig. 157). The left attendant is not the stocky male of Set B but an emaciated *ṛṣi* seated with a *yoga-paṭṭa* binding his knees (fig. 408). He has a beard and holds the jewel in his left hand. A similar male with a *yoga-paṭṭa* is the right attendant of an image of Ratnapāṇi (?) from the same set while the left attendant is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with an *utpala* supporting a jewel rising up from her left hand which is placed on the seat (fig. 158).

1. Ārya-Jāṅgulī

In *sādhana* no. 116 of the *Sādhanamālā*, devoted to Mahāśrī-Tārā, and in *sādhana* no. 91 devoted to Varada-Tārā, Ārya-Jāṅgulī is one of four companions to the major divinity, being placed on the left with Ekajaṭā while Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Mahāmāyūrī are on the right. Her description states she is of green colour and displays *varada* with one hand while holding a serpent in the other.[43] According to A. Getty, Jāṅgulī is a Tantra form of Sita-Tārā and, as "Dispeller of Poison", she is invoked to cure serpent stings. She is four-armed and plays on the *vīṇā* with her principal set of hands while her other right hand displays *abhaya* and the left holds the serpent.[44] There is also a four-armed green form and a yellow form with six arms and three heads.[45] As a companion goddess, however, she is two-armed and of green colour.

In the only Orissan image which possibly represents Mahāśrī-Tārā, placed in the Sureśvarī temple compound at Sonepur, the four goddesses are all placed on the pedestal, each seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*, but they are too badly worn to identify individually (fig. 311). In the image from Ratnagiri, with Tārā seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and attended by four companion goddesses, each standing on a *viśvapadma*, Ārya-Jāṅgulī is on the right above the image of

Aśokakántā-Mārīcī (fig. 310). She displays *varada* with her right hand while her left hand holds a serpent. Tentatively the image of the centre divinity has been identified as Mahattarī-Tārā or Varada-Tārā.[46]

2. Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī

As a companion goddess Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī is associated in the *Sādhanamālā* with four different forms of Tārā, i.e., Khadiravaṇī-Tārā, Caturbhuja-Sita-Tārā, Mahāśrī-Tārā and Varada-Tārā. In each case she appears on the right side of Tārā. In *sādhana* no. 89 devoted to Khadiravaṇī-Tārā she is on the right while Ekajaṭā is on the left. No description of either companion is given. In the *sādhana* for Caturbhuja-Sita-Tārā, where she is paired with Mahāmāyūrī, Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī is of yellow complexion, sits on the moon and is clad in blue garments and a red jacket. In her right hand she holds a *caurī* while the *aśoka*-bough is in her left hand.[47] In *sādhana* no. 116 devoted to Mahāśrī-Tārā she is one of four companions and appears with Mahāmāyūrī on the right while on the left are Ekajaṭā and Ārya-Jāṅgulī. She is yellow in colour, wears a crown of jewels and holds a *vajra* and the *aśoka*-bough in her two hands.[48] In *sādhana* no. 91 devoted to Varada-Tārā, where she is again paired with Ekajaṭā, she is yellow in colour and wears a *mukuṭa* set with various jewels. She holds a *vajra* in her right hand and the *aśoka*-bough in her left hand.[49] In a labelled image of Mahattarī-Tārā of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* in the Cambridge University Library (Ms. No. Add. 1643, no. 56), she is of yellow colour and is paired with Ekajaṭā.[50] These two also serve as companions to Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā in a Tibetan scroll, in which case Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī is of yellow complexion but has her hands in front of her chest, possibly in *dharmacakra-mudrā*, while an *aśoka*-bough issues up above her left shoulder.[51] Essentially, aside from the late Tibetan scroll, the only major difference in these brief descriptions is the object in the right hand which may be either a *vajra* or a *caurī*. In this respect her iconography differs from her two-armed independent form where the right hand merely displays *varada*.

In Orissan images as a companion goddess Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī may be depicted either standing or seated. In the Khadiravaṇī-Tārā image from Jaraka Crossing at Dharmaśālā, for example, she stands on the right with her left hand on her hip and her raised right hand holding the *āsoka*-bough, the latter mostly broken (fig. 303). A similar iconography for her appears on examples of Khadiravaṇī-Tārā in the possession of the Godavaris Vidyapitha at Acutrajpur (fig. 306)[52] and affixed to the wall of the *saptaghara* in the village at Ratnagiri.[53] In the Mahattarī-Tārā or Varada-Tārā image from Ratnagiri, she is the lower right of the four goddesses (fig. 310). She stands on a *viśvapadma* and holds the *aśoka* in her left hand, the attribute in her right hand being indistinct. In the two-armed standing Sita-Tārā from Solaṁpur, Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī assumes a similar standing pose with her right hand in *varada*, the hand partially obliterated, while her raised left hand holds the *aśoka* (fig. 288). On the Caturbhuja-Sita-Tārā image at Solaṁpur she stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose with her right hand holding a *caurī* (?) over her shoulder and the left holding the *aśoka* (fig. 314).

Of the seated images the best preserved example is on the Khadiravaṇī-Tārā from Bāṇeśwarnāsi, now in the Patna Museum (fig. 307). Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī is in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with her right hand holding the *aśoka*-bough and her left hand holding a lotus. In the large image of Khadiravaṇī-Tārā in the Tikirai temple at Banpur she is likewise seated in *lalitāsana* on the right side of Tārā (fig. 305). Her right hand is on the knee in *varada* while her slightly raised left hand holds the *aśoka*-bough. In the Mahāśrī-Tārā (?) image in the compound of the Sureśvarī temple at Sonepur, all of the goddesses are in *ardhaparyaṅka* on the pedestal but they are too badly worn to identify individually.

Whereas the independent images of two-armed Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī are all identical in respect to iconography, with the right hand in *varada* and the left holding the *aśoka*-bough,

as a companion goddess her iconography is not as standardized. When standing she may have her left hand on her hip and hold the *aśoka* in the right hand or she may hold a *caurī* in her right hand or display *varada*. When seated she may hold the *aśoka* in either the right or the left hand. In one case her left hand holds a lotus. In no examples could I see a *vajra* in her right hand, even though this is prescribed by two of the three *sādhanas* which include a description.

3. Bhṛkuṭī

As a companion goddess Bhṛkuṭī is associated in the *Sādhanamālā* with various forms of Avalokiteśvara, in particular with Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara where she is mentioned in six *sādhanas* (nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 24, 26). In four of these *sādhanas* no description is given, it is merely indicated that Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva are on the left side of Khasarpaṇa while Tārā and Sudhanakumāra are on the right side. In *sādhana* no. 14, where the four companions face the four directions with Khasarpaṇa in the centre, Bhṛkuṭī appears on the west, or back side of Khasarpaṇa. She is golden in colour, has one head with three eyes, wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and is four-armed. Her right hands display *vandanābhinayī* and hold a rosary while her left hands carry a *tridaṇḍī* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. As stated earlier there is no reference to ornaments or to her *āsana*. *Sādhana* no. 15 is similar except the number of eyes is not mentioned and we are additionally told that she wears a red cloth and bears a *caitya* in her *jaṭā-mukuṭa*.[54] In *sādhana* no. 37, devoted to the four-armed form of Rakta-Lokeśvara, Bhṛkuṭī is on the left while Tārā is on the right. Their features are not described.[55] In two *sādhanas* (nos. 30, 32), Bhṛkuṭī is associated with the Padmanartteśvara form of Avalokiteśvara. In *sādhana* no. 32 she is on the left side with Hayagrīva while Tārā and Sudhanakumāra are on the right side of Padmanartteśvara. There are no descriptive details.[56] In *sādhana* no. 30 Bhṛkuṭī, one of eight *devīs* circling Padmanartteśvara, occupies the northern petal of the lotus. She is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*, is benign and placid, has one face and two arms, is white in complexion and carries a yellow lotus.[57]

In the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, where she is one of six companion goddesses of Avalokiteśvara, we are merely informed that she should be seated with her appropriate posture and stance[58] while as one of four companion goddesses of Avalokiteśvara in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, as mentioned earlier, she is placed on his left with a rosary hanging from one hand, is white in colour, has three eyes, matted hair and a halo combining white, yellow and red rays of light.[59] According to Śubhākarasiṁha, in his Commentary on this text (*Dainichikyōsho*), the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī holds a rosary and displays *varada* with her right hands while her left hands carry a lotus and a *kamaṇḍalu*. The lotus rather than a *tridaṇḍī* is also prescribed in the *Genzu-taizō-mandara* where we additionally learn that she wears a work robe and is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a red lotus. She is depicted in benign form as an aspect of great compassion.[60]

Bhṛkuṭī also serves as a companion to Amoghapāśa. In an elaborate *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* preserved in the *Tanjur*, composed by the Kaśmīrī Śākyaśrībhadra, the centre deity is surrounded by four companions with Sudhanakumāra in front, Bhṛkuṭī on the right (south), Hayagrīva on the back and Tārā on the left (north). Bhṛkuṭī is reddish-yellow, has pointed or well-swelled breasts, and is decked in various ornaments and garments. She has a third eye and bears a *stūpa* in her bejewelled headdress. Her right hands show *abhaya* and hold the rosary while her left hands hold a *tridaṇḍī* and an ewer.[61] In the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of the Bengali Sahajalalita, also in the *Tanjur*, Bhṛkuṭī appears on the north, while Amoghapāśa is on the east, Hayagrīva on the south and Ekajaṭā on the west with Avalokiteśvara in the centre. Bhṛkuṭī, whose germ of creation is the light-gray letter *ṭa*, stands on a lunar disc supported by a lotus arisen from the white letter *paṁ*. She has a staff and a lotus in her right hands while her left hands hold a rosary and an ewer. In the *Amoghapāśa-pañcadeva-*

Chart 28

2-ARMED AŚOKAKĀNTĀ-MĀRĪCĪ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	Right hand	Left hand	Colour	Pose	Placement	Crown	Companion to
Sādhanamālā 133, 141	varada	aśoka	yellow	seated		Vairocana	(Independent)
Sādhanamālā 89	?	?			right		Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
Sādhanamālā	caurī	aśoka	yellow	seated	right		Caturbhuja-Sita-Tārā
Sādhanamālā 116	vajra	aśoka	yellow		right	ratna/mukuṭa	Mahāśrī-Tārā
Sādhanamālā 91	vajra	aśoka	yellow		right	ratna/mukuṭa	Varada-Tārā

ORISSAN IMAGES OF 2-ARMED AŚOKAKĀNTĀ-MĀRĪCĪ

Site						
Acutrajpur bronze	varada	aśoka	standing		stūpa	(Independent)
Ratnagiri Monastery 1	varada	aśoka	standing			(Independent)
Ratnagiri stūpa	varada	aśoka	vajraparyaṅka			(Independent)
Ratnagiri stūpa	varada	aśoka	lalitāsana			(Independent)
Ratnagiri stūpa 46	varada	aśoka	lalitāsana			(Independent)
Ratnagiri stūpa 156	varada	aśoka	lalitāsana			(Independent)
Acutrajpur	aśoka	on hip	standing	right base	jaṭā-mukuṭa	Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
Dharmaśālā	aśoka	on hip	standing	right base		Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
Ratnagiri village	aśoka	on hip	standing	right base		Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
Nāgaspur	varada	aśoka?	standing	right middle		Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
Ratnagiri fragment	varada	aśoka	standing	right base		Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
Ratnagiri	?	aśoka	standing	right base		Mahattarī-Tārā
Solaṁpur	varada	aśoka	standing	right base		Sita-Tārā
Solaṁpur	caurī	aśoka	standing	right base		Caturbhuja-Sita-Tārā
Bāṇeśwarnāsi (Patna)	aśoka	lotus	lalitāsana	right base	kirīṭa-mukuṭa	Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
Banpur Tikirai temple	varada	aśoka	lalitāsana	right base		
Chaudar (Calcutta)	?					
Sundaragram	?					
Sonepur; Sureśvarī	?		ardhaparyaṅka	on pedestal		Mahāśrī-Tārā (?)

stotra of Candragomin, Bhṛkuṭī stands in *ālīḍha*, is decked in various ornaments and her complexion resembles the *candrakānta* gem. In her right hands are a staff and a white lotus while her left hands carry a rosary and an ewer. In the Tibetan (Ba ri Rin chen grags) school, Bhṛkuṭī is on the north, is yellowish-white, has an effigy of her Tathāgata on the headdress and is decked in ornaments. She is in *ardhaparyaṅka* dance attitude. In her right hands are a staff surmounted by a *vajra* and a white lotus while her left hands hold a rosary and an ewer.[62] In the twelve-armed form of Amoghapāśa in the Tibetan version of the *Sādhana-samuccaya* where he is circled by Amoghāṅkuśa, Hayagrīva, Ekajaṭā and Bhṛkuṭī, Bhṛkuṭī is at the left and is yellow in complexion:

> Conceived as a manifestation from a lotus arisen from the yellow letter *ṭa*, the beautiful goddess wears matted locks of hair done up into the form of a tall crown on the centre of the head. She is effulgent in her blooming youth, and clothed with silk garments. The goddess wears divine ornaments (*lha'i rgyan*). She is four-armed. In the two right hands are a lotus flower and a rosary while the two left ones carry a staff (*dbyug gu*) and a round ewer (*ril ba spyi blugs*).[63]

In a Nepalese manuscript of *Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā* (Cambridge University Library), Bhṛkuṭī is invoked to the right in one description while in another she is placed on the left.[64] In a Nepalese *paṭa* (Indian Museum, Calcutta), she stands on the left of Avalokiteśvara, is yellow, wears ornaments, has three eyes and a grave facial expression. Her principal right hand is at the chest and displays *vyākhyāna-mudrā* while the upper right hand is in *vandanābhinayī*. Her principal left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu* and the uplifted back hand holds a *tridaṇḍī*. In another *paṭa* (Rijksmuseum, Leiden), Bhṛkuṭī stands to the left of Amoghapāśa with her principal set of hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. Her raised back right hand is in *vandanābhinayī* and the lower left hand rests on the hip.[65]

Bhṛkuṭī is also mentioned in three *maṇḍalas* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. In two she is represented in *yab-yum* with a *krodha* deity, as in the *Piṇḍīkrama-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* (no. 2) where she is called the *svābha-Prajñā* of Padmāntaka, the guard of the western gate, and in the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (no. 26) where she embraces Acala, the guard of the northern gate. She is red in complexion in the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* and stands in *pratyālīḍha*. Her right hands hold an arrow and an elephant goad while her left hands hold a noose and the bow. Her form is thus different from any in the *sādhanas*. In the *Tricatvāriṁśadātmaka-Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) she occupies the southwest direction in the second circle around Mañjuvajra. She is white in complexion, has three heads, six arms and is seated in *lalitāsana*. Her right hands hold a *vajra*, a staff, and an arrow while her left hands display *tarjanī-mudrā* and hold a *kamaṇḍalu* and a bow. She bears an effigy of Amitābha.[66] This form is likewise different from those in the *sādhanas*.

As a companion goddess in Orissan sculpture Bhṛkuṭī is associated primarily with various forms of Avalokiteśvara, an exception being a single image of Durgottāriṇī-Tārā (fig. 315). She always appears on the left and may be depicted in a standing or a seated pose though the latter, as prescribed in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and Sino-Japanese translations or versions of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, including the *Dainichikyōsho*, the *Taizō-zuzō*, the *Genzu-taizō-mandara*, etc.,[67] is most prevalent, with *vajraparyaṅka* and *ardhaparyaṅka* being the most popular. In regard to her placement, she may appear on the seat or on the pedestal. In two examples of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa from Udayagiri and in the image of Durgottāriṇī Tārā she is placed near the top left corner of the back-slab while in two other cases she is placed at the middle.

In respect to iconography, all of the Orissan examples depict her as four-armed. The *kamaṇḍalu* and the *tridaṇḍī* are standard *āyudhas* held in the left hands though it is not

Chart 29

4-ARMED BHṚKUṬĪ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right 1 hands	2	2	left 1 hands	Pose	Companion to	Mode
Sādhanamālā 169	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu		[Independent form]	A
Sādhanamālā 170	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu		[Independent form]	A
Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon	varada	rosary	staff	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	[Independent form]	A
Chu Fo P'u-sa Sheng	varada	rosary	staff	kamaṇḍalu	lalitāsana	[Independent form]	A
Tibetan (A.K. Gordon)	abhaya	rosary	trident	kamaṇḍalu*	standing	[Independent form]	
Tibetan (A.K. Gordon)	varada	rosary	staff	lotus	standing	[Independent form]	
Pao-hsiang Lou	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	rosary	abhaya	lalitāsana	[Independent form]	
Kaśmīrī (Tanjur)	abhaya	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu*	standing	Amoghapāśa	
Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	lotus	ardhaparyaṅka	Avalokiteśvara	
Bengali (Tanjur)	staff	lotus	rosary	kamaṇḍalu*	standing	Avalokiteśvara	
Pañcadeva-stotra	staff	lotus	rosary	kamaṇḍalu*	ālīḍha	Avalokiteśvara	
Sādhana-samuccaya	lotus	rosary	staff	kamaṇḍalu*	standing	Amoghapāśa	
Tibetan school	vajra-staff	lotus	rosary	kamaṇḍalu*	dancing	Avalokiteśvara	
Sādhanamālā 14	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu		Khasarpaṇa	C
Sādhanamālā 15	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu		Khasarpaṇa	C
Paṭa (Leiden)	dharmacakra	vandanā	on hip	dharmacakra	standing	Amoghapāśa	
Paṭa (Calcutta)	vyākhyāna	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu*	standing	Amoghapāśa	
Ms. No. Add. 1643	añjali?	vandanā	rosary?	añjali?	reclining	Lokanātha	

ORISSAN IMAGES OF 4-ARMED BHṚKUṬĪ

Site							
Langudi	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī?	kamaṇḍalu?	standing	rock-cut frieze	A
Talcher	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	standing	[Independent form]	A
Acutrajpur (bronze)	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	standing	[Independent form]	A
Acutrajpur (bronze)	añjali	rosary	tridaṇḍī	añjali	sattvaparyaṅka	[Independent form]	
Acutrajpur (bronze)	varada	rosary	kamaṇḍalu	x	lalitāsana	[in stūpa niche]	
Lalitagiri (2)	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	Lokeśvara	A
Ratnagiri (3)	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	varjaparyaṅka	Amoghapāśa	A
Patna Museum (1357)	varada	x	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	Lokeśvara	A
Udayagiri (Paris)	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Ratnagiri temple 4	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	Rakta-Lokeśvara	A
Lalitagiri (Calcutta)	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	Durgottāriṇī Tārā	A
Kapila	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	lalitāsana	Avalokiteśvara	A
Baudh	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Avalokiteśvara	A
Dharmaśālā (OSM)	varada	rosary	tridaṇḍī?	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Sugatisandarśana	A
Acutrajpur	varada	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	B
Chaudar (Calcutta)	varada	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	B
Rāṇibandh	varada	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	B
Ratnagiri (Calcutta)	varada	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Khasarpaṇa	B
Balasore	varada	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	B
Bañchua	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Deogaon	rosary	vandanā	?	?	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Orasāhi	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Ratnagiri	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Ratnagiri	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	ardhaparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Vajragiri	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Mudupur	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Udayagiri	rosary	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	vajraparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Bāṇeśwarnāsi	x	vandanā	tridaṇḍī	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Khasarpaṇa	C
Bhubaneswar (OSM)	rosary	vandanā	x	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara	C
Ayodhyā	vandanā	rosary	?	kamaṇḍalu	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C

*kalaśa changed to kamaṇḍalu on the chart

always possible, due to the small size of the image, to determine if the pot is a *kamaṇḍalu* or *kalaśa*, or if the staff actually has three prongs. The attributes and/or *mudrās* of the right hands vary and allow us to classify the images into three basic modes. In mode (A), based essentially on independent images corresponding to descriptions in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* nos. 169-70), the principal right hand is lowered in *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds a rosary (fig. 409). She invariably is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, an exception appearing on an image from Kapila where she is in *lalitāsana* (fig. 193), or in a few cases she is standing (figs. 256, 419). This mode appears with various aspects of Avalokiteśvara, including standing Lokeśvara, Amoghapāśa, Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa, Rakta-Lokeśvara and Sugatisandarśana in addition to the Durgottāriṇī-Tārā image.

In mode (B) the principal right hand again displays *varada* while the uplifted back hand now displays *vandanābhinayī* (fig. 210). Three of the known examples in this mode are seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* while one is in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 215) and one is standing (fig. 212). This is a transitional mode leading to mode (C) which corresponds to her description as a companion to Khasarpaṇa in *sādhanas* (nos. 14-15) in the *Sādhanamālā*. In this mode her principal right hand is placed in front of her chest where it holds a rosary while the uplifted back right hand again exhibits *vandanābhinayī* (fig. 418). Although *ardhaparyaṅka* is the most popular pose, there are a few examples where she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 219) or is standing (fig. 410). Both of these modes appear primarily with Khasarpaṇa though there are a few examples with Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 495) and one with Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara (fig. 197).

Although in the earliest textual accounts and images Bhṛkuṭī is generally without ornaments, suggesting her ascetic origins, even being paired with Sudhanakumāra with both being placed in caves in a mountain-setting, when paired with Tārā as companion deities their complementary symbolism is variously interpreted. M. Ghosh, as indicated earlier, suggests that Bhṛkuṭī, withdrawn from worldly matters, reflects the practice of wisdom (of Avalokiteśvara) and confines herself to the spiritual aspect whereas Tārā represents the Bodhisattva's great compassion and his active function of allaying human suffering.[68] In Shingon Buddhist ideology Bhṛkuṭī represents the power of compassion that balances the power of knowledge. "She is female because she represents the samādhi of Avalokiteśvara and she adopts a wrathful form in order to terrify those beings who in their self-conceit hold to the concept of an ego." Her placement on the left, following historical conventions, is indicative of her wrathful nature, as in the case of Hayagrīva and Ekajaṭā, which is evident in her name, i.e., "She of Wrinkled Brows", while her rigid seated pose which she sometimes adopts may symbolize that her anger is restrained, as requested by Mahāvairocana.[69]

4. Ekajaṭā

Ekajaṭā is a very powerful goddess in the Vajrayāna pantheon and may be represented as an independent deity or as a companion goddess. The *mantra* of Ekajaṭā, according to the *Sādhanamālā*, is so powerful that if a person listens to it but once, he is immediately "freed from all obstacles and is attended always with good fortune, his enemies are destroyed and he becomes religiously inclined, even attaining the level of a Buddha."[70] There are five *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* devoted to Ekajaṭā which describe four different forms of the goddess, including one (no. 123) which depicts a twelve-headed and twenty-four armed form, known as Vidyujjvālākarālī, trampling upon the four *māras*, i.e., Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra. The other four *sādhanas* (nos. 124, 125, 126, 127) describe a two-armed, four-armed and eight-armed form, each with one head. The main features of these three forms are given in *sādhana* no. 127:

All these (three) forms (of Ekajaṭā) are of blue colour, have the tiger-skin round their

> loins, are one-faced and three-eyed, and have brown hair rising upwards on their head. They are short, pot-bellied, wrathful and stand in the pratyālīḍha attitude, they have faces distorted with anger; with garlands of heads hanging from their necks, they rest on corpses, are terrible in appearance and bear the image of Akṣobhya on the crown. They have youthful bloom and laugh horribly and they should be conceived on the orb of the sun over the double lotus.[71]

In her two-armed form she holds a *kartrī* and a *kapāla*. In one variety of the four-armed form her right hands hold a *kartrī* and a sword (or rosary) while her left hands carry a *kapāla* and *utpala*. In another variant she holds a sword (or conch) and an arrow in her right hands while her left hands have a *kapāla* and the bow. In her eight-armed form she carries the sword, arrow, *vajra* and the *kartrī* in her right hands while her left hands hold the bow, *utpala, paraśu* and the *kapāla*.[72]

Ekajaṭā is also a name of Mahācīna-Tārā/Ugra-Tārā and of the Brahmanical goddess Kālikā or Ugra-Tārā. The latter is described in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (63.61-71) where she has one single braid (*ekajaṭā*), is black in colour, wears serpent ornaments and a tiger-skin, and holds a sword and *utpala* in her right hands while her left hands carry a *kartrī* and *kapāla*. Her left foot tramples a corpse while her right is on the back of a lion. When meditating upon the goddess, the devotee gains what he longs for.[73] Iconographically, except for the lion, she closely resembles one of the four-armed forms of Ekajaṭā in the *Sādhanamālā* who holds the same four *āyudhas* though the *utpala* is in a left hand. The Brahmanical Ugra-Tārā or Mahāvidyā-Tārā is discussed in more detail in chapter XI.

As a companion goddess Ekajaṭā may also be represented with two, four or eight arms and is especially associated with Khadiravaṇī-Tārā, Mahāśrī-Tārā, Varada-Tārā and Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā in the *Sādhanamālā*. In *sādhana* no. 89, devoted to Khadiravaṇī-Tārā, it is merely stated that Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī is on her right and Ekajaṭā on her left. No features are described.[74] In *sādhana* no. 116, devoted to Mahāśrī-Tārā, Ekajaṭā appears on the left with Ārya-Jāṅgulī while Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Mahāmāyūrī are on the right:

> Ekajaṭā sits in the ardhaparyaṅka, is blue in colour, holds the kartrī (knife) and the kapāla (skull) and is angry-looking with a protruding belly. Her hair is of fiery red colour and matted, and she wears a garment made of tiger-skin.[75]

A similar description appears in *sādhana* no. 91, devoted to Varada-Tārā, where she is fierce looking with dreadful bared teeth, flaming tawny hair rising upwards, dwarfish in proportions, dark blue or black (kṛṣṇa) in colour, three-eyed, and dressed in a tiger-skin. She carries a *kartrī* and a *kapāla*.[76]

In the *sādhana* devoted to Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā she appears in the western gate of the *maṇḍala* and is four-armed. She is blue in colour, has hair rising upwards, a protruding belly, and bites her lips with her teeth. In her right hands she holds a *vajra* and the goad while in her left hands she carries a bell and a noose. She bears the image of Amitābha on her crown.[77]

Ekajaṭā also appears as a companion goddess to Amoghapāśa in the Tibetan version of the *Sādhana-samuccaya*:

> Behind (Amoghapāśa), the three-eyed goddess Ekajaṭā is to be imagined as a manifestation from a sword (*khaḍga*) which issued from the blue letter *ha*. She bears a reddish yellow crown of chignon, and her countenance is horrible. An elephant-hide is her upper garment, and a tiger-skin serves as her lower garment. The body

> is decked in ornaments of snakes. She possesses the magnificence of Jāmbunāda gold. The two right hands hold a sword and a chopper while the two left ones carry a lotus flower and a skull-cup.[78]

In the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Sahajalalita and the *Amoghapāśa-pañcadeva-stotra* of Candragomin, both preserved in Tibetan translations in the *Tanjur*, and in the Tibetan school, Ekajaṭā is eight-armed and serves as one of four figures surrounding Avalokiteśvara, the others being Amoghapāśa, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī. In the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* she appears in the western direction:

> She is a manifestation from the black letter *pha* standing on the solar disc over a lotus, the latter arisen from the black letter *paṁ*. The goddess is decked in a tiger's skin. Her face is distorted with anger and bare canine fangs. In her four right hands are a sword, a lasso, a lotus and an arrow. In the four left hands are a disc, a mace, a trident and a bow.[79]

Her iconography in respect to *āyudhas* is identical in the other two texts, though in the *Amoghapāśa-pañcadeva-stotra* she is prescribed the *pratyālīḍhapada ghorā* attitude[80] while in the Tibetan school she is prescribed the *ālīḍha* pose, is said to issue from her emblem, a sword which is marked *pha* as it originates in *pha*, and she is additionally decked in ornaments consisting of snakes and jewels.[81]

In two labelled paintings Ekajaṭā serves as a companion deity on the left of Mahattarī-Tārā. In the first example, labelled "Vārendrā-Mahattarāyī Tārā", in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* in the Cambridge University Library (Ms. no. Add. 1643), she is paired with Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī who is on the right while in the second example, labelled "Vārendrā-vāṇāyicchā Mahat-Tārā", in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta (Ms. no. A 15), she is paired with another terrifying companion, blue in colour, who holds a *vajra* and displays *tarjanī-mudrā*. The three-eyed Ekajaṭā, on the left, holds a *kartrī* in her right hand.[82] In a Tibetan scroll depicting Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā, Ekajaṭā is paired with Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī. She stands on the left, is blue in colour, fierce looking, and holds a *kartrī* and *kapāla*.[83] A similar pairing with Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī appears on a stone sculpture of Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā discovered at Somapara, a hamlet in the village of Vajrayoginī in the Dacca district of Bangladesh.[84] In Orissan art Ekajaṭā also serves as a companion goddess to Durgottāriṇī-Tārā and twelve-armed Cundā.

In respect to iconography in Orissan sculpture, as a companion goddess for Khadiravaṇī-Tārā and Mahattarī-Tārā, Ekajaṭā is two-armed and has a pot-belly. In her right hand she holds the *kartrī* while her left hand carries a *kapāla* as prescribed in textual accounts. She always appears on the left and may be either seated (fig. 305) or standing (fig. 306), though the standing pose is more popular.

Of the four-armed images, two appear to the left of images of standing Tārā. In the first example, probably from Ratnagiri and now in the Brooklyn Museum, she is dwarfish in stature and is paired with a kneeling devotee who is on the right. Her lowered right hand displays *varada* while the uplifted hand holds a goad. Her uplifted back left hand carries a bell while the lowered hand has a noose (fig. 286). Iconographically she conforms closely with her form as a companion to Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā in the *Sādhanamālā*, except her major right hand displays *varada* rather than holding a *vajra*, a similar exchange also noticed on two-armed Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī images of Orissa. In the second four-armed image, flanking a standing Tārā from Kaupur where she is paired with a kneeling *ṛṣi*, she holds a *kartrī* in her principal right hand while the lower hand rests on a staff (?). Her uplifted back left hand holds a noose while the principal hand holds a *kapāla* (fig. 287). Her body is well-

Chart 30

2/4-ARMED EKAJAṬĀ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right 1 hands	2	2	left 1 hands	Pose	Companion to
Sādhanamālā	kartrī			kapāla	pratyālīḍha	[Independent]
Sādhanamālā 116	kartrī			kapāla	ardhaparyaṅka	Mahāśrī-Tārā
Sādhanamālā 91	kartrī			kapāla		Varada-Tārā
Tibetan scroll	kartrī			kapāla	standing	Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā
Calcutta Ms. A 15	kartrī			?		Mahattarī-Tārā
Sādhanamālā	sword	arrow	bow	kapāla	pratyālīḍha	[Independent]
Sādhanamālā	kartrī	sword	utpala	kapāla	pratyālīḍha	[Independent]
Kālikā Purāṇa 63.62	sword	utpala	kartrī	kapāla		[Independent]
Sādhana-samuccaya	sword	kartrī	lotus	kapāla	standing	Amoghapāśa
Sādhanamālā	vajra	goad	bell	noose	ālīḍha	Kurukullā

ORISSAN IMAGES OF 2/4-ARMED EKAJAṬĀ

Site						Companion to
Acutrajpur	kartrī			kapāla	standing	Khadiravaṇī
Baḍa-Tārā	kartrī			kapāla	standing	Kurukullā
Chaudar	kartrī			kapāla	standing	Khadiravaṇī
Dharmaśālā	kartrī			?	standing	Khadiravaṇī
Ratnagiri fragment	kartrī			kapāla	standing	Khadiravaṇī
Ratnagiri (village)	kartrī			kapāla	standing	Khadiravaṇī
Ratnagiri	kartrī			kapāla	standing	Mahattarī-Tārā
Nāgaspur	?			?	standing	Tārā
Banpur	kartrī			kapāla	ardhaparyaṅka	Khadiravaṇī
Bāṇeśwarnāsi (Patna)	kartrī			kapāla	lalitāsana	Khadiravaṇī
Kaupur	kartrī	staff	noose	kapāla?	standing	Tārā
Ratnagiri (Brooklyn)	varada	goad	bell	noose	standing	Tārā
Udayagiri (Patna)	varada	paraśu	lotus?	noose	pratyālīḍha	Cundā
Ganjam	?	goad	?	noose	vajraparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa

ORISSAN IMAGES OF 6-ARMED EKAJAṬĀ

Site	1	2	3	3	2	1	Pose	Companion to
Lalitagiri	khaṭvāṅga	vandanā	elephant	elephant	kapāla	tarjanī	pratyālīḍha	Durgottāriṇī-Tārā

proportioned and she does not have a pot-belly.

A third four-armed example appears on the left corner of the pedestal of the twelve-armed Cundā in the Patna Museum (fig. 334). She stands in *pratyālīḍha* and looks up at Cundā. Her principal right hand shows *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds a *paraśu*. Her uplifted back left hand holds a lotus (?) while the lowered front hand holds a noose as in the image in the Brooklyn Museum. On the right corner of the pedestal is an image of Ārya-Sarasvatī.

A possible seated four-armed example appears as one of five goddesses flanking an image of four-armed Avalokiteśvara from Ganjam (fig. 192). She is in *vajraparyaṅka*. Her principal set of arms are lowered near the waist but it is not possible to determine their *mudrās* or identify attributes. A noose rises up behind her left shoulder. The object held in her uplifted back hand is indistinct while her uplifted left hand holds a staff or goad. She is the second goddess on the left, below Bhṛkuṭī, and is paired on the right with Mahāmāyūrī, a pairing which also appears on an Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā image from Somapara as indicated.[85]

Although there are no textual accounts of a six-armed form, Ekajaṭā with six arms appears on the lower left corner of an image of Durgottāriṇī-Tārā from Lalitagiri now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, the right corner being occupied by Sudhanakumāra while Mahattarī-Tārā or Ārya-Sarasvatī and Bhṛkuṭī appear opposite the head of the major deity (fig. 315). Ekajaṭā is in *pratyālīḍha* and her principal right hand, lowered to her knee, holds a *khaṭvāṅga* while her middle hand probably displays *vandanābhinayī*. Her principal left hand is at the chest in *tarjanī-mudrā* while the middle hand, mostly damaged, possibly holds a *kapāla*. Her back set of hands stretch the hide of an elephant over her head in the manner of Cāmuṇḍā. Although the act of stretching the elephant-hide is not prescribed in any textual accounts, as a companion goddess to the twelve-armed Amoghapāśa in the *Sādhana-samuccaya*, as mentioned, it is stated that she wears an elephant-hide as her upper garment.

5. Hayagrīva

Hayagrīva, the 'horse-necked One", has many forms and may be depicted as an independent deity or as a companion deity. As an independent deity he may have either Amitābha or Akṣobhya as his sire though his colour is usually red. In Tibet, according to A. Getty, he is mainly worshipped "by the horse-dealers, for, although he is not the god, Protector of Horses, he is believed to frighten away the demons by neighing, which may account for the presence of a horse's head, his distinctive mark in his headdress."[86] In contrast to the Brahmanical Hayagrīva, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu who has the head of a horse, the Buddhist deity usually has the horse-head in his coiffure as a subsidiary feature, though when serving as a companion deity it is seldom included as a distinctive mark. His arms may number from two to eight and in some forms he may have multiple heads and legs. As a companion deity in Orissan art, however, he has either two or four arms and these are the forms we will consider.

In a two-armed independent form in the *Sādhanamālā*, restored from the *Saptaśatika Kalpa*, he has Amitābha as his progenitor:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as (Saptaśatika Hayagrīva) of red complexion, who is terribly awe-inspiring, with three eyes, and a brown beard. He is angry and has protruding belly. His face appears terrible with bare fangs; he wears a garland of skulls with teeth and lips, is crowned with his jaṭā and the figure of Amitābha. His second face is distorted like that of a horse, which is blue in colour and neighs incessantly. He tramples on the top of the world with one leg and the bottom of

> the world with the other. He wears ornaments of eight serpents, is short and dwarfish, is clad in tiger-skin and decked in all ornaments. He threatens all the gods and asuras, and holds the vajra and the staff (in his two hands).[87]

His association with Amitābha is also evident on the Macchandar Vahal in Kathmandu where he is represented as one of 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara. As Hayagrīva-Lokeśvara he is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and has four arms. His primary set of hands exhibit *vyākhyāna-mudrā* while his other right hand holds the rosary and the left hand has a lotus. He is accompanied by six other gods and a dragon.[88] A.K. Gordon mentions a *dharmapāla* form where he is four-armed and in *pratyālīḍha*. He holds a *gadā* and flower in two hands while the other two carry a *cakra* and a noose.[89] Included among the examples from the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon is a two-armed image where he is in *pratyālīḍha* with his raised right hand holding a staff and the left at the chest displaying *tarjanī*.[90]

In the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, as a companion of Avalokiteśvara, he is a powerful *vidyārāja* with sharp nails, bestial hair, sharp fangs and an angry roar. He is the colour of the morning sun, is adorned with a white lotus, awesome and brilliant with a flaming garland.[91] As a companion deity in the *Sādhanamālā* he is especially associated with Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara and Lokanātha. In *sādhana* no. 14 devoted to Khasarpaṇa he is one of four companion deities, the others being Tārā, Sudhanakumāra and Bhṛkuṭī. Hayagrīva is placed on the north (left):

> Hayagrīva is red in colour and is short, with a protruding belly. His hair rises upwards in the shape of a flame, and he has a snake as his sacred thread. His face is recognized by a deep brown pair of mustaches; his eyes are red and round; his eye-brows are distorted in a frown. He is clad in tiger-skin, has the staff as a weapon, and his right hand exhibits the act of bowing.

In *sādhana* no. 18 dedicated to Lokanātha, he is paired with Tārā who is on his right; "to the left is Hayagrīva, who displays the gesture of bowing and carries the staff in his two hands. He is red in colour, appears terrible and is clad in the garment of tiger-skin."[92] Iconographically the two images are identical.

Hayagrīva also appears as a companion deity to Amoghapāśa along with Tārā, Sudhanakumāra and Bhṛkuṭī, the same four companions to Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. In the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Śākyaśrībhadra (Kaśmīrī) preserved in the *Tanjur* is a similar two-armed form for Hayagrīva:

> On the lotus-stalk behind Amoghapāśa appears Hayagrīva, one-faced, three-eyed, and two-armed. The red god is of small stature. His hair and the reddish yellow mustache rise upwards. The face is distorted with bare fangs. A green horse-neck (*hayagrīva*) over his head is the special cognizance of Hayagrīva. He wears a tiger-skin and a red garment. The left hand holds a white staff like a crutch-stick while the right hand pays homage to the central deity.[93]

In the *Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā* manuscript (Cambridge University Library), one part has Hayagrīva placed in the south-east corner while in another part he is placed behind. He is red in colour and holds the lotus and the staff in his two hands.[94]

In the *Sādhana-samuccaya* manuscript, where he is accompanied by Amoghāṅkuśa, Ekajaṭā and Bhṛkuṭī as rulers of the quarters of the world, Hayagrīva is on the right of Amoghapāśa and is four-armed:

> At the right direction (of Amoghapāśa) on the solar disc over a lotus, the Sādhaka visualizes Hayagrīva as an emanation from a white mace marked with a lotus flower which arose from the letter *hūṁ* coloured like the Mañjiṣṭhā flower. Hayagrīva's complexion is a fiery red like the Kalpa fire and like the blazing heat of the sun. He is of small stature. Over his head appears the head of a green horse neighing *hi hi*. His face is most terrible, three-eyed, and with brows which are wrathfully knitted. The passionate voice is shouting forth *hūṁ*. The reddish yellow mustache is flaming. His body is decked in ornaments of serpents. A tiger-skin serves him as lower garment. Hayagrīva is four-armed. In the two right hands are a mace and a vajra while the first left one shows the tarjanī-mudrā, and the second a lotus flower.[95]

He also assumes a four-armed form when serving as a companion deity, along with Amoghapāśa, Ekajaṭā and Bhṛkuṭī, to Avalokiteśvara. In the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Sahajalalita (Bengali) preserved in the *Tanjur*, for example, he is placed in the southern direction, is red, and holds a staff and shows *tarjanī* with his right hands while his left hold a *cakra* and a lotus.[96] In the *Amoghapāśa-pañcadeva-stotra* of Candragomin the iconography is the same and it is added that he is clad in a tiger-skin, wears a *sarpopavīta*, bears a green horse-neck on the fontanelle, and stands in *pratyālīḍha*. In the Tibetan school (Ba ri Rin chen grags) the red lotus is changed to reddish-blue and the *cakra* is described as yellow.[97] Thus, whether two- or four-armed, the principal *āyudha* of Hayagrīva is the staff (*daṇḍa*). He has terrifying features, wears a tiger-skin lower garment, has a sacred thread consisting of a serpent, has a pot-belly or is dwarf-like, wears a mustache and has hair rising up like flames.

In Orissan images of Hayagrīva as a companion deity he may be depicted in a seated or standing pose, with *ardhaparyaṅka* and *pratyālīḍha* being the most popular respectively. With two-armed images there are three basic modes in respect to *āyudhas*. In mode (A) his right hand is lifted in *vandanābhinayī* while his left hand holds or rests on the staff (fig. 411), as prescribed for him as a companion to Khasarpaṇa and Lokanātha in the *Sādhanamālā*. In the example of Khasarpaṇa at Mudupur where Hayagrīva appears on the right rather than on the left, it is obviously the left hand that is raised in *vandanābhinayī* (fig. 219), though this is prescribed for the left hand only in the *Sādhana-samuccaya*. In mode (B), based on an independent form in the *Sādhanamālā*, his right hand holds a *vajra* or a lotus while his left hand is on the staff (fig. 414). Deviating from this is the image on the left corner of the pedestal of a broken Avalokiteśvara image at Aragarh where the right hand holds a *vajra*-tipped staff while the left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa* (fig. 5). This is the only surviving two-armed Hayagrīva holding a noose, its iconography thus being more closely associated with an esoteric form popular in Tibet described by van Gulik:

> In this form the god has only one head, and two arms. The right hand carries the staff, raised in a threatening attitude. The left hand, bent to the breast, holds the noose [*tarjanī-pāśa*]. The colour of the body is red, and from the hair emerges a green horse's head. He wears the tiger-skin, and is adorned with a garland of human heads, and a green snake. Under each foot he crushes an evil spirit.[98]

In mode (C) both hands of Hayagrīva rest on the staff which, rather than functioning like a weapon, serves as a crutch (fig. 424). Although in the Kaśmīrī *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Śākyaśrībhadra the left hand holds a staff like a crutch-stick, the right hand displays *vandanābhinayī*[99] and there are no textual descriptions which prescribe that both hands of Hayagrīva rest on the staff. Hayagrīva may be seated or standing in all three modes but when serving the Khasarpaṇa form he is always seated.

With four-armed images of Hayagrīva there are two basic modes based on the *āyudhas*. In each mode the principal set of hands is crossed in front of his chest. Although this peculiar

Chart 31 2/4-ARMED HAYAGRĪVA TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right 1 hands	2	2	left 1 hands	Pose	Companion to	Mode
Sādhanamālā	vajra			staff	standing	[Independent form]	B
Pao-hsiang Lou	staff			tarjanī	pratyālīḍha	[Independent form]	
Tibetan (van Gulik)	vajra/staff			tarjanī-pāśa	standing		
Amoghapāśa Pūjā Ms.	lotus			staff		Amoghapāśa	B
Kaśmīrī (Tanjur)	vandanā			staff		Amoghapāśa	A
Sādhanamālā 14	vandanā			staff		Khasarpaṇa	A
Sādhanamālā 18	vandanā			staff		Lokanātha	A
Macchandar Vahal	vyākhyāna	rosary	lotus	vyākhyāna	vajraparyaṅka	[Avalokitesvara form]	
Tibetan (A.K. Gordon)	staff	lotus	cakra	pāśa	pratyālīḍha	[Independent form]	
Sādhana-samuccaya	staff	vajra	lotus	tarjanī	standing	Amoghapāśa	
Bengali (Tanjur)	staff	tarjanī	cakra	lotus	standing	Avalokiteśvara	
Pañcadeva-stotra	staff	tarjanī	cakra	lotus	pratyālīḍha	Avalokiteśvara	
Tibetan school	staff	tarjanī	cakra	lotus	pratyālīḍha	Avalokiteśvara	

ORISSAN IMAGES OF 2/4-ARMED HAYAGRĪVA

Site	right 1 hands	2	2	left 1 hands	Pose	Companion to	Mode
Ayodhyā	vandanā			staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara	A
Bañchua	vandanā			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	A
Deogaon	vandanā			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	A
Orasāhi	vandanā			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	A
Ratnagiri	vandanā			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	A
Baḍa-Tārā	vandanā			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	A
Kendrapara	vandanā			on staff	pratyālīḍha	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Ratnagiri (2)	vandanā			on staff	pratyālīḍha	Amoghapāśa	A
Udayagiri (Patna)	vandanā			on staff	standing	Sugatisandarśana	A
Mudupur*	x			vandanā	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	A
Baḍa-Tārā	vajra			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	B
Cuttack	lotus			on staff	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	B
Udayagiri (Francisco)	lotus			on staff	standing	Śaṅkhanātha	B
Aragarh	vajra/staff			tarjanī-pāśa	standing on tiger	Avalokiteśvara	
Rāṇibandh	on staff			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Ratnagiri (Calcutta)	on staff			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Ratnagiri (village)	on staff			on staff	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Bāṇeśwarnāsi	on staff			on staff	vajraparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Baudh	on staff			on staff	standing	Avalokiteśvara (?)	C
Paradip*	on staff			on staff	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Ganjam	on staff			on hip	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa?	
Ratnagiri fragment	crossed	vandanā	on staff	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Avalokiteśvara	A
Ratnagiri fragment	crossed	vandanā	on staff	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Avalokiteśvara	A
Cuttack	crossed	vandanā	on staff	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Naṭara	crossed	vandanā	staff	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Udayagiri	crossed	vandanā	on staff	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Udayagiri (Patna)	crossed	vandanā	on staff	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Ratnagiri	crossed	vandanā	pāśa	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	B
Ratnagiri**	crossed	vandanā	pāśa	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Vajrapāṇi	B
Ratnagiri	crossed	on staff	pāśa	crossed	pratyālīḍha	Amoghapāśa	B
Vajragiri**	añjali	vandanā	sword	añjali	pratyālīḍha	Vajrapāṇi	

*appears on the right side.
**may represent Acala or Mahābala.

placement is not prescribed in textual accounts where he serves as a companion deity, in the eight-armed independent form, where he is a manifestation of Akṣobhya, one of his left hands touches his breast while two other hands display *tarjanī* and *karaṇa*.[100] In both modes he is represented in *pratyālīḍha* striding to his right. In mode (A) the uplifted right hand displays *vandanā* while the left hand rests on the staff, as in mode (A) for the two-armed form (fig. 230). In some cases, as at Naṭara, the left hand holds the staff like a weapon (fig. 231). In mode (B) the right hand again displays *vandanābhinayī* while the left hand carries a *pāśa* (fig. 235). In that the noose may be dragging on the ground in some cases it may be difficult to distinguish from the staff of mode (A), as on the image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa in the Solapuamā compound at Cuttack (fig. 236). A deviation appears on an image of Amoghapāśa at Ratnagiri where the right hand, rather than displaying *vandanābhinayī*, rests on the staff so that both principal weapons are included as the uplifted left hand holds a noose (fig. 412). These four-armed images of Hayagrīva appear on various esoteric aspects of Avalokiteśvara, particularly his four-armed forms such as Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa and Amoghapāśa.

This mode (B) of the four-armed Hayagrīva also appears with an attendant on the left side of a standing four-armed Vajrapāṇi image at Ratnagiri (fig. 263), a companion piece to an image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (fig. 235). In both cases the companion on the right side is a kneeling and emaciated *preta* with hands clasped as he beseeches alms from the centre deity. In another four-armed Vajrapāṇi from Vajragiri, now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 264), the left companion has his principal set of hands in front of his chest but they are clasped in *añjali* rather than being crossed (fig. 413). His uplifted back right hand displays *vandanābhinayī* while the left hand holds a sword. He is short in stature, wears a tiger-skin, has serpent ornaments, a mustache, frowning eyebrows and dishevelled hair. In that there is no textual support for Hayagrīva serving as an attendant for Vajrapāṇi, these two figures more likely represent a wrathful manifestation. Iconographically they have affinities with Krodha-candra-tilaka, Acala, and, as suggested by R. Linrothe, with Mahābala, though differing in other aspects. In the *Ārya-Mahābala-Nāma-Mahāyāna-sūtra*, for example, Mahābala holds a noose and displays *vandanābhinayī* with his left hands while holding a club and a *caurī* in his right hands.[101] It seems obvious that the iconography for these minor figures is not as yet standardized.

6. Mahāmāyūrī

Mahāmāyūrī may be represented independently as one of the Pañcarakṣā or Five Protective Goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon or she may be depicted as a companion goddess to Tārā. As a Pañcarakṣā goddess, Mahāmāyūrī appears to be conceptually akin to the Brahmanical goddess Manasā, as pointed out by D.C. Bhattacharyya, as both are worshipped for safety from snake-bites. As the protectress from snake poison (*sarpa-viṣa*), she is associated with the peacock, the relentless enemy of serpents, as her most distinguishing cognizance is the peacock-feather (*mayūrapiccha*).[102] Thus, as a spell or magic charm deity like the other Pañcarakṣā goddesses, she is a deified magic formula, called the "Golden Peacock Charm", which is used by the faithful against snake-bites.[103] These spells, collectively known as *Pañcarakṣā*, "were considered by the Buddhists to be very efficacious and sacred, since they were regarded as the words of the Lord (Buddha-*vacana*) and, therefore, endowed with potential divinity." As a Pañcarakṣā goddess, Mahāmāyūrī has many iconographic forms, whether represented singly or collectively in a *maṇḍala*, and may have from two to eight arms. In *maṇḍalas* she has three faces and eight arms while independent forms have two arms with one face, four arms and one face, or six arms and three faces.[104] As a companion deity in textual accounts and in Orissan sculpture, however, she has only two arms and one face, so our discussion here will be limited to this very basic form.

In *sādhana* no. 201 of the *Sādhanamālā* is described a two-armed independent form in which it is stated: "Mahāmāyūrī has the green complexion, two hands and one face. She is divine. Her right hand holds the peacock's feather and the left shows the varada-mudrā."[105] Nearly identical descriptions appear in *sādhana* no. 116 where she is a companion goddess to Mahāśrī-Tārā and in *sādhana* no. 91 where she is companion goddess to Varada-Tārā, in each case appearing on the right with Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī while the two companions on the left are Ekajaṭā and Ārya-Jāṅgulī, though, as noted by S.K. Saraswati, the attribute and *mudrā* in *sādhana* no. 201 should be reversed, i.e., *varada* for the right hand and peacock-feather for the left hand.[106] In the *sādhana* for Caturbhuja-Sita-Tārā she is one of two companions, the other being Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī. Mahāmāyūrī appears on the left, is of green colour "like the priyangu fruit", is two-armed and holds a *cāmara* in her right hand and the peacock-feather in her left hand.[107] In addition to these textual accounts, Mahāmāyūrī also appears as a companion goddess along with Ekajaṭā in an image of Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā found at Somapara (Vajrayoginī) in Bangladesh, as indicated earlier. She appears on the right seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with her right hand in *abhaya* while her left hand, on her knee, holds the peacock-feather.

In the image from the Sureśvarī compound at Sonepur, tentatively identified as Mahāśrī-Tārā, the four companion goddesses, each seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*, are on the pedestal but are too indistinct to recognize individually as mentioned earlier (fig. 311). In the image from Ratnagiri, tentatively identified as Mahattarī-Tārā or Varada-Tārā, Mahāmāyūrī stands on the left side above the image of Ekajaṭā (fig. 310). She holds the peacock-feather in the left hand, raised chest-high, while the lowered right hand is mostly obliterated. In the standing Sita-Tārā from Solaṁpur, Mahāmāyūrī stands on her left with her right hand lowered in *varada*. The peacock-feather held in her left hand is mostly obliterated so that identification can only be tentative (fig. 288). In the seated four-armed Sita-Tārā from Solaṁpur, Mahāmāyūrī again stands on the left with her right hand holding a *caurī* over her shoulder. Her left hand, which holds the peacock-feather in textual accounts, is broken off at the elbow so again identification has to remain somewhat tentative (fig. 314).

In the badly-worn image of four-armed Avalokiteśvara from Ganjam she is one of five companion goddesses, appearing on the right below Tārā, and is paired on the left with Ekajaṭā. She is two-armed and is seated on a peacock rather than holding a peacock-feather (fig. 192). The tail of the peacock spreads upward behind her like a halo. The objects in her hands, or *mudrās*, are indistinct. This is a rare Indian example where she rides her peacock-mount. In numerous independent images, as at Ellora, her peacock-mount is placed next to her or on her pedestal while in Tibet or in Japan (as Kujaku Myo-o) she is often depicted seated on the peacock and there are also a few late textual descriptions indicating she may be seated on the peacock, including two manuscripts in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta—an undated *Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha* (Ms. no. B.5) and a *Pañcarakṣā* (Ms. B.4) copied in the Newari era 944 (A.D. 1824).[108]

N.N. Vasu illustrates a four-armed goddess from Baḍasāhi who possibly represents an independent image of Mahāmāyūrī which he identifies as Dharmadevī.[109] She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a throne above a peacock. Her principal right hand displays *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds a rosary. Her principal left hand possibly holds a flower-stalk while the object in the raised hand is indistinct due to the small size of the photo.

7. Sudhanakumāra

As an attendant or companion deity Sudhanakumāra is generally on the right of various forms of Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī. In *sādhana* no. 52 of the *Sādhanamālā*, for example, he is on the right of Mañjughoṣa while Yamāntaka is on the left: "On his right is Sudhanakumāra,

who is born of Sukāravīja, is bright with ornaments of various kinds, has a crown of jewels, holds under his arms a book of all religions and stands with hands folded."[110] With various forms of Avalokiteśvara, in particular Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara and Amoghapāśa, he is one of four companions, the other three being Tārā on the right while Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva are on the left. In *sādhana* no. 14, devoted to Khasarpaṇa, he is likewise described as having his hands joined in *añjali*, as being resplendent like gold, and having the appearance of a prince. He is profusely ornamented and carries a book under his left armpit.[111] The same four companion deities are associated with Padmanartteśvara in *sādhana* no. 32 though their features are not given. In the *Amoghapāśa-Lokeśvara Pūjā* manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, Sudhanakumāra is placed on the left of Amoghapāśa in one section while in another section he is placed in front, has a red complexion and carries the manuscript.[112] In the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Śākyaśrībhadra (Kaśmīrī), he is on a lotus in front of Amoghapāśa and has a yellow complexion. He wears a diadem enriched with jewels and is embellished by ornaments and various garments. He carries a skull-cup at the upper part of the left arm, holds a book, and shows *añjali-mudrā*.[113]

In Orissan sculpture Sudhanakumāra is invariably placed on the seat to the right of Khasarpaṇa where he may be seated (figs. 217-18) or standing (fig. 214), or he is seated on the pedestal near the pendent leg of Khasarpaṇa (figs. 222, 418, 424). An exception appears with the image from Mudupur where he appears on the left, above Bhṛkuṭī, while Hayagrīva is on the right (fig. 219). In one or more early images of standing Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa from Udayagiri which incorporate the Potalaka mountain landscape on the back-slab, he is placed in a cave opposite the head of Lokeśvara while Bhṛkuṭī is in a cave on the left side (fig. 495). For the most part, however, he is not included as a companion deity with the four-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara. Whether standing or seated he is richly ornamented like a prince and has his hands in *añjali*. In some cases, the book held against his chest by his left arm is visible while in other cases, due to the small size and weathering effects, it is indistinct or missing. When seated he is either in *ardhaparyaṅka* with one knee raised (fig. 217) or he is kneeling (fig. 218), an exception being the image from Acutrajpur where he is in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 210). When placed on the pedestal, his *añjali-mudrā* and pose are strongly reminiscent of the small image of Garuḍa often placed near the right foot of Viṣṇu in Brahmanical images.

Deviating from this conventional iconography is the image to the right of Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī at Ayodhyā who, like Yamāntaka on the left, duplicates the pose of the centre deity (fig. 260). Sudhanakumāra stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose with his right hand, in *vitarka* in front of his chest, delicately holding a small lotus while his left hand is placed at the hip in *katyāvalambita*, a book being held against the armpit. He is richly ornamented and wears a tall tiered *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* similar to that worn by Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī.

Although partially damaged, the image on the right corner of the pedestal of the Durgottāriṇī-Tārā from Lalitagiri probably represents Sudhanakumāra (fig. 315). His hands are folded in *añjali* and he is richly adorned like a prince.

8. Sūcīmukha/Pretas Beseeching Boons/Jewels

The munificence of Avalokiteśvara is particularly stressed in his role of distributing nectar and boons to *pretas*, i.e., hungry ghosts whose world is above hell and below the Sītavana forest. This state of existence, as stated by L.A. Waddell, is the special torment for those who, in their earthly sojourn, were miserly, covetous, uncharitable, or gluttonous:

> Jewels, food, and drink are found in plenty, but the pretas have mouths no bigger than the eye of a needle, and gullets no thicker in diameter than a hair, through

which they can never ingest a satisfying amount of food for their huge bodies. And when any food is taken it becomes burning hot, and changes in the stomach into sharp knives, saws, and other weapons, which lacerate their way out from the bowels to the surface, making large painful wounds. They are constantly crying 'water, water, give water!'[114]

Invariably these *pretas* are represented by Sūcīmukha who kneels beneath the right hand of Avalokiteśvara and clasps his hands to receive boons. In *sādhana* no. 14 of the *Sādhanamālā*, devoted to Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, part of the *dhyāna* reads: "He is an expert in distributing the stream of nectar that flows from his hand, and Sūcīmukha who stands below with an uplifted face, a protruding belly and very pale appearance receives the same."[115] In sculptural representations the most distinguishing feature of Sūcīmukha, as explicit in his name, is his needle-like snout. He may have a protruding belly and an emaciated body while his hair often flares up in tiers similar to the coiffure of the boar-faced Vārāhī of the Brahmanical pantheon (figs. 212-14). He is generally on the right corner of the pedestal near the pendent right foot of the seated Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (fig. 211). In some cases Sūcīmukha is replaced by a female, the "queen of the pretas", as in the image of Khadiravaṇī Tārā in the Tikirai temple at Banpur (fig. 423).

Frequently the snout and/or coiffure are not conventional and he looks more like an emaciated *ṛṣi*, male or female, as in the image of Lokeśvara in the Dakṣaprajāpati Śiva compound at Banpur where the hair is dishevelled (fig. 204). In two examples at Ratnagiri, one of Vajrapāṇi and the other of Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa Lokeśvara, this emaciated figure is elevated in placement to the seat of the centre deity and opposite the companion deity Hayagrīva/Vajrapuruṣa (?) who stands in *pratyālīḍha* on the left side (figs. 235, 407). The kneeling *preta*, with his/her hands cupped near the mouth, has round sunken eyes, open mouth and hair in spiral curls.

In the two standing images of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara, Sūcīmukha is joined by four other *pretas* as they each beseech riches from the gift-bestowing hand of Lokeśvara or the wish-fulfilling tree forming his canopy. In the example from Baḍagada (Bhubaneswar) the upper part of the image and back-slab are missing so it is not known if the creeper (*kalpavṛkṣa*) arched over his head (fig. 197). The five *pretas* are aligned on the pedestal beneath the companion Tārā. Sūcīmukha, the tallest, has a pot-belly and pointed snout. Behind Bhṛkuṭī on the left is another *preta* attempting to cut down the *kalpavṛkṣa* with an axe (fig. 410). In the more complex programme on the image at Ayodhyā, the *sapta-ratnas* are dispersed around the meandering *kalpavṛkṣa* while jewels drip from its foliage (fig. 198). Sūcīmukha is emaciated and supports himself with a crutch while raising his left hand to receive the jewels. Three of the other *pretas* similarly have one hand uplifted while the fourth holds a basket over his head to contain the fallen treasure (fig. 425). A pensive Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara is seated in front of the *ghaṭa* at the base of the *kalpavṛkṣa* on the left while a single *preta* is attempting to scale the trunk (fig. 208).

In the image of Tārā as the "Giver of Prosperity" at Nāgaspur there are several *pretas* at the base of the trunk attempting to climb the *kalpavṛkṣa* to get closer to the gems (fig. 289) while in the image at Adasapur one has climbed half-way up the trunk (fig. 290).

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (V.26.36) there is a hell named Sūcīmukha which is reserved for the miserly:

If a person in this world is proud of his wealth and full of egotism, looks askance at others and is suspicious about all, and if his heart and mouth are withered by

the anxiety of the expenditure or loss of that wealth and if, without any peace of mind, he guards his treasure like a goblin, after death he becomes transformed into a devil for he accumulates sin in earning, supplementing and preserving wealth. He falls into a hell called Sūcīmukha. There the servants of (Yama-) dharma, like tailors, stitch the body of this devil-like protector of wealth, on all sides.[116]

The all merciful Avalokiteśvara, however, extends his ever-helping hand even to those in hell, as mentioned in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (ch. XXIV, p. 415):

> He (Avalokiteśvara) with his powerful knowledge beholds all creatures, who are beset with many hundreds of troubles and afflicted by many sorrows, and thereby is a saviour in the world, including the gods.
> As he is thoroughly practised in the power of magic, and possessed of vast knowledge and skilfulness, he shows himself in all directions and in all regions of the world.
> Birth, decrepitude, and disease will come to an end for those who are in the wretched states of existence, in hell, in brute creation, in the kingdom of Yama, for all beings.

9. Tārā

As a companion deity in the *Sādhanamālā*, Tārā is associated with various forms of Avalokiteśvara, including Lokanātha, Khasarpaṇa, Rakta-Lokeśvara and Padmanartteśvara while in the *Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā* manuscript and the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* composed by Śākyaśrībhadra (Kaśmīrī) preserved in the *Tanjur* she is a companion goddess to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. In *sādhana* no. 37, devoted to a four-armed Rakta-Lokeśvara, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī are the two companion deities but their descriptions are not provided. In *sādhana* no. 30, devoted to a two-armed form of Padmanartteśvara, Tārā occupies the south petal (of eight) in the *maṇḍala*, is green in colour and holds the *palāśa* and lotus flowers. In *sādhana* no. 32, devoted to an eighteen-armed form of Padmanartteśvara, Tārā is one of four companion deities, the others being Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva, though their descriptions are not given.[117] These same four companion deities serve Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. In *sādhana* no. 14, for example, we get the following description of Tārā who is placed in front of Khasarpaṇa: "Here Tārā is green. She causes to blossom with her right hand the lotus flower with a stem held in her left. She has many ornaments and her breasts are oppressively heavy due to adolescence." Further on we are told that these four deities should be "meditated on as disposed in a befitting and artistic manner, with their eyes directed towards the face of the principal deity."[118] In *sādhana* no. 18, devoted to Lokanātha, Tārā and Hayagrīva are the two companion deities. Tārā, who has a peaceful appearance, exhibits *varada-mudrā* and holds a lotus. In the Nepalese *Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara Pūjā* manuscript (Cambridge University Library), Tārā is one of four companion deities, the others again being Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva, and is green in colour. In one section she is placed in the middle of the *maṇḍala* while in another section she is placed on the right.[119] Except for her colour we are given no description of Tārā. In the (Kaśmīrī) *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* preserved (Tibetan translation) in the *Tanjur*, we have the following description of (standing) Tārā as one of the four companion deities:

> On the lotus-stalk to the left [north] of Amoghapāśa reigns the green Tārā who holds an utpala in her left hand, the right one displaying the varada-mudrā. Decked in a red clothing, the goddess is adorned with various precious ornaments. Her breasts are well swelled as she is in the bloom of youth.[120]

As one of six companion goddesses to Avalokiteśvara in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* we are merely told that she is to be drawn seated with appropriate postures and stance[121] while as one of four companion goddesses in the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the

Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi she is a mixture of green and white and holds the *utpala* with her hands clasped in *añjali*.[122]

There are, of course, numerous other *sādhanas* where the centre deity is surrounded by companion goddesses who may bear names ending with Tārā, as in *sādhana* no. 174 devoted to eight-armed Kurukullā where there are eight deities surrounding her;[123] in *sādhana* no. 95 where eight goddesses surround Vajra-Tārā; and in *sadhana* no. 107 where Dhanada-Tārā is likewise surrounded by eight Tārās.[124] In a *maṇḍala* of Amoghapāśa in a Tibetan *thangka*, above and below are painted eight figures of Green Tārā bringing deliverance from the eight perils, each with her right hand in *varada* and the left holding an *utpala*.[125]

Iconographically these textual descriptions of Tārā as a companion deity are similar to her independent, two-armed forms, exceptions being the examples where she causes a lotus to blossom with both hands or holds the *utpala* with her hands clasped in *añjali*. In the *maṇḍala* of Padmanartteśvara the right hand holds a *palāśa* flower rather than displaying *varada*. For the most part the *āsana* or pose is not specified.

In Orissan art the iconography of Tārā as a companion deity can be grouped into three basic modes in respect to her *mudrās*. In mode (A) she is seated and extends her right hand in *varada* while her left hand holds the stalk of an *utpala*. Iconographically this is the most basic form for Tārā and conforms to her description as a companion to Lokanātha in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 18), as well as to numerous descriptions of her image as an independent deity, such as her Khadiravaṇī form. In contrast to her image as an independent deity, where she is invariably seated in *lalitāsana*, this relaxing pose is rare when she is depicted as a companion deity, appearing only on the broken lower half of an image of Khasarpaṇa from Khiching (fig. 209). The most popular seated pose in mode (A) is *vajraparyaṅka* so that iconographically her image corresponds closely to her Mahattarī form (fig. 415). This form as a companion deity is especially associated with Amoghapāśa at Ratnagiri (fig. 249), in addition to appearing on the pedestal of the image of Vajradharma/Rakta-Lokeśvara from Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri (fig. 225) and possibly at the top right, beneath the effigy of Akṣobhya, on the image of Durgottāriṇī-Tārā (fig. 315), provided the *utpala* does not support a book. Except for the book on the *utpala*, the image of Ārya-Sarasvatī on the right corner of the pedestal of the twelve-armed Cundā from Udayagiri in the Patna Museum could be mistaken for Mahattarī-Tārā (fig. 334). There are also a few examples where Tārā is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*, including an image of Khasarpaṇa at Ratnagiri (fig. 211) and one of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa at Kendrapara (fig. 233), a pose generally associated with mode (C) where she is causing an *utpala* to blossom, though in these examples in mode (A) she is frontally posed rather than facing inward towards the centre deity.

In mode (B) Tārā clasps her hands in *añjali* while holding the stalk of an *utpala*, a *mudrā* prescribed for her as a companion of Avalokiteśvara in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*. Apparently this mode was not very popular in Orissa as there are few surviving examples, though the placement of the hands is somewhat similar to those in mode (C) and, especially in small images with badly-worn details, images in these two modes can be confused with one another. The only clearly identifiable example of Tārā in mode (B) appears on the image of Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara from Udayagiri now in the Asian Museum at San Francisco (fig. 247). Tārā stands in a slightly flexed frontal pose on the right side of Lokeśvara with her hands in front of her chest where they are clasped in *añjali*. An *utpala* rises up on the left and passes under and over her left arm. She is richly adorned and her hair is gathered in a chignon above her right shoulder. She is paired on the left with a two-armed standing Hayagrīva. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

Chart 32

COMPANION TĀRĀ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right hand	left hand	Pose	Companion to	Mode
Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa	?	utpala	vajraparyaṅka	Avalokiteśvara	A
Sādhanamālā 18	varada	utpala		Lokanātha	A
Kaśmīrī (Tanjur)	varada	utpala	standing	Amoghapāśa	A
Sādhanamālā 30	palāśa	utpala		Padmanartteśvara	
Mahāvairocana-sūtra	añjali	añjali/utpala		Avalokiteśvara	B
Sādhanamālā 14	utpala blossom	utpala stalk		Khasarpaṇa	C

ORISSAN IMAGES OF TĀRĀ AS COMPANION DEITY

Site	right hand	left hand	Pose	Companion to	Mode
*Lalitagiri (Calcutta)	varada	utpala	vajraparyaṅka	Durgottāriṇī Tārā	A
Ratnagiri (3)	varada	utpala	vajraparyaṅka	Rakta-Lokeśvara	A
Ratnagiri (temple 4)	varada	utpala	vajraparyaṅka	Rakta-Lokeśvara	A
Kendrapara	varada	utpala	ardhaparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	A
Ratnagiri	varada	utpala	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	A
Khiching	varada	utpala	lalitāsana	Avalokiteśvara	A
Dharmaśālā (OSM)	varada	utpala	standing	Sugatisandarśana	A
Udayagiri (S. Francisco)	añjali	añjali/utpala	standing	Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara	B
Ratnagiri	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Amoghapāśa	C
Kapila	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Avalokiteśvara	C
Baḍa-Tārā	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Naṭara	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Ratnagiri (fragment)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Udayagiri (2)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Acutrajpur	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Balasore	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Bañchua	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Chaudar (Calcutta)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Orasāhi	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Rāṇibandh	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Ratnagiri (village)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Lalitagiri (2)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Lokeśvara	C
Ratnagiri	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	ardhaparyaṅka	Lokeśvara	C
Cuttack (2)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	vajraparyaṅka	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Mudupur	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	vajraparyaṅka	Khasarpaṇa	C
Udayagiri (Patna)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	vajraparyaṅka	Sugatisandarśana	C
Deogaon	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	kneeling	Khasarpaṇa	C
Vajragiri (OSM)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	kneeling	Khasarpaṇa	C
Acutrajpur bronze (OSM)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	standing	[Independent form?]	C
Ayodhyā	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	standing	Jaṭā-mukuṭa/Mahākaruṇa	C
Bāṇeśwarnāsi (OSM)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	standing	Khasarpaṇa	C
Baudh	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	standing	Khasarpaṇa	C
Ratnagiri (Calcutta)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	standing	Khasarpaṇa	C
Bhubaneswar (OSM)	utpala blossom	utpala stalk	standing	Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara	C

*Or Ārya-Sarasvatī if the utpala supports a book.

In mode (C), by far the most popular mode, she holds the stalk of the *utpala* in her left hand while her right hand opens the petals of the blossom as prescribed for her as a companion deity to Khasarpaṇa in the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 14). Although she may be seated or standing, it is the seated pose which is most represented, in particular the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose with one knee raised and her body facing inward towards the centre deity (fig. 193). In several cases she assumes the more rigid *vajraparyaṅka* pose and in at least two examples she is depicted in a kneeling pose. She may appear on the right side of the centre deity or on the right corner of the pedestal (fig. 418). In addition to being the conventional mode for Tārā as a companion on Khasarpaṇa images, this mode also appears with various aspects of Avalokiteśvara, including Amoghapāśa, Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara, Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa, Lokeśvara and Sugatisandarśana. An image of Tārā in a standing pose of this mode was among the bronze hoard found at Acutrajpur (fig. 417). She stands in a graceful *tribhaṅga* pose on the pericarp of a *viśvapadma*. Her right hand delicately opens the petals of the *utpala* held in her left hand. The stalk of the *utpala* rises up behind her right foot and winds sinuously across her hips to her left hand. She is draped in a short *śāṭī* and wears a long, folded *uttarīya* which hangs down the arms on either side. She is richly adorned and her crown has triangular projections. Her hair is gathered above her left shoulder while loose locks spread down on both shoulders. Her head is framed by a leaf-shaped halo edged with flames. Her facial features are mostly rubbed off. She has a tall and slim physical build with graceful and smooth modelling. The image can be dated to the 11th century.[126] Although the largest of the Tārā images in the hoard, it most likely served as a companion deity to a larger image of Avalokiteśvara which has not survived. Her graceful pose with the right hip pushed out is conventional for female deities standing on the right side of a centre male deity while her *mudrā* of causing an *utpala* to blossom is typical for Tārā as a companion deity.

10. Yamāntaka (Yamāri)

As a companion deity Yamāntaka is usually associated with Mañjuśrī, as in *sādhana* no. 52, devoted to Mañjughoṣa, in the *Sādhanamālā* where he appears with Sudhanakumāra: "On the left, there is Yamāri who is of darker complexion, is born of Hūnkāra-vija, has a deformed face, and a mace in his hands, has hair which are tawny and upright, and is decorated with various ornaments."[127] In *sādhana* no. 51 devoted to Mañjuvara he is the only companion. He is blue in colour, has bared fangs and distorted face and is terrible to behold. He has the staff in one hand and in adoration touches the shin of Mañjuvara with the other hand.[128] He thus differs slightly from the two-armed independent form of Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri who holds a *vajra*-marked staff in his right hand while the left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*.[129] Although the destroyer of Yama his iconography is based on this Hindu god. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, for example, as one of the *dikpālas*, Yama is described as follows: "In the south, there is Yama riding on a buffalo. He is blue in colour and holds in his two hands the staff of death and the śūla."[130] As in the case of Yamāntaka (Yamāri), he rides the buffalo and his major weapon is the *daṇḍa*. His second *āyudha* is also usually a noose rather than the *śūla* mentioned above. In the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. G. 8055, fol. 28B-29A) it states: "Yama has one face, round eyes, and two hands. With the right hand he carries the staff, and with the left a noose—signifying control and restraint."[131] Though he holds the noose he does not display *tarjanī* as in the case of Yamāntaka or Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri.

Yamāntaka, as a companion deity, is also similar to Hayagrīva, except for the buffalo-mount and, in paintings their colour, in that the horse-head is not generally included in his coiffure. Both are dwarfish and pot-bellied in stature, have an angry, scowling mien with bared fangs, wear a garland of skulls, serpent ornaments and a tiger-skin garment, have tawny hair rising up like flames, and bear the staff (*daṇḍa*) as their major weapon. Although both

usually assume the *pratyālīḍha* pose, the right hand of Hayagrīva displays *vandanābhinayī*, i.e., the act of bowing to the centre deity, while the right hand of Yamāntaka touches the feet of the centre deity, i.e., Mañjuvara. In Orissan two-armed images, however, Hayagrīva invariably leans on his staff as if it were a crutch whereas Yamāntaka holds it in the manner of a club, though there are a few exceptions where this convention is reversed.

An image of Yamāntaka (or Acala?) as an attendant deity appears to the left of the pedestal of an image of Vajrarāga Mañjuśrī (or Vairocana?) affixed to the west wall of Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri, the image being carved on a separate slab of stone.[132] He is in *pratyālīḍha* striding towards Mañjuśrī (fig. 184). His uplifted right hand wields a sword (?) while his left palm, partially damaged, is at the chest. He has terrifying features, including a mustache, bared teeth and protruding eyes, and is dwarfish in stature with a pot-belly. Surface details are somewhat effaced so it is not clear if he wears serpent ornaments or not.

In the image of Mañjuśrī from Set C of the large free-standing Bodhisattva *maṇḍalas* at Lalitagiri, Yamāntaka appears as his only companion (fig. 155c). He is depicted standing with both knees partially bent on the back of his buffalo-mount on the left side of Mañjuśrī. His right hand holds the staff while his left hand, also placed waist-high, holds a noose. He wears a tiger-skin lower garment, *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and a necklace, and his hair is matted in a chignon on top of his head. It is not possible to determine if he has terrifying facial features.

Better preserved in respect to surface details is the image of Yamāntaka on the pedestal of the Mañjuśrī image presently placed on the porch of the Raghunātha temple at Solampur (fig. 163). He is placed on the right corner rather than on the left as prescribed and thus assumes the *ālīḍha* pose on the back of his buffalo-mount. His right hand wields the staff and the left holds the noose as on the previous image. He has a pot-belly and is dwarfish in stature. He has three heads with each displaying terrifying features and serpentine curls rising up like flames. Although there are forms of Yamāntaka with three heads, as discussed earlier, his arms are increased to four or six. Yamāntaka also appears on the right side of a Mañjuśrī image at Udayagiri, just off the road at the village, though he is badly effaced and surface details are mostly lacking (fig. 162). He is in *ālīḍha* on the back of his mount which is mostly obliterated. The staff held in his right hand is broken off. The noose is visible above his head on the left side. An indistinct object near the noose suggests Yamāntaka may have had four arms (?). He wears *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and has a pot-belly. His hair is arranged in a bun on top of his head. His facial features are badly worn.

The most unusual image of Yamāntaka is the example standing on the left of Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī in the sanctum of the Khuṭiā (Mārīcī) temple at Ayodhyā (fig. 260). Like Sudhanakumāra on the right, he duplicates the contrapposto pose of the centre deity except his left hand, placed at the thigh, additionally rests on the *vajra*-marked staff. His right hand, in front of the chest, delicately holds a small lotus. He is stout in body build and wears serpent ornaments, including a *sarpa-kuṇḍala* and a serpent coiled at the base of his balloon-like chignon. He has bulging eyes, a mustache, and his head is framed by a canopy of seven serpent-hoods. His buffalo-mount is beneath his feet.

At Lalitagiri is a small image encased in a shallow niche from a broken doorframe which possibly represents Yamāntaka. He stands in a slightly flexed yet rigid pose holding a staff horizontally in front of his body with both hands. He wears a *sarpa-yajñopavīta*, large earrings, and has a serpent coiled at the base of his balloon-shaped chignon as in the image at Ayodhyā. His head is also framed by a canopy though there are only five serpent-hoods. He has terrifying facial features though they are somewhat worn. His stature is dwarf-like but he does not have a pot-belly. In general the modelling is flat and the fingers are quite

stiff, suggesting the work was probably by an apprentice rather than a master-carver. Though the image could represent a *nāga*, iconographically it appears more like Yamāntaka even if the manner in which he is holding the ill-shaped *daṇḍa* does not conform to textual descriptions.

E. PEDESTAL DECORATION

The pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* seat of Buddha is invariably decorated with a lotus rhizome or stalk which supports the seat. In some cases, as with the Tathāgata images of the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri (figs. 127-130), the sanctum image of Monastery 1 (fig. 25) and the sanctum image of Mañjuśrī in Temple No. 5 (fig. 164) at Ratnagiri, the stalk is flanked on each side by a *nāga*.[133] In other cases the pedestal may be decorated with the Saranātha device of a wheel flanked on either side by a deer (fig. 98) as prescribed in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*.[134] On the pedestal of Lakulīśa, the "teaching Śiva" in the iconographic programme of the Hindu temple in Orissa, on the Śiśireśvara temple is a curious blending of these two Buddhist decorative motifs, the design having a lotus rhizome flanked by both a deer and a *nāga* on each side (fig. 135). The corners of the pedestal may be decorated with lions, thus forming a *siṁhāsana*, or they may be decorated with seated devotees, or with ritual paraphernalia such as bowls, lamps, censers, tripods, conch-shells, etc. (fig. 80). In a few cases the devotee performing *pūjā* may be placed in the centre or he may appear amidst the centre rhizome rather than replacing it (fig. 90). With the very largest images the pedestal may be carved from a separate slab of stone which, in most instances, has not survived, rare exceptions being the pedestals for the sanctum images of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri, Monastery 4 at Lalitagiri (fig. 17b), and the monastery at Kuruma. In some late examples the pedestal is divided into two tiers, allowing more space for decorative motifs, as on the Buddha image from the western flank of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri (fig. 94). The pedestal is *tri-ratha* in design with a rhizome at the centre and a lion at each corner of the top tier, the *rathas* being framed by a short baluster. The centre *ratha* of the lower tier has a bowl heaped with offerings flanked on each side by a lamp on a moulded stand and a censer. The corner *rathas* have a tripod supporting a conch, a *kamaṇḍalu*, and a kneeling devotee, the one on the right with a sword being a king and the female on the left probably his queen, facing inwards towards flowers which probably will be utilized in worship. The roof of the pedestal, undecorated, is in the shape of a large *piḍha*-moulding. The overall design thus resembles a pillared pavilion and is strongly influenced by parallel developments in Brahmanical art.

This pillared pavilion design for the pedestal is even more pronounced on a broken image of Buddha from Khiching (fig. 422). The design is again *tri-ratha* though the upper tier is much larger than the lower one which is decorated only on the centre *ratha*, the decoration consisting of two kneeling devotees on each side facing two bowls heaped with offerings and a lamp in the centre. The *rathas* of the upper tier, framed by balusters, contain in the corners a *gaja-krānta* motif of a lion springing on a crouching elephant. The large centre *ratha* contains a seated king facing a stand supporting a book. He is bearded and holds an indistinct object in front of his chest. Facing him is a small kneeling boy with hands in *añjali* and a standing female holding a vessel. The *piḍha*-moulding crowning the design is decorated with lotus petals on its sloping upper surface and geometric bands on its *muhāṇṭi*, the bands being replaced at the centre by an enigmatic alignment of four *māras* with their hands uplifted as if in amazement, the *māras* being aligned horizontally and alternately reversed so that one pair of legs serves two bodies. The overall design is similar to that of the *gavākṣa-maṇḍana* of Brahmanical temples wherein the pillared pavilion invariably houses a similar *śikṣādāna* motif of a priest or king dispensing instructions. A related motif of a male and female in discussion, flanked by three standing figures on either side, appears on the pedestal of a Buddha in *varada* at Jājpur.

1. Māravijaya/Aparājitā and Acala

This concept of the victory over Māra becomes popular as a pedestal motif on images of Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. In the *Lalitavistara* version of the story, after Māra's weapons and army fail to overcome Śākyamuni, Māra resorts to a verbal attack and challenges his right to be seated beneath the *bodhi* tree where he most likely would attain enlightenment. Śākyamuni replies that the hundreds of millions of offerings which he has made earned him this right but Māra persists with his challenge by stating that since there is no witness to offer evidence in support of what Śākyamuni has claimed, he will be conquered. Śākyamuni responds by touching the earth and stating:

> This earth, the home of all beings is impartial and free of malice toward everything which moves or does not move. Here is the guarantee that there is no deception; take the earth as my witness.[135]

The *Lalitavistara* goes on to describe how Māra is vanquished by the earth's support of what Śākyamuni has asserted. Accordingly, when Śākyamuni touched the ground the earth cleaved and there emerged half-way the earth spirit with her hands clasped in *añjali-mudrā*.[136] In sculptural representations there are often two earth goddesses represented as witnesses, one usually holding a pot and/or emerging from the ground and the other, later transformed in many cases into Aparājitā, depicted in a pose of active movement. Aparājitā, as mentioned earlier, is the destroyer of all wicked beings called *māras* and, though not a participant in textual accounts of the *māravijaya*, her presence in sculptural images may be understood as a symbol of overcoming *māras*.[137]

Included among the few examples of the *māravijaya* motif on pedestals of *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* Buddha in Orissan art is an image at Ratnagiri found amidst debris below a late brick structure to the south of the compound wall in the Stūpa-area.[138] On the right corner of the pedestal is a kneeling monk with hands in *añjali* while on the left corner is a burning lamp and a conch placed on a tripod. In the centre is Aparājitā threatening Māra, her right hand about to deal a slap while her left hand displays *tarjanī* (fig. 79). She is posed in *ālīḍha* with her bent left leg trampling on a prostrate elephant. Behind Aparājitā is a partly-buried female, representng the earth-goddess invoked by Buddha to bear witness, who holds a pot in her left hand while the right hand displays *abhaya*. The retreating Māra, dejected, dwarfish, pot-bellied and terrible looking, has his right palm on the chin and the left hand on his knee.

On another image of Buddha at Ratnagiri, the pedestal has a *tri-ratha* design with each corner compartment containing a lion. In the centre is a half-kneeling female holding a vessel in her left hand, probably representing the earth goddess, and a female dancer in a seductive pose with arms uplifted to fully reveal her body, suggesting she is a daughter of Māra trying to seduce the Buddha. In still another image at Ratnagiri, found amidst debris on the southern verandah in front of the rear porch of Monastery No. 1, the pedestal has a two-storey plan and a *tri-ratha* design with each *ratha* of both storeys being framed by balusters. In the centre *ratha* of the top storey is a bowl of offerings while each corner *ratha* contains a lion. The centre *ratha* of the lower storey has a *śikṣādāna* motif of a seated guru reading a book placed on a stand. Facing the guru is a kneeling disciple with hands in *añjali*. In the right *ratha* is a scene depicting Māra threatening Buddha with a fully-drawn arrow and two of his daughters in a seductive pose. The left *ratha* depicts the seated and dejected figures of discomfited Māra and his daughters.[139]

The pedestal of the image from Ratnagiri shifted to the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur is *tri-ratha* in design with the corner *rathas* containing a lion and, on the left corner, a kneeling

donor or devotee (fig. 89). On the large centre *ratha*, slightly projecting, are depicted the assault and temptation of Māra. On the proper right side are two dancing daughters and Māra with an arrow drawn to his bow while on the left is the dejected and discomfited Māra. On the pedestal of the headless image of a bejewelled Buddha in the Salipur Museum, the centre lotus rhizome is flanked on either side by a figure overlaying the mouldings of the pedestal (fig. 92).The figure on the right, seated in a half-kneeling pose with both hands raised, may possibly represent the earth as a witness while the figure on the left, seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with the raised right arm resting on his knee, represents Māra, dejected following his defeat by Buddha. Both figures are partially obliterated, however, so identification has to remain tentative.

The most complex pedestal programme depicting the *māravijaya* or victory over Māra appears on the image of Buddha showing *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* from Fakirpatana in which four Hindu deities, representing the four *māras*, are depicted twice on the upper part of the back-slab, wielding weapons in a threatening manner on the right half and paying homage to Buddha on the left half (fig. 91). The pedestal is *tri-ratha* in design and two-storey in plan with the upper storey being crowned by an ornately decorated *pīḍha*-moulding. The corner *rathas* of the upper storey each contain a recumbent lion. The slightly projecting centre *ratha*, framed by a large vessel on either side, contains two seated warriors, holding a club in one hand, who most likely symbolize the army of Māra. The lower storey is also capped by a *pīḍha*-moulding decorated with scrollwork on its projecting *muhāṇṭi*. The right *ratha* depicts the assault of Māra. Māra is represented drawing an arrow to his ear with his right hand while his outstretched left hand holds the bow. The earth-goddess, holding a pot with both hands, stands behind Māra. In the centre are the daughters of Māra. On the left is a scene with Māra holding his bow in a gesture of homage and a row of kneeling female figures with hands in *añjali*, possibly the daughters likewise paying homage to Buddha. The activity on the pedestal, repeating that occurring in the sky, is similar to the programme on some Bihar/Bengal images, as in examples from Jagdiṣpur, Dacca and Comilla.[140]

A variation of the *māravijaya* theme appears on a broken pedestal in the Dondua-maṭha where Acala, rather than Aparājitā, threatens Māra (fig. 344). He stands in *pratyālīḍha*, rather than *ālīḍha*, and wields a sword in his uplifted right hand while his left hand, at the chest, displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. Māra has his right hand in front of his chest while his left hand holds arrows or a club over his shoulder. On the right corner of the pedestal is a tripod supporting an offering and a tall vessel. On the left side, partially obliterated, is a crowned figure holding the shaft of an umbrella. At the base of the back-slab on the left, above the umbrella-bearer, is another male figure in *pratyālīḍha* with his left hand in *tarjanī* and his raised right hand brandishing a weapon. The image on the right is mostly obliterated.

The figure to the left of the pedestal of the ornamented deity displaying *dhyāna-mudrā* on the west wall of Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri, as indicated, may also represent Acala, rather than Yamāntaka (fig. 184). He is in *pratyālīḍha* and is stout in stature. The weapon in his raised right hand appears to be a sword while his left hand, placed in front of his chest, is badly damaged. It is also possible that the pot-bellied, fierce-looking, bearded and mustached male in the centre of the pedestal of the Crowned Buddha from Ratnagiri, now in the Patna Museum, represents Acala (fig. 95). Though he has been identified as Māra by some, his iconography and threatening gesture, as indicated, are more in keeping with a "protector" than with Māra who invariably, like Kāma, has a bow and arrow, or is depicted in a dejected mood for having been defeated by Buddha. In this example he wears a *sarpopavīta*, has his hair tied with a serpent and wields a sword with his right hand as prescribed for Acala in the *Sādhanamālā*. His left foot touches the ground while his right foot is slightly raised, as

in the text, though he is moving in a frontal direction rather than in a side direction as conventional. His left hand is placed in front of his chest but it appears to be stroking his beard rather than displaying *tarjanī-pāśa*. He extends up the height of both levels of the pedestal and is framed on either side by a baluster. Standing in front of each baluster on the lower level is one of Mara's daughters, each assuming a seductive pose. On the outside of each baluster is another female. The left one is in a half-prostrate pose, possibly suggesting her failure to seduce Buddha, while the right female, kneeling and holding a vessel, represents the earth-goddess. Kneeling devotees appear on the corner *rathas*. A pot-bellied figure similar to this centre image, but without a beard, appears in the centre of the pedestal of an image of Vajradharma from Nālandā.[141] The raised right hand again wields a sword while the left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*.

More positive in identification is the image of Acala placed on the left corner of the pedestal of the sculpture of Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* from Udayagiri, now in the Patna Museum (fig. 76). As discussed earlier, he is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with his right arm resting on his uplifted knee, the hand wielding a sword. His left hand, placed on his left knee, holds the noose tather than displaying *tarjanī-mudrā*. A similar image of Acala, though the pose is reversed, appears on the right side of an image of Maitreya from Telhara (near Nālandā).[142] As in the case of Aparājitā, though not mentioned in textual accounts of the *māravijaya*, his presence on images of Buddha may be understood as a symbol of the task of overcoming *māras*, a task prescribed for him in early texts like the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, where he is especially prominent in the chapter (3) on the "Cessation of Hindrances", the yogin visualizing the left foot of Acala on his head so that "the obstacles will be got rid of and they will cease and will not be produced"; in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* where he kicks with his right foot the four demons (*māras*), being invoked to destroy all obstacles; and in the *Ārya-Acala-Mahākrodharāja-kalpa* where we have the following passage:

> Beneath [the two vajradhāra-s] (draw) an
> Acala of great power (*mahābala*), holding
> a curved sword in his hand and looking through
> the corner (of his eye), appearing like a
> direct vision of the Ender of Death, dwelling
> in the circle of fire, and add him together
> with the wind (circle).[143]

Aside from sculptural *maṇḍalas*, where a pair of Bodhisattvas frequently appear on the pedestal, there are very few examples of other deities being placed beneath the seat of Buddha. A rare exception is the image of Vajrasattva placed on the right corner of the pedestal of a Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* at Ratnagiri, from the north verandah of Monastery No. 1.[144]

Vajrasattva also appears on the pedestal of other Buddhist deities, such as Prajñāpāramitā as indicated earlier, though perhaps his most unique juxtaposition occurs on the pedestal of the broken four-armed Avalokiteśvara image at Aragarh, as pointed out by R. Linrothe.[145] Vajrasattva is depicted in his conventional frontal pose in the centre of the pedestal, next to the pendent right foot of Avalokiteśvara. Above this foot, on the right corner of the pedestal, is a figure seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands displaying *bodhyaṅgī-mudrā*, suggesting he represents Mahāvairocana. The third figure, on the left corner, is a two-armed Hayagrīva standing on a crouching tiger (fig. 5). His left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa* while the raised right hand wields a *vajra*-tipped *daṇḍa*. This is a rare Orissan example of Hayagrīva making a threatening gesture. Usually he displays *vandanābhinayī* with this hand or rests it on the *daṇḍa*.

2. Sapta-ratna Motif

With Bodhisattvas and other Buddhist divinities, as indicated, companion deities play a major role in the iconographic programme of the pedestal while other figure motifs include Sūcīmukha, Vajrasattva and possibly Vajradharma or Vairocana, in addition to devotees and/or donors, and *vāhanas*, particularly noticeable with Mārīcī and Mañjuśrī, or corpses and Hindu deities which are being trampled. One of the most popular decorative motifs appearing on later images of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, Khadiravaṇī Tārā and Prajñāpāramitā with a two-storey pedestal is the *sapta-ratna* or seven-jewel motif, adopted from the earlier concept of the Cakravartin, such as appears in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (142.63): "cakra, chariots, Queen, jewels, horses, elephants and gold formed their treasure and were counted as ratnas (jewels)."[146] This list differs slightly from that of Pali literature as *ratha* (royal chariot) and *nidhi* (gold) replace the *parināyaka* (military chief) and *gṛhapati* (treasurer) respectively of the Pali lists. Though there is no textual support for associating the *sapta-ratnas* with these Buddhist deities, their association with the Buddha can be explained in the context of his past birth stories, having the potentiality of being a Cakravartin as Siddhārtha and actually being a Cakravartin in at least two of his former births.[147] The details and power of the *sapta-ratnas* are included in his narration of the *Mahā-sudassana-Suttana* to Ānanda on the eve of his demise.[148] A. Getty's comments on the symbolism of the *sapta-ratnas* are as follows:

1. *cakra-ratna*: the golden wheel believed to fall from heaven on the investiture of a 'wheel-king', symbol of Perfection of the Law.
2. *maṇi-ratna*: a precious stone, symbol of the accomplishment of wishes.
3. *itthi/strī-ratna*: a royal consort (a noble woman) symbolizing the 'calming caress'.
4. *aśva-ratna*: the best horse (a white horse), symbol of prompt success in the acquisition of the qualities of the Buddha.
5. *hasti-ratna*: the best elephant, as bearer of 84,000 sacred books, symbolizes the infinite propagation of the religion.
6. *gṛhapati-ratna*: the best treasurer (civil officer), who by his generosity removes poverty, and by his justice assures the well-being of people.
7. *parināyaka-ratna*: the best leader (military chief), who with his sword of wisdom repels the enemies.[149]

The *sapta-ratna* motif was also quite popular in Bengal/Bihar where it even appears on the base of *stūpas* as well as on the pedestal of images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.[150] As in Orissan art, the *parināyaka* may be represented in human form holding a sword or he may be symbolized by the sword itself. Whereas the horse and elephant in Bengal/Bihar examples invariably carry a *maṇi* on their back, I do not see evidence of this redundancy in Orissan images. The *gṛhapati* generally is corpulent, is seated in *ṃahārājalīlā* and often squeezes the neck of a mongoose (purse) in the manner of Jambhala (Brahmanical Kubera), the Buddhist god of wealth, though in many Orissan examples, due to the small size of these images, such details may be lacking. The resemblance to Jambhala/Kubera may be influenced by the list in the *Matsya Purāṇa* where *nidhi*, which replaces the *gṛhapati*, can also be read as a name of Kubera.

Although there do not appear to be any examples of the *sapta-ratna* motif on the pedestal of Buddha images in Orissa, there are numerous examples of it on the pedestal of other images including Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara as mentioned. The *ratnas* are often circled by sprays of the lotus rhizome supporting the *viśvapadma* seat of Lokeśvara, the rhizome thus symbolizing the *kalpavṛkṣa*.[151] Surviving examples include the image in the Indian Museum at Calcutta from Chaudar;[152] another image in the same museum from Ratnagiri via Kendrapara (fig. 424); an image in the Orissa State Museum from Vajragiri (fig. 221); and images at Balasore

(fig. 215), Mudupur (fig. 219) and Nāgaspur (fig. 213). Khadiravaṇī-Tārā images with the *sapta-ratnas* on the pedestal include examples at Banpur (fig. 423), Sundaragram (fig. 304) and the image from Bāṇeśwarnāsi in the Patna Museum (fig. 307) while Prajñāpāramitā images with the *sapta-ratnas* include the four-armed image from Chaudar,[153] the image at Tārāpur,[154] and the image from Maṅgalapur in the Orissa State Museum (fig. 328). The alignment varies from image to image. On the Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara image from Ratnagiri in the Indian Museum, for example, the alignment beginning on the right is: 1) horse; 2) *strī*; 3) elephant; 4) sword; 5) *cakra*; 6) *gṛhapati*; 7) *maṇi*. On the Khasarpaṇa image from Chaudar the alignment is: 1) *cakra*; 2) *maṇi*; 3) sword; 4) *gṛhapati*; 5) *strī*; 6) elephant; and 7) horse. On the Tārā image at Banpur the alignment is: 1) *cakra*; 2) elephant; 3) horse; 4) *maṇi*; 5) *strī*; 6) *gṛhapati*; and 7) sword. On the Tārā image from Bāṇeśwarnāsi it is: 1) *maṇi*; 2) sword; 3) *cakra*; 4) *strī*; 5) *gṛhapati*; 6) elephant; and 7) horse. The alignment on the Prajñāpāramita image from Chaudar consists of 1) *cakra*; 2) horse; 3) *parināyaka*; 4) *gṛhapati*; 5) elephant; while 6) and 7) are not visible in the photo. On the Prajñāpāramitā from Maṅgalapur the *sapta-ratnas* are 1) indistinct; 2) *maṇi*; 3) sword; 4) *gṛhapati*; 5) *strī*; 6) horse; and 7) indistinct.

Five images deviate from this conventional placement on the upper register of the pedestal. In the first example, an image of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara from Rāṇibandh in the Baripada Museum, the *sapta-ratnas* are aligned at the base of the pedestal and are not encased in meandering sprays. The horse and elephant appear in the middle of the pedestal while hovering above them are a *maṇi* and a *cakra*. The alignment begins on the right with Vajrasattva, followed by 1) the *parināyaka* holding a sword; 2) the *gṛhapati*; 3) the *strī* playing a *vīṇā*; 4) horse; 5) *maṇi*; 6) *cakra*; 7) elephant; and then three kneeling female devotees, the first holding a garland and the other two with hands clasped in *añjali* (fig. 214).

More unique is the image of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara at Ayodhyā where, as on a similar image from Badarhati (Bhandarhati) in Hooghly district,[155] the *sapta-ratnas* are dispersed along the *kalpavṛkṣa* issuing from a *ghaṭa* at the lower left, the creeper arching over the head of Lokeśvara and hanging half-way down the opposite side where its foliage, branching out, drips jewels into the hands of five standing *pretas* at the lower right (figs. 198, 425). Beginning on the right, opposite the shoulder of Lokeśvara, the dispersement consists of 1) *strī* seated in *mahārājalīlā*; 2) *cakra*; 3) *gṛhapati* seated just above the *cakra*; 4) elephant walking on top of the creeper at the right corner; 5) horse walking on top of the creeper on the left corner; 6) sword; and 7) a *maṇi* encircled by a spray issuing from the creeper on the left, just above the *preta* attempting to climb the creeper. Seated in front of the *ghaṭa* at the left is a two-armed Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, symbolically functioning as a *gṛhapati* or treasurer. In acting essentially as a god of wealth, Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara is thus dispensing jewels as he stands under the *kalpavṛkṣa* or wish-fulfilling tree, just as the Cakravartin unleashes a "shower of wealth" by touching the clouds. A similar alignment of *sapta-ratnas* appears on the images of Tārā dispensing prosperity, at Nāgaspur and Adasapur, though surface details are partially obscured by grime and fungus so that only a few of the *ratnas* are visible (figs 289-90).

The popularity of the *kalpavṛkṣa* and *sapta-ratna* motifs, along with the development of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā as deities dispensing "the nectar of prosperity", no doubt reflects the desires and aspirations of a luxury-loving society overly concerned with material well-being and affluence, a concern also reflected in Brahmanical art of the 10th-11th centuries throughout India.[156] This is still reflected in later texts, such as the hymn to the Mahāvidyā-Tārā (*Tārāstakam*) of the *Nīla Tantra* where Tārā is called "the creeper which grants all desires" and the devotee prays that she will shower upon him the nectar of prosperity.[157] In the *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.47.1-25) it is stated that the *kalpavṛkṣa* must be worshipped when reciting the *mantra* of Maṅgalā. Maṅgalā, as an aspect of Durgā, is especially worshipped by those

seeking their personal prosperity and welfare (*maṅgala*). She is considered to be the source of all prosperity and serves as a raft to the people endeavouring to cross the ocean of the world.[158]

References

[1]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 158. Kubera invariably is prescribed a man as his mount, as in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (*maṇḍala* no. 21) and the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (fol. 24A-24B), though in one case he has a horse. See D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 55-58, n. 43.

[3]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 237-38; see also B. Sahai, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-26.

[4]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[5]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LII.

[6]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[7]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 93.

[8]*Ibid.*, II, p. 331.

[9]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 229-30.

[10]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 168-69. The object in his right hand, as she notes, resembles a jack-fruit in respect to its crisscrossing lines of texture. In size, however, it more closely approximates a citron.

[11]The second bronze is badly corroded and was discovered within Monastery No. 1. See *Ibid.*, II, p. 371, pl. CCXCV(B).

[12]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 61-62, pl. XXXII(B).

[13]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 84-85, acc. no. 261.

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 85.

[15]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, figs. 3873, 3883.

[16]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 222, fig. 80.

[17]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 308, pl. CCLV(A).

[18]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 238-39; and S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LIII, fig. 152.

[19]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[20]S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, I, pp. 110-11.

[21]J. Takakusu (trans.), *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695) by I-tsing* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 37-38.

[22]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 85.

[24]J. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[25]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[26]L.A. Waddell, "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult: its Gods, Images and Art", *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* (January, 1912), p. 146.

[27]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 86, pl. XLI(d).

[28]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 166-68.

[29]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[30]Two of the 51 names for Kārttikeya in the *Vanaparvan* (ch. 232) are Priya and Priyakṛt. See Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *The Cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1970), p. 94.

[31]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 35-36.

[32]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LIV.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. LII.

[34]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 245.

[35]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 35-36.

[36]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 63.

[37]*Ibid.*, II, p. 332.

[38]*Ibid.*, I, p. 236, pls. CLXXIX(A-B).

[39] *Ibid.*, I, p. 190. Saraswati identifies the image as Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī. See S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. XLI, fig. 115.

[40] *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 21.

[41] See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, fig. 1458.

[42] In the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* the *dikpāla* Kubera is prescribed the goad and the *gadā*. See B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 361.

[43] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 228.

[44] A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-25.

[45] See L.A. Waddell, "The 'Dhāraṇī' cult in Buddhism: its Origin, deified Literature and Images", *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Heft 2 (Juli, 1912), fig. 6.

[46] See M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[47] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 232.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

[49] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[51] Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1949), II, pp. 403ff, and pl. 78.

[52] D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, p. 31, fig. 9.

[53] D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 459, pl. CCCXLIX(A).

[54] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[55] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 138.

[56] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[58] D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, p. 193.

[59] *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 21.

[60] A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 294-97.

[61] P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 235; and R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, p. 473.

[62] R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pp. 473-76.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 485.

[64] P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 234.

[65] P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XIII, pp. 21-22 and fig. 5.

[66] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-54.

[67] Cf. A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 294-97.

[68] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[69] According to legends she sprang from the furrows of a mighty frown of Avalokiteśvara and her wrathful appearance struck terror in destructive deities disrupting the assembly of Mahāvairocana. See A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 294-95.

[70] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 193.

[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 194-95.

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 193-94; and M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

[73] van Kooij, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25.

[74] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 227.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[76] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[77] B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 151.

[78] R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pp. 484-85.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 472.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 474.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 476.

[82] M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

[83] G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, pl. 78.

[84] Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* (Delhi, 1972 reprint), pl. XXI.

[85] N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI; and M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43. Each is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*.

[86]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 162. See also R.H. Van Gulik, *Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan* (Leiden, 1935).

[87]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 146.

[88]*Ibid.*, p. 394, fig. 1(A).

[89]A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[90] W. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 198, fig. 6 A 31.

[91]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 21; and A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 163-64. For a different reading see A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[92]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 129, 131.

[93]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, p. 480.

[94]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 234.

[95]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, p. 484.

[96]*Ibid.*, p. 472.

[97]*Ibid.*, pp. 474, 476.

[98]R. van Gulik, *op. cit.*, p. 35. I am grateful to Rob Linrothe for pointing this out to me.

[99]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, p. 480.

[100]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 165.

[101]F.A. Bischoff, *Ārya-Mahābala-Nāma-Mahāyānasūtra: Tibetain* (ms. de Touen-Houang) *et Chinois* (Paris, 1956), p. 50; and R. Linrothe, "Compassionate Malevolence", working draft, p. 270.

[102]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 74.

[103]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[104]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 68, 80-85.

[105]*Ibid.*, p. 84.

[106]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. LXVI.

[107]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 232.

[108]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 42; and *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 96; S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pls. 180-81; A.K. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pl. 76(d); and A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[109]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. 43, fig. 52. The image is similar to one from Nālandā. See D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, fig. 2.

[110]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. xci.

[111]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 129.

[112]P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 234.

[113]R. *Meisezahl, Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, pp. 479-80.

[114]L. Austine Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (Cambridge: 1971 impression), pp. 96-98. Some thirty-six species are described.

[115]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 129.

[116]*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, trans. Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, ed. J.L. Shastri, AITMS vols. 7-11 (Delhi, 1976-78), II, p. 771.

[117]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 134-35, 138.

[118]*Ibid.*, p. 129.

[119]P. Pal. *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 234.

[120]R. Meisezahl, *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI, p. 481.

[121]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, p. 193.

[122]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 21; and A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I,. pp. 163, 291-92.

[123]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 151.

[124]*Ibid.*, pp. 231, 241; and M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[125] P. Pal, *Oriental Art*, XII, p. 239.

[126]D. Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur*, p. 110.

[127]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. xci.

[128]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, XXIII.

[129]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 168.

[130]*Ibid.*, p. 361.

[131]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 59.

[132]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pp. 290-91. In the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* as the only attendant he is situated below the lotus-seat of Mañjuśrī on the right side. See A. MacDonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 105ff.

[133]In the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* the *nāgas* Nanda and Upananda function as gate keepers.

[134]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, p. 194.

[135]*The Lalitavistara Sūtra, The Voice of the Buddha: The Beauty of Compassion,* trans. Gwendolyn Bays, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1983), II, p. 482.

[136]In the *Nidānakantha,* the only other textual account mentioning the earth goddess, she does not appear but responds vocally, acknowledging the many donations made by Śākyamuni during his previous life as Vessantara. See *Buddhist Birth-Stories (Nidāna-Katha),* trans. T.W. Rhys Davids (London, 1925), p. 101. In the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* the earth goddess kneels piously with a *kalaśa* while Aparājita and Aparājitā are wrathful *vidyādharas. See Mahāvairocana-sūtra,* p. 23.

[137]J. Leoshko, "The Case of Two Witnesses", p. 48.

[138]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 140.

[139]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 218-19, pls. CLXVII(A-B).

[140]See Janice Leoshko, "The Issue of Influence in Burmese Art", *Makaranda: Essays in Honour of Dr. James C. Harle*, ed. Claudine Bautze-Picron (Delhi, 1990), figs. 4, 6-7.

[141]S.K. Saraswati (*op. cit.*, p. XXXII, pl. 81) suggests the figure from Nālandā is female while D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 427, identifies the image from Ratnagiri as Māra. In the *Sādhanamālā* it is stated that Acala carries the noose in order to bind the enemies who cause sufferings to humanity and that such enemies (*māras*) are terrified by his raised index finger.

[142]Janice Leoshko, "Buddhist Images from Telhara, a Site in Eastern India", *South Asian Studies* (1988), p. 94, fig. 11.

[143]*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, p. 41; the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, pp. 64-65; and J. Oshika (ed.), *Tibetan Text of Ārya-Acala-Mahākrodharāja-kalpa*, 1978, *Acta Indologica IV* (Naritasan Shinshoji, 1976/9), quoted in A. Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, p. 5. See also B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, p. cxxxi.

[144]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 217, pl. CLXV.

[145]R. Linrothe describes this pedestal in great detail in his forthcoming dissertation, "Compassionate Malevolence: Wrathful Deities in Esoteric Buddhist Art", I originally identifed the right figure as Tārā opening the petals of a lotus, or Vajradharma, and I failed to notice the tiger beneath Hayagrīva. The surface details are partially worn away and/or obscured by debris.

[146]*Matsya Purāṇa*, trans. "A Taluqdar of Oudh", ed. Major B.D. Basu, 2 parts, SBH Vol. XVII (New York, 1974 reprint of 1916-17 Allahabad edition), II, pp. 38-39.

[147]Debala Mitra, "Image of Avalokiteśvara from Bhandarhati, Now in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art", *Studies in Archaeology: Papers presented in memory of P.C. Dasgupta*, ed. Asok Datta (New Delhi, 1991), pp. 329-30.

[148]*Buddhist Suttas*, trans. T.W. Rhys Davids, SBE Vol. XI (Delhi, 1965 reprint), pp. 248-59.

[149]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[150]D. Mitra, "Image of Avalokiteśvara from Bhandarhati", pp. 329-33.

[151]In the *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra* (ch. 48), as a decoration, the *kalpavṛkṣa* is associated with the seat or pedestal and is to have jewels and garlands of pearls inserted at suitable places while figures of deities, *siddhas, vidyādharas* and monkeys are to be placed at the intervals between the branches. See Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad,* Mānasāra Series Vol. VI (Allahabad, 1946), pp. 146-47.

[152]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 61.

[153]*Ibid.*, fig. 58.

[154]P.K. Ray, *OHRJ*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, fig. 1.

[155]See D. Mitra, "Image of Avalokiteśvara from Bhandarhati", fig. 34; S. Huntington, *op. cit.*, fig. 221; and S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 91.

[156]Cf. T. Donaldson, *Kāmadeva's Pleasure Garden: Orissa*, pp. 265-68.

[157]Arthur & Ellen Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, pp. 50-51.

[158]*The Śrīmad Devī Bhāgavatam*, trans. Swami Vijnanananda *alias* Hari Prasanna Chatterji, SBH Vol. 26 parts 1-4 (New York, 1974 reprint), pp. 990-91.

STYLISTIC ANALYSIS, BRAHMANICAL PARALLELS AND RELIGIOUS SYNCRETISM/ ANIMOSITY

A. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Due to the paucity of dated inscriptions in the art of Orissa, developing a precise chronology remains a problem. Although palaeographic analysis is helpful, it lacks precision and can only be used to set approximate dates. For the most part, then, the chronology of individual works has to be based primarily on stylistic analysis. Whereas the study of Brahmanical art is greatly facilitated by the preservation of hundreds of temples, which afford a careful study in developing stylistic chronology in architecture and sculpture, such an approach is more difficult in studying Buddhist art. Except for brick foundations recently excavated, and the stone doorframes found at the sites in the Asia hills, little in the way of architecture has survived aside from wall fragments of entrance complexes at Ratnagiri. Even at these major sites where some architectural remains have survived, artistic activity extends over a long period of time rather than ceasing once the structure was completed, as in the case of most Brahmanical temples at this time in Orissa. The site itself thus cannot be the sole determinator in establishing a date for individual sculptures. Stylistic analysis is thus the most reliable tool in developing a chronology and in the case of Buddhist art this is facilitated by comparison with Brahmanical art which, though itself somewhat tentative, provides a basic framework of evolution supported by inscriptional evidence.[1] Although we have little knowledge of the practices and movements of sculptural workshops of this period, there is little doubt that some of the same sculptors were employed by Buddhist and Brahmanical patrons alike and, as mentioned throughout this study, there is continuous reciprocal influence in the art of these two religions.[2]

In respect to architectural activity at Ratnagiri, surviving wall fragments provide evidence for two stylistic periods comparable to Hindu structures in regard to chronological evolution. The first style (A), particularly evident in the base mouldings or *pābhāga* of the rear wall of

the front porch and entrance of Monastery 1, consists of four mouldings conventional on Orissan Hindu temples dating from *circa* A.D. 750 to 850 (fig. 426). The lowest moulding, plain except for a projecting *muhāṇṭi* at the lower edge and a curved top, is called a *khura*, its silhouette resembling the hoof of a horse. The second moulding is a *noli* (torus) with a semi-circular profile and is likewise undecorated. The third moulding, a squat *khura*, is decorated with a frieze of arabesque scrollwork or geometrical patterns on its projecting *muhāṇṭi* while the sloping upper surface has lightly etched lotus petals. On the *pāgas* or major vertical projections the second and third mouldings are clasped together by an overlaying *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* design which is richly carved with foliage. The top moulding is a *pheṇi* (inverted *khura*) with the projecting *muhāṇṭi* at the top. The *muhāṇṭi* is decorated with a band of *raṅganī* (rosettes in squares) while the sloping lower surface is etched with lotus petals. The design of this top moulding deviates slightly from the top moulding on Hindu temples, which consists of a narrow *paṭṭa* above a *damarūbhaga* or stepped recess, and essentially duplicates the niche-sill design of the 7th-8th century temples that begins immediately above the *tala-bandhanā* (projecting dentils). Essentially the *tala-bandhanā* is removed on 8th-9th century structures and the niche-sill is incorporated into the *pābhāga*, thus increasing the number of mouldings from three to four. In respect to stylistic comparisons, the *pābhāga* design at Ratnagiri is most closely related to those on the Śiśireśvara and the Vaitāl Deul temples at Bhubaneswar and can likewise be dated to the second-half of the 8th century.[3]

The extant decorative programme of this back wall on either side of the doorframe, though surviving only in fragments, is equally ornate and exquisitely carved. The first member outside the doorframe proper is a broad *pāga* flanked on either side by a thin *pāga* inserted into a recess (fig. 427). The broad *pāga* is decorated with niches superimposed one above the other, though only the bottom two have survived. The lower niche on each side houses an image of Jambhala while the upper niche on the west side has an image of seated Lokeśvara. The short *pābhāga* beneath the lower niches consists of two mouldings duplicating the design of the top two mouldings of the main *pābhāga*. They are tripartite in design with a centre vertical recess as on the *pābhāga* of the Vaitāl Deul. The jambs framing the niches are designed as flat *kumbha-stambhas* while the projecting lintel forms the base of the short *pābhāga* of the upper niche, a *khura* crowned by a *pheṇi*. The thin *pāga* of the inside recess has a similar short *pābhāga* at the base surmounted by a *kumbha-stambha* design consisting of a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, a shallow niche housing a *caurī*-bearer and decorative scroll motifs. The outside recess cuts through the major *pābhāga* design. The thin *pāga* filling the recess has a standing *nāga* at the base while the shaft above is decorated with the *jalapatra* (*sapuriya*) scroll of superimposed water-plants with small pineapple-like fruit. The overall design thus serves as a precursor for the later *nāga-stambha* motif. The last member of this rear wall is a large *pāga* with a *sapta-ratha* design consisting of progressively projecting facets, the offsets being decorated with scrollwork in conventional fashion. Only the lower niche of the centre facet on the west has survived and it houses an image of Yamunā (figs. 428, C-5).

The second style (B) is best exemplified by the facade erected in front of the original entrance to the sanctuary of Monastery 1 and referred to as Period II by D. Mitra (fig. 429).[4] Part of this facade has been reconstructed and is now assembled on the west side of the courtyard. The *pābhāga* consists of four mouldings similar to the earlier design but the overlaying *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* motif has been eliminated. The bottom *khura* moulding is now decorated with a small *caitya* design above the *muhāṇṭi*. The semi-circular *noli* is changed into a *kumbha* and is decorated with a leaf design hanging from the *muhāṇṭi* of the *khura* moulding above. This *khura* or third moulding is ornately decorated with deeply-cut scrollwork on its *muhāṇṭi*. Although the lotus petals of the upper surface are eliminated, there is a cursive *caitya* design carved on the centre. The top inverted *khura* or *pheṇi* is decorated with scrollwork, including the *mali-phula-phaḍika* (flowers framed by triangles of beads or

lines), on its *muhāṇṭi*. The sloping lower surface is edged with *paṭṭi* (fillets) and has a downward projecting nodule at the centre. The overall design of the *pābhāga* is most closely aligned with early 10th century Brahmanical temples such as the Pañca-Pāṇḍava at nearby Ganeswarpur or the Someśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam.[5]

The *jāṅgha* or wall portion above the *pābhāga* is also similar in decoration to early 10th century Hindu temples with engaged *kumbha-stambhas* alternating with *muṇḍi* designs (fig. 430). The *vimānikā* or crowning members over the niche are increased in number to give it an elongated appearance, a feature which greatly reduces the size of the niche.[6] The major surface of the engaged *stambha* has the *pallava* scrollwork, produced by oblique cutting techniques, which is characterized by an overall wood-shaving pattern that becomes increasingly monotonous, in contrast to the vigorous and varied patterns of earlier scrollwork, yet serves as an effective background foil for figure sculpture in addition to providing a more overall unity of design. The insertion of *nāga-stambhas* into recesses between projecting walls also establishes a 10th century date when this feature was very conventional (fig. 455). The manner in which the *nāga* is descending with its tail coiled around the *stambha* above appears on only three temples, the Tīrtheśvara, the Gaurī and the Mukteśvara, all at Bhubaneswar and dating to the first half of the 10th century.[7] The more popular conception has the *nāga* rising, as if coming out of the earth itself where they serve as guardians of earthly treasures. The *bhārarakṣakas* (weight-protectors) or atlantid-*gaṇas* at the top of the *stambhas* are also consistent with decorative programmes of the 10th century throughout Orissa though only on the Gaurī temple are they similarly placed here, their usual placement being at the top of the *kanika* or corner *pāga*. The *vajra-mastaka* designs crowning the *vimānikās* most closely approximate those on the Vārāhī temple at Caurāsi, likewise dating to the early 10th century.[8]

Architectural remains thus provide us with two distinct periods of activity for Monastery No. 1 which can be dated with some degree of precision through comparative analysis with contemporary Brahmanical temples, the earlier period (A) dating to the second half of the 8th century and the second period (B) dating to the early 10th century.

Monastery No. 2, being earlier in date, is less well preserved and there are few decorative elements capable of being utilized for comparative analysis. The best surviving architectural components are window balusters such as appear in cell 6 or dislocated balusters found in the area southeast of Monastery No. 1.[9] Balusters replace *jāli* or perforated lattice as window screens at the beginning of the 11th century, one of the earliest examples utilizing balusters being the Rājarāṇī temple at Bhubaneswar.[10] In these earliest examples the balusters are decorated in the manner of pillars whereas by the mid-11th century they are often decorated with female figures or *nāgas*. The decorative programme, consisting of a set of mouldings at the base and top, and a shaft carved with an *ālamba* design of hanging bead ornaments issuing from a *kīrtimukha* mask and overlaying scrollwork, is introduced during the early 10th century in western Orissa on the *kanika* or corner *pāga* where an *alasā-kanyā* carved in high-relief is added below. By the mid-10th century, as evident on the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, it has spread throughout Orissa as a standard decorative motif.[11] The scroll motif on the dislodged balusters is the *pallava*. Stylistically the decorative programme is most closely related to the programme on the *kanika* of the Mukteśvara temple and these balusters can thus be placed in the second-half of the 10th century. In that the designs are only blocked-out in the examples where they are *in situ*, as in cells 2, 3, and 5,[12] they are harder to date with precision but may date to the beginning of the 11th century. In either case these balusters would correspond to D. Mitra's Period III of activity at Monastery 2.

1. Doorframe

The overall decorative programme of the doorframe on the Orissan temple remains fairly

consistent throughout the long history of temple construction. Despite this standardization, or because of it, the decorative programme of the doorframe, combining scrollwork, figure motifs, *muṇḍi* designs etc., is probably the single best indicator in determining chronological sequence. The slightest deviations, whether due to stylistic evolution or outside influence, are easily detected. In respect to the Buddhist architecture of Orissa, however, only a few doorframes have survived and they all date from approximately the same period so that deviations are minor and may be due more to individual taste than to stylistic evolution. Except for the conspicuous absence of *mithuna* images on most doorframes, the decoration of the jambs follows closely the injunction made by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (56.14-15) that one quarter of the jamb contain a *dvārapāla* (*pratihari*) while the rest of the decoration consists of auspicious birds, *śrīvṛkṣa, svastika, pūrṇa-ghaṭa, mithuna,* foliated scrollwork and dwarfish figures.[13] Generally it is scrollwork which dominates the decorative programme on Orissan doorframes rather than figure motifs and the *dvārapālas* are confined to niches at the base. The number of jambs on either side of the door is generally standardized at three, after an initial experimental phase, and the scroll motifs gradually become standardized. The *dvārapālas* are four-armed and manifest a dual complementary symbolism with the *ghora* or *ugra* (terrific) aspects of Śiva on the proper left and the *saumya* (peaceful) aspects on the right. The motif at the centre of the lintel is usually Gaja-Lakṣmī while on the architrave above is a *graha* (planet) slab.

The doorframe of the entrance to Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri, called by D. Mitra "the loveliest entrance to a structural monastery in the whole of India",[14] has three bands of scrollwork on either side of the door and conforms generally to the decorative programme of 8th century Orissan doorframes (fig. 432). There are some deviations, however, the most notable being the alignment of four standing figures of near equal size in the *dvārapāla* niche. On Brahmanical doorframes of this period there are usually only two figures, the *dvārapāla* (guard) and an attendant, the latter generally a female *caurī*-bearer or a *nāga* housed in a separate niche, or the *dvārapāla* may be flanked on either side by a diminutive attendant sharing his niche. The Buddhist alignment on the west (proper right), beginning next to the door opening, consists of a two-armed *dvārapāla* with his left arm resting on a staff and his right hand at his hip; a Bodhisattva or a royal personage[15] holding an *utpala* in his left hand while his right hand holds the end of the folded *uttarīya* encircling his thighs;[16] an attendant holding an umbrella above the previous image; and an attendant holding a long bag suspended on a string over the shoulder. The figures get progressively smaller with the *dvārapāla* being the largest. The alignment is similar on the east side with only slight deviations. The *dvārapāla* rests his right elbow on the staff, his hand at his hip, while his raised left hand holds an *utpala*. The second figure holds an indistinct object against his chest with his right hand while his left hand holds the ends of his *uttarīya* (figs. 433-34). The *dvārapāla* niche frame is decorated with the *raṅganī* scroll.

The three broad bands of scrollwork beginning above the *dvārapāla* niche, from the inside, are the *ratikera*, the *padma-pṛṣṭha* and the *gelaba* (*ḍalimāṅkuḍi*). The lush *ratikera*, consisting of a sinuous stalk with circular vines spraying out alternately to either side, is a conventional scroll motif on 8th-9th century temples (figs. 442-44). The *padma-pṛṣṭha*, consisting of neatly aligned, stylized lotus petals, is a popular scroll motif generally confined to curving surfaces, such as the underside of a sill, and when employed on a doorframe it is usually on a small curved band on the outside. The manner in which it is flattened out as a broad middle band on this doorframe is quite unique. The *gelaba* scroll, a meandering vine with frolicking boys climbing its branches alternately on either side, is a conventional scroll employed on doorframes throughout the history of temple construction in Orissa. Whereas the activities of the frolicking boys become overly static and highly stylized on later doorframes, the lively action here, including swinging on a rope, is typical on late 8th and early 9th century doorframes of Brahmanical temples (figs. 439-41). The *dvāra-lalāṭa-bimba*

panel of the lintel contains the conventional auspicious Gaja-Lakṣmī motif with the goddess seated in *vajraparyaṅka* (fig. 432).

The decorative programme of the sanctum doorframe of Monastery No. 1 is more evolved but only the lower portion has survived (fig. 437). There are five bands of scrollwork on each side of the door-opening and four rectangular niches at the base, the larger inside niche containing the *dvārapāla* being aligned with the first two jambs while the other niches are aligned with the remaining three jambs. Each of the four figures on either side thus have their own niche and each is of the same height rather than being of diminishing size as on the front porch doorframe (fig. 435). The *dvārapāla* on the right (west) rests his right arm on a staff held diagonally in front of his body while his left hand holds the ends of his *uttarīya*. A diminutive attendant stands on his left and each upper corner of the niche has a *vidyādhara*. The second figure is Maitreya. His right hand is in *varada* while his raised left hand holds the *nāgakeśara* flower. The figure in the third niche is a female holding a *caurī* over her right shoulder. Her left hand hangs at her side and her hair is combed into a bun on the left nape of her neck. The fourth figure is a *nāga*. He stands in a rigid *samabhaṅga* pose, holds a vessel with both hands in front of his chest, and has a canopy of seven serpent hoods. The alignment on the left (east) side is similar. The *dvārapāla* leans slightly and the *vidyādharas* are eliminated. The Bodhisattva holds an *utpala* in his left hand, suggesting he may represent Mañjuśrī, while beneath his right hand, displaying *varada*, is a lotus. The *caurī*-bearer holds the *caurī* upright in her raised right hand. Her hair is arranged in twin buns at the top of her head, centred to her left. The *nāga* again stands in a rigid pose holding the *ghaṭa* in front of his chest. This placement of a *nāga* as an attendant to the *dvārapāla* is consistent with numerous 8th-9th century Brahmanical doorframe programmes, as on the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubaneswar (fig. 452), the Siṁhanātha temple, and the Śiva temple at Badgaon (Baragaon) in Ganjam district, a feature which replaces the earlier practice of setting up a free-standing *nāga* on either side of the entrance portal.[17] Iconographically this pairing of Maitreya with Mañjuśrī is quite rare in Orissan art and possibly is due to the alignment of Avalokiteśvara with Vajrapāṇi in the sanctum, the four Bodhisattvas thus forming a *maṇḍala* with the sanctum image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*.

The inside jamb, slightly recessed and narrower than the other jambs, is decorated with the *ratikera* scroll while the second jamb has the *gelaba* scroll of boys climbing a vine. The middle jamb has a small *muṇḍi* at the base housing a female *caurī*-bearer in its niche, the motif being similar to that on the thin *pāga* inserted into the inside recess next to the doorframe of the front porch. The jamb above the *muṇḍi* has not survived but presumably it was decorated with scroll and ornamental motifs as on the front porch. The fourth jamb is decorated with the *ratikera* scroll which issues from a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* at the base. The fifth jamb is decorated with the *jalapatra* motif as on the thin *pāga* of the outside recess of the rear wall of the front porch. Basically, then, the decorative programme of the sanctum doorframe adds the thin *pāga* designs inserted into the recesses on the front porch to the doorframe, thus increasing the number of jambs to five, though the band of *padma-pṛṣṭha* has been replaced by a second band of *ratikera*. The closest Brahmanical parallel to this expanded doorframe with five jambs on either side is the large Kanakeśvara Śiva temple at Kualo in the Kāmākhyānagar sub-division of Dhenkanal district, situated near the bank of the Brāhmaṇī river, which probably dates to the second quarter of the 9th century.[18] There is only a single arched niche at the base, however, which houses the Śaivite *dvārapālas* flanked on either side by a diminutive attendant and it extends the width of three jambs (fig. 438). The thin, slightly recessed inside jamb has the *dhanu-ganthi* scroll of bow-like arches enclosing floral motifs and shown divided into two halves tied together, a motif which appears on the thin *pāga* of the inside niche flanking the doorframe of the front porch at Ratnagiri. The second jamb contains the *ratikera* scroll while the third jamb has the *gelaba* scroll. The fourth

jamb, extending to the floor, begins with the *ratikera* issuing from a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, as on the fourth jamb of the sanctum door at Ratnagiri. The upper part of the jamb, missing at Ratnagiri, contains panels of various animal and floral motifs, the lower panel on each side containing a triple *gaja-krānta* motif. The fifth or outside jamb has the *jalapatra* motif, as at Ratnagiri but without the *nāga* at the base.

The earliest surviving doorframes at Ratnagiri are associated with Monastery 2, including the fragmented east jambs of the doorframe of the back wall of the front porch of the monastery of Period II which was reused in the monastery reconstruction of Period III of D. Mitra's chronology (fig. 447).[19] The fragment consists of three shallow niches at the base surmounted by four bands of scroll and figure motifs. The inside niche houses a *nāga* standing in a gracefully flexed *tribhaṅga* pose. He places his left hand on the hip while the uplifted right hand probably holds a flower, the attribute and the feet of the *nāga* being mostly obliterated. His head is framed by a canopy of seven serpent-hoods. The outside niche houses a standing *dvārapāla*. His right hand rests on a staff held slightly aslant while his left hand holds the knot of his *uttarīya*. He wears a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* of closely aligned snail-shell curls and his head is framed by a plain halo. The large centre niche, extending the width of two jambs, is divided into two registers with beaded frames. The top register contains three male dancers in vigorous and animated poses. The lower register has three musicians and one dancer. Stylistically and thematically these dancers are reminiscent of dancers on window grilles appearing on the *jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar (fig. 446) and a dislodged grille affixed to an inner compound wall of the Kapileśvara temple,[20] all datable to the second quarter of the 7th century.

The inside band of decoration, above the *nāga*, consists of the lush *kuṭilā* scroll of a creeper with long drawn wavy stalks standard on early doorframes in Orissa. The second jamb has the conventional *gelaba* scroll while the third jamb has a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* at the base and an arabesque scroll motif midway between the *kuṭilā* and *ratikera* designs. The outside jamb has the head of a lion in a frame at the base while above is a *mithuna* motif of a male lifting the chin of his female companion, a popular motif on Brahmanical temples at this time which also appears on an inside jamb of the south door of the *jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple.[21]

The architrave/lintel of this doorframe is broken into two parts (fig. 449). The inside jamb, thin and slightly recessed, becomes the bottom band of the lintel and is partially intact. The second band as it becomes horizontal is transformed from the *gelaba* motif of boys climbing a vine into a frieze of flying *vidyādharas* facing the image of Gaja-Lakṣmī at the centre, a conventional transformation on Orissan doorframes. The third and fourth jambs do not cross horizontally but are terminated by the architrave. The top motifs of the third jamb prior to being terminated are a lotus half-medallion and a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* while the top motif of the outside jamb is a *mithuna* on the right and an *alasā-kanyā* on the left, as on the inside jamb of the south door of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. The badly effaced architrave is decorated with spaced *caitya* motifs. Stylistically, then, this doorframe of Period II is most closely aligned with the doorframes and associated motifs of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple and can likewise be dated to the second quarter of the 7th century.

There are also fragments of other doorframes dating to the 8th century, part of one being found in the core of the stone peripheral wall of Monastery 1 of Period II[22] while another fragment, fashioned into a lintel, was found dislocated in front of Cell 4 of Monastery 2 (fig. 444).[23] The first fragment consists of a *dvārapāla* housed in an ogee-shaped niche, his feet now broken off, above which are three bands of scrollwork only partially preserved. He stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose with his right elbow resting on a staff and his bent left leg

crossed behind his right leg, the hand placed in front of the chest. His left hand is on his hip. He wears a beaded *yajñopavīta* and his hair is gathered in a bun on top of his head. The slightly recessed inner jamb is decorated with floral rosettes while the broad middle band has the *raṅganī* motif. The outside band is the largest and it is decorated with a foliated creeper issuing from a *ghaṭa*.

More of the scrollwork on the second fragment has survived and the door guard is intact. The niche has a similar ogee-shaped niche though its frame is decorated with floral rosettes. The *dvārapāla* stands in a relaxed pose with his right leg crossed behind his left and he rests his left elbow on a staff, the hand drooping in front of his chest. The right hand is on his thigh. He is richly adorned and his hair is in a bun on top of his head. The narrow inside band, slightly recessed, is decorated with *kuṭilā* scroll while the broad middle band has the *ratikeṛa* scroll. The outside jamb has an arabesque scroll midway between the *kuṭilā* and *ratikera* (fig. 444).

Two other fragmented doorframes, consisting of the lintel and portions of the jambs, can be dated to the early 10th century (style B). Both were found in the area southeast of Monastery 1. In the first example the *dvāra-lalāṭa-bimba* panel contains an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī.[24] She is seated in *lalitāsana*, rather than the rigid *vajraparyaṅka* pose on earlier lintels, a more relaxing pose introduced at the beginning of the 10th century which becomes conventional on most later images. On the second lintel this centre panel contains a *mithuna* with the male, his left leg crossed behind his right, embracing his consort with his left arm, the hand cupping her breast while she looks slightly down and drapes her right arm around his shoulders, her left hand holding a mirror (fig. 450). The right hand of the male shows *abhaya*. A sword is fastened to his belt. Both lovers have their hair fastened in a bun at the back of the head, a popular hair style of the 10th century. The scrollwork of the three jambs is identical on both doorframes. The slightly recessed inside jamb and the middle jamb are both decorated with the *kuṭilā* scroll while the outside jamb is a variation of the twisted-rope design popular on the earliest temples, the slightly rounded jamb being relieved with diagonal bands of floral rosettes, petals, and double bead designs.[25] The surviving doorframes at Ratnagiri, based on comparative evidence with Brahmanical doorframes, thus suggest activity extending from the early 7th century through the 10th century.

In the late 19th century a magnificent doorframe was noticed first by C.S. Banerjee just beyond the rock-cut well at the base of the terrace amidst thick jungle at Udayagiri.[26] Several years later on his visit, J. Beams wrote the following in respect to this doorframe: "With the permission of Babu Ramgovind Jagdev, the zemindar of the estate, I am now engaged in having this beautiful gateway carefully removed by skilled workmen to Cuttack, where it will be erected in the Public Garden and taken care of."[27] When illustrated in A.D. 1930 by R.P. Chanda the doorway was fixed in the open ground to the east of the compound of the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack.[28] Today it stands in front of the entrance to the Patna Museum at Patna in Bihar (fig. 456). As in the case of the sanctum doorframe of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri, there are five bands of scroll motifs on either side of the door-opening. At the base on each side, however, there are only two arched niches, rather than four rectangular ones, and these hold the *dvārapāla* and a *nāga* (fig. 448). The *dvārapālas* are depicted in mirror-image poses with the inside arm resting on a staff held aslant while the outside hand is on the hip. The *nāgas* likewise assume mirror-image poses with the same leg crossed as the *dvārapālas*. They hold a *ghaṭa* with both hands in front of their chest and are richly adorned. Their hair is in a chignon on top of their head and their jewelled tiara has a prominent triangular projection at the front. Their head is framed by a canopy of seven serpent hoods (fig. 454). A diminutive *nāgī* stands in front of the *nāga*. She has her hands in *añjali* and her canopy has a single serpent hood.

The slightly recessed inside jamb is decorated with the *ratikera* scroll while the second jamb has the *gelaba* scroll. The middle band has a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* at the base, a panel of *ratikera* scrollwork, a triple *gaja-krānta* motif, *dhanu-ganthi* scrollwork, a lion-mask and lotus half-rosettes, a combination of floral, geometrical and figurative motifs virtually identical with the fourth band of the Kualo doorframe. The fourth jamb is decorated with five superimposed niches housing *mithuna* motifs while the outside jamb has the popular *jalapatra* scroll (figs. 456-57). Stylistically the jamb decorations are thus similar to those of the sanctum doorframe of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri and the sanctum doorframe of the Kanakeśvara temple at Kualo. Only the inside two bands continue horizontally across the lintel with the *gelaba* scroll being transformed into a frieze of flying *vidyādharas* in conventional fashion. The *dvāra-lalāṭa-bimba* panel contains an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī though curiously only the head and shoulders of Lakṣmī are included.[29] The architrave is designed as the first *bhūmi* of the *gaṇḍi* of a Brahmanical temple. It has a *tri-ratha* design with the lower *caitya*-medallion on each *kanika* housing a *vidyādhara*. The *rāhā* or centre *pāga* has an alignment of three *caitya*-medallions on each moulding. The *anurāhā* recesses separating the *pāgas* each have a *muṇḍi* design with the niche at the base housing a Bodhisattva. The outside jamb with the *jalapatra* extends outward to frame the architrave.

Also dating to the 8th century is the recently excavated sanctum doorframe of the monastery behind the *stūpa* at Udayagiri (figs. 26, 459). It likewise has two arched niches at the base on either side of the door-opening but has only four bands of scrollwork rather than five. The *dvārapālas* again assume mirror image poses with the inside leg crossed behind the outside leg and the inside arm resting on a staff held aslant. They are richly adorned and their hair is arranged in a bun on top of their head. The *nāgas*, however, each stand in a frontal pose with both knees slightly bent. They hold the *ghaṭa* in both hands in front of their chest and have a canopy of seven serpent hoods. The wide inside band, slightly recessed, is decorated with the *ratikera* scrollwork while the second jamb has the *gelaba* scroll. The third band has a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* at the base, a niche housing an *alasā-kanyā* and crowned by a *vajra-mastaka*, and a panel of *ratikera* scrollwork. The first three bands are thus identical with those on the sanctum doorframe of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri. The fourth band has the *jalapatra* motif which is on the fifth band at Ratnagiri. Except for the elimination of the band with a long panel of *ratikera* issuing from a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, the overall decorative programme is the same. The two inside jambs cross horizontally on the lintel with the *gelaba* scroll being transformed into a frieze of *vidyādharas* and their consorts, the latter seated on the trailing leg of their male partner. The males each hold a sword in one hand, a martial feature not usually exhibited by these celestial figures. The *dvāra-lalāṭa-bimba* panel contains an image of the Buddha with the lower portions, including his specific *mudrā*, broken off. He is flanked by seated images of Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi on the right and left respectively while a single *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of his shallow niche. The architrave has not survived, except for a fragmented *bhūmi* with a *caitya*-medallion at the upper left. The outside jamb ornamented with the *jalapatra* scroll extends outward, as on the doorframe at the Patna Museum, and forms a "T" pattern as it framed the missing architrave, a popular feature on early frames which suggests that both of these may be dated to the early- or mid-8th century rather than to the late 8th century (fig. 451).

Only the lower portions of the jambs of a doorframe have survived at Lalitagiri and they are now housed in the site museum (fig. 20). There are five bands of decoration on either side of the door-opening though, as on the front porch doorframe of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri, there is only a single large niche at the base which houses multiple figures (figs. 436, 458). Both niches house a male *dvārapāla* and two female figures. In the proper right niche the *dvārapāla* stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose with his right leg crossed behind the left. His right hand rests on a staff while his left hand raises a lotus to his face. The first female

assumes an almost identical pose except her right arm is draped around the shoulders of the second female, most likely her attendant, rather than resting on a staff. She is richly adorned and her hair is arranged in a shell-like chignon on the right side of her face. Her right foot is planted firmly on the ground rather than crossing behind the left leg. The female attendant has her right leg crossed behind her left and holds a bunch of flowers in her lowered right hand while her left hand hangs limp by her waist. Her hair is fashioned in a bun on top of her head. A canopy hangs down from the niche ceiling above the two female figures. In the left niche the *dvārapāla* stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose resting his right hand on a staff while his left hand in on his hip. He is richly adorned and has a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* with loosely-coiled locks. The first female stands rather flat-footed in a *tribhaṅga* pose and lifts a flower to her face with her right hand. Her left arm is draped around the shoulders of her attendant. She is richly adorned and has a jewelled tiara at the base of her coiffure. The attendant stands in a flexed pose with her right leg crossed behind the left and looks away from the other two figures. Her right hand is clumsily rendered as it rests on her hip while the uplifted left hand holds an indistinct object over her shoulder. In general these figures are not as well articulated as those on the other jamb and appear to be the work of a less accomplished sculptor. The manner in which the first female drapes her arm around the attendant suggests she probably represents a river goddess. Unfortunately the carving below their feet in both cases is obliterated so it is not possible to determine if they had mounts. On early temples they apppear either as *āvaraṇa-devatās* in niches on either side of the doorframe, thus not forming part of the doorframe, or in rare instances, as on the Maṇikeśvara Śiva temple at Śukleśvara, they serve as the door guards.[30] Their placement here as attendants is rare though popular in the 10th-11th centuries.

Particularly unique in Orissan conventions is the manner in which both the first and third jambs are recessed, usually only the first or inside jamb is recessed. The first jamb has the *kuṭilā* scroll while the projecting second jamb is decorated with rectangular panels of floral motifs alternating with figure motifs. Starting from the bottom, for example, we have a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, a *mithuna* with both partners seated, the *dhanu-ganthi* scroll, a second *mithuna*, another scroll motif, a third *mithuna*, etc., up the height of the jamb. The manner in which this vertical jamb is divided into panels, also noticed on pillars from Monastery 3 at Lalitagiri (fig. 460), is in keeping with the decorative programme on jambs of late 6th and early 7th century Brahmanical temples, as on the late 6th century Lakṣmaṇeśvara group of temples and the early 7th century Svarṇajāleśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara temples. The recessed third jamb appears to be a variation of the *dhanu-ganthi* scroll while the projecting fourth band is decorated with the *jalapatra* motif. The fifth band, flush with the fourth, may not have been carved though vestiges of diagonal marks suggest a twisted-rope scroll was probably planned. Stylistic evidence thus suggests a 7th century date for the doorframe.

In general these surviving doorframe fragments from Buddhist sites in the Asia hills testify to the close adherence to Brahmanical traditions in Orissa with the only major deviation being the door guards and acompanying figures in niches at the base, the *dvārapālas* being two-armed and posed with one hand often resting on a staff. In contrast to the Brahmanical *dvārapālas* who are more animated and the left one exhibiting terrifying features, the Buddhist guards assume rather relaxed poses and have downcast eyes creating a placid aura. That the *dvārapālas* are evolving from Brahmanical traditions seems evident in minor details, especially noticed on the earliest images as at Lalitagiri where, in the manner of a Śaivite guard, the *dvārapālas* wear two types of earrings, though the Śaivite *sarpa-kuṇḍala* is replaced in the right ear by a *pātra-kuṇḍala*. The *nāgas* are also in keeping with early Brahmanical traditions. The pose of resting one arm on a staff, though not suited for four-armed *dvārapālas*, does appear as a minor motif on numerous 8th century Hindu temples at Bhubaneswar[31] to suggest influence is reciprocal, that both traditions are evolving from a common heritage.

The *dvāra-lalāṭa-bimba* image on the Buddhist doorframes may have a Buddha motif or Pan-Indian motifs such as Gaja-Lakṣmī or a *mithuna*.

B. SCULPTURAL FEATURES

For the most part, as would be expected, the workshop practices and the stylistic evolution of Buddhist sculpture in Orissa parallels that of Brahmanical sculpture. Although the earliest Buddhist sculpture is only now being revealed through recent excavations, by the 7th-8th centuries the very largest images were being built out of multiple slabs of stone, a technique also introduced at this time on Brahmanical temples so that the images actually formed part of the walls rather than being carved separately and then inserted into the niches as on earlier temples. The sanctum image of Buddha of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri, for example, was built of six courses of khondalite slabs that were joined by iron clamps and dowels.[32] The pedestal, as on many other large images, was also made from a separate slab of stone. Invariably the stone employed was that found in the immediate vicinity so that the quality varies from soft khondalite in Puri and Cuttack districts to a hard chloritic type of stone in the Nilgiri area of northern Balasore district and in the Khiching area of Mayurbhañja district. By the early 10th century, as in Brahmanical practices, the harder stone from the northern districts was being imported into the southern districts for use with some of the more important sculptures. That it was occasionally utilized prior to this is evident on the doorframe of the rear wall of the front porch of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri where its bluish-green colour contrasts with the reddish-brown of the khondalite slabs abutting it. Unfortunately, however, most of the early images at the major sites in Puri and Cuttack districts are of this softer stone which, over the years, has suffered badly through breakage and weathering effects. In the more recently excavated images, protected from weathering, and in the images carved of the harder chloritic stone, the original crispness and beauty of the carving is exquisitely revealed.

Although body proportions in the surviving images vary from period to period or from site to site, as in Brahmanical sculpture, it is more difficult to develop an evolving stylistic chronology due to the fact that activity was often sustained for a long time at various sites. In addition, due to disuse, plundering has often denuded or disrupted the original setting. Stylistic chronology is especially difficult with hieratic images such as the Buddha who, by prescription, wears only the robes of a monk, has no body ornamentation, has a hair style that remains constant, assumes generally a static pose, exhibits no emotion, and has no Brahmanical parallels. Even a cursory look at two identically posed images from the same site, i.e., Lalitagiri, reveals two divergent sets of body proportions with one being overly squat (figs. 65-66). In other examples the shoulders may be broad or sloping, the waist may be narrow or thick, or the chin may be square or pointed. Whether these physical traits are the result of individual taste or the testimony of changing period styles are difficult to determine at large sites with prolonged artistic activity where images are not *in situ* and plundering has been disruptive. In general the physical traits of the Buddha are thus poor indices for evolving stylistic chronology. Of more importance are secondary figures, when included, and the background setting or pedestal decoration.

The task is somewhat easier with Bodhisattvas and female deities as they can more easily be compared with Brahmanical parallels and prevailing fashion in respect to body proportions, ornamentation and coiffure. They also assume more varied and active poses, are invariably accompanied by accessory figures, and often have a more complex background setting. For the most part, then, emphasis in developing a stylistic chronology will be based on these aspects, i.e., body proportions and ornamentation, coiffure, and background details or setting, features pertaining more to Bodhisattvas and female deities than to the Buddha himself.

1. Body Ornamentation

In the very earliest examples, as in Brahmanical art, the body proportions of Bodhisattvas are somewhat squat and individual features and ornaments lack detail and refinement. By the mid-8th century the figures are more lithe in body proportions, though somewhat flatly conceived, and are more profusely ornamented with individual details more intricately carved. The lower garment is usually fastened by a girdle of interlocking chains with a floral clasp at the front. Loose ends of the girdle are looped through the clasp and may flare out on each thigh (figs. 166, 168). There may be a thin wrist band while a more ornate band with crests or hanging pendants is worn around both arms. The *yajñopavīta* is composed of two or three beaded strings which may have spaced floral motifs. The necklace, in the case of Avalokiteśvara or Vajrapāṇi, is usually broad or it may consist of several beaded strings with or without small pendants. In the case of Mañjuśrī it is the *vyāghraṇakha* ornamented with tiger-claws and a centre amulet (figs. 162-63). Mañjuśrī almost always wears the large circular *pātra-kuṇḍalas*, like Kārttikeya, while Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi wear either *makara-kuṇḍalas* or *puṣpa-kuṇḍalas* with floral clusters.

By the 9th century the body proportions are still quite lithe but gradually they become more rounded and full-bodied. There is more variation in adornment, expecially notable in the girdle and its clasp or buckle. The interlocking-chain girdle gradually disappears in favour of more svelte-looking belts and there is more variety in the treatment of the loose ends. In some cases a diminutive *ālamba* motif of beaded loops drooping from *kīrtimukha* masks is added to the lower fringe of the girdle. The loose end on the lower garment frequently hangs straight down between the legs. The arm bands may have ornate *kirīṭa* designs and there is more ornamentation on the beaded strings of the *yajñopavīta*. There is also more variation in design of the broad necklace while a thin *hāra* appears above.

By the 10th century the figures are extremely regal in appearance and the body appears softer and more pliable. The face is illumined by the soft and warm "Somavaṁśī smile" and the figures generally appear more relaxed. The body ornamentation becomes more profuse and bells sometimes fringe the anklets and girdle. The garments become increasingly sheer and transparent (fig. 197). In 11th century images this proliferation of body ornamentation continues unabated and the figures are equally svelte, pliable and beaming with inner contentment (figs. 462-63). In still later examples oblique pendants often fringe the *yajñopavīta* and variegated textile patterns are delicately chiselled on the silken garments as there is an obvious attempt to differentiate various tactile surfaces (fig. 212). There are few if any major images dating after the 13th century so that the decadence characterizing later Brahmanical sculpture is not readily perceptible in Buddhist art.

The earliest major female figures date to the 8th century and are similar in style and body ornamentation to their Brahmanical parallels, as on the Vaitāl Deul at Bhubaneswar.[33] As in the case of their male counterparts, they are somewhat aloof and betray no signs of emotion. They likewise are more lithe in body proportions than 7th century (Brahmanical) figures. The breasts, though slightly small in ratio to the wide hips, are only sporadically bound by a band (*kucha-bandha*) which was so popular on earlier female figures (fig. 283). The lower garment (*śāṭī*) is nearly diaphanous so that the legs seem almost exposed while the loose ends generally form a backdrop. The *uttarīya* is worn in *upavītī* fashion but is transparent and usually visible only on the left shoulder where it is folded; or she may wear a transparent *choli* in which case only the lower edge, curving above her navel, is visible (fig. 330). The jewelry enhances the curves of the female form by contrasting the softness and warmth of pliable flesh with the metallic hardness and precision of metal ornaments and jewels. The girdle is often formed of interlocking chain-links, similar to that worn by males, though it is frequently fringed with tassels on the lower edge and may consist of

more chains (fig. 508). The loose ends likewise are looped through a centre clasp and splay part way down each thigh. Her anklets and wristlets are thin while her arm-bands may have projecting *kirīṭas* or crests. Her necklace may consist of several beaded strands and frequently a long pendant hangs between the breasts and is fastened to a waist-chain (fig. 334). Her earrings are of several types. A *yajñopavīta* is worn infrequently.

This style continues throughout the 9th century with the figures becoming more fully rounded and graceful in body articulation. The eyes are often downcast and the figures are very placid in pose (fig. 315). The body ornamentation is more profuse and they often wear multiple bangles on the wrists (fig. 293). They may wear a thin *hāra* above their broad necklace but the hanging pendant and the waist-chain are eliminated (fig. 294). The *uttarīya* may be draped over the shoulder and ribbons began to flutter above each ear (fig. 310).

In the 10th century the figures become more lithe in body proportions and their face is often illumined by the soft and warm "Somavaṁśī smile" (fig. 296). The girdle generally has a rope design, rather than chain-links, and the loose end hangs straight down between the legs rather than being looped on the thighs (fig. 284). Tassels loop down from the lower edge and floral designs may appear at the sides as well as on the clasp (fig. 296). Festoons may also fringe the anklets and tear-drop pendants decorate the lower strand of her necklace (fig. 284). A *yajñopavīta* becomes increasingly popular. The transparent *uttarīya*, worn in *upavītī* fashion, becomes more noticeable and an ornate leg band is frequently worn on the shins (fig. 302). These features continue into the 11th century with body proportions becoming more lithe with long and pliable limbs and graceful poses. Body adornment becomes even more ornate with each jewel being clearly delineated (fig. 307). A scarf may flutter around the shoulders while *aśoka*-leaves hang down from above the ears (fig. 326). Textile patterns are likewise delicately chiselled on the upper and lower garment. The *śāṭī* is frequently gathered in a floral ruffle on each hip.

2. Coiffure

The ancient literature of India, even as early as the *Ṛg Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*, gives copious accounts of hair-styles for both men and women that testify to the importance the people of the period gave to hair-dressing. Later texts often state that the neglect of coiffure is a mark of anguish, violent excitement or mourning. In Tantric texts, such as the *Karpūrādi-stotra*, dishevelled hair, in respect to Kālikā, suggests she is free from all *vikāras* such as the passion for arranging the hair, while in regard to the devotee, it means with mind free from all restlessness.[34] Coiffure was a matter of great concern and the texts enjoined divergent rules in respect to fashion, stipulating for example that the hair of the young boy should be arranged in accordance with the custom of his family or according to the *gotra* and family usage, or that a wife in separation should wear the *ekaveni* coiffure with a long braid "slinging on her back up to the buttocks".[35] In art, as well as in literature, fashions change not only from period to period but also from region to region and, in the absence of inscriptional evidence, coiffure provides one of the best indices for stylistic development. Although some deities have a particular style of coiffure which is peculiar to itself, or to one of its manifestations, as specified in various canonical texts, there is reciprocal influence in respect to coiffure with the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* style characteristic of Śiva being adopted not only by other Brahmanical deities but by Buddhist Bodhisattvas as well. Brahmanical influence on Buddhist iconography is equally evident in the adoption of the *śikhaṇḍaka* or *kākapakṣa* coiffure (consisting generally of three looped meshes, the side meshes simulating the wings of a crow), peculiar to Kārttikeya and the youthful Kṛṣṇa, by Mañjuśrī (figs. 483-85). Buddhist influence on Brahmanical images, on the other hand, is evident in the adoption of snail-shell ringlets for the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* of Gaṇeśa[36] and the coiffure of Lakulīśa which often includes the *uṣṇīṣa* (fig. 467). For the most part the changing styles of hair-dressing, even

for deities, is the expression of changing tastes within society at large, rather than within particular religious sects. In general the evolution in Buddhist sculpture, as in the case with Brahmanical sculpture, is towards a taller, crown-like coiffure and, particularly in respect to female coiffure, towards elaboration of jewelled ornamentation.

An exception, of course, is the coiffure of Buddha which remains fairly consistent, being very short (*sunīca-keśa*) and formed of tightly coiled snail-shell curls turning from left to right (*dakṣiṇāvartamūrdhaja*) which are neatly arranged in rows following the shape of the head,[37] with only minor changes appearing in the shape and size of the curls, the number of rows, and in the shape and size of the *uṣṇīṣa* or cranial protuberance. In the colossal Buddha images of the 7th-8th centuries, for example, as at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Khaḍipadā and Udayagiri, the number of rows aligned on the head is usually nine while four or five additional rows are aligned on the *uṣṇīṣa* (figs. 464-66, 468). On smaller images (fig. 75), or later large images as at Khiching (fig. 87), the number of the rows around the head is reduced to four or five. In an image from Solampur there may be only three rows around the head and possibly two around the *uṣṇīṣa* so that the curls are extremely large with only three needed to cover the width of the forehead (fig. 82). In a few cases the front edge of the hair-line dips prominently to form an abbreviated widow's peak (fig. 86). In an 11th century image at Ratnagiri this peak is actually formed by three curls which are added and are not part of the lowest row while several more rows are added on either side of the head to lower the hair-line to each ear (fig. 94). In a late image at Bhillideuli the curls, arranged in four rows, are cone-like in shape rather than being tightly coiled while the *uṣṇīṣa* (or *cuḍā*) assumes a crest shape (fig. 469). In an early image from Lalitagiri, the rather flat *uṣṇīṣa* consists of a single row of curls and appears like a small cap which adheres close to the centre of the head (fig. 75). In other cases the *usṇīṣa* almost appears to hover above the head like a small balloon or it may assume the shape of a small jar (figs. 68, 102). In the standing image at Dondua-*maṭha*, the alignment of curls is virtually flush with the silhouette of the head so that the coiffure appears more like a tattoo or skin decoration than hair (fig. 55) while on the sanctum image in the recently excavated monastery at Udayagiri the sharp clarity of the small tightly-coiled curls makes the coiffure seem like an extraneous head covering (fig. 69). For the most part, however, these variations appear more the product of individual expression than period or stylistic chronology. At Udayagiri, for example, in contrast to the nine rows of tightly coiled small snail-shell curls of the monastery image, the Tathāgatas of the excavated *stūpa* have three or four rows of loosely coiled curls which appear more like flowers than hair (figs. 127-29).

On the earliest Bodhisattva and female images the hair on the front of the head is combed straight back and tied with a cord as on Brahmanical images of the 8th century. The upper part of the hair is generally rolled into an egg-shaped bun on top of the head, as on images of Vasudhārā (fig. 487), Vajrarāga/Vairocana (fig. 183), Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa at Paradipgarh (fig. 238), Jambhala (figs. 389-90), and *dvārapāla* images. In rare examples the top part of the coiffure is fashioned into a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* with rows of snail-shell curls as on the Vajrapāṇi image from Vajragiri in the Orissa State Museum (fig. 264). In either case there is generally a jewelled diadem at the base of the coiffure which has a large centre *kirīṭa* that projects above the cord tying the lower part of the hair to help fasten or stabilize the chignon or *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*. In a second major hair-style the part above the cord is matted so that strands of hair splay out like corn stalks with the curled tops drooping down slightly to rim the ovoid silhouette. This matted coiffure, or *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, based essentially on the hair-style of Śiva, is especially associated with Avalokiteśvara so that, immediately above the centre *kirīṭa* of the diadem, there is an effigy of the Tathāgata Amitābha (figs. 472, 474). Loose locks of hair often tumble down to the shoulders on either side. In some cases the centre strands of hair loop straight up and over the side strands which are

tucked under this large loop (fig. 188). This style continues into the 9th century and is popular with numerous figures. Among the variations is the coiffure on the image of Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin of Set A from Lalitagiri (fig. 156a). The beehive-shaped coiffure above the tiara consists of matted tiers running horizontally and then curving sharply upward at the right side. In most cases, however, it is the diadem or tiara at the base that receives more attention as the coiffure becomes increasingly ornate. The coiffure with the chignon on top is mostly eliminated on male figures.

By the 10th century, as on Brahmanical images of Śiva, the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is increased in height and consists of horizontal tiers of hair curled up at the ends (figs. 476-78). A vertical band, studded with jewels and an effigy of the Tathāgata Amitābha, runs up the centre above the tiara, being fastened to the tiara by a projecting jewelled *kirīṭa* (fig. 214). The crenelated ends of the tiara project fan-like above either ear (fig. 476). In a variant form, also appearing on Śiva (fig. 478) and on 11th century images of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara at Balasore (fig. 497), Bañchua (fig. 217), Deogaon (fig. 218) and Ratnagiri (fig. 498), the hair on either side is arranged in loosely-coiled curls, widely spaced and aligned in tiers. In some instances these tiers are framed by a braided strand of hair splaying out on either side from the centre vertical band (fig. 497). The coiffure is generally crowned at the top by a lotus finial. A ribbon billows up above the crenelated fan-shaped projections of the tiara on either side while an *aśoka*-leaf hangs down from the top of each ear (fig. 498).

In contrast to the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure associated in particular with Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī generally wears the *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure associated with Kārttikeya and boyhood (*kumāra*), consisting of three looped meshes. The origin of this coiffure was utilitarian as it prevented the uncut hair of children from falling on their face or into their eyes. The central mesh is usually tied by a cord and arranged in an ovoid crest (*śikha* or *cuḍā*) while the side meshes are tied near the root and splay outward to simulate the wings of a crow (*kākapakṣa*). In the earliest images, as with Kārttikeya, the meshes adhere close to the top of the head and are barely perceptible except for the side braids which fall below the shoulders. In the image from Udayagiri there are actually five looped meshes, as prescribed in several early texts, though this is a rare Orissan example (fig. 162).[38] By the 8th century the meshes, each tied by a cord at the roots, are clearly visible above the diadem or tiara worn at the front (fig. 167). By the 9th century the height of the loops increases, though not as much as on some Brahmanical images of Kārttikeya (fig. 483), and the tiara becomes increasingly more elaborate. In some late examples, as at Solaṁpur (fig. 484), the silhouette of the meshes merge to produce a pointed effect at the apex. In other cases, as at Khiching, the *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure is merged with a crown to produce a two-storey effect (fig. 485). The diadem at the base of the coiffure consists of three large horizontal bands of pearls ornamented with a jewelled *kirīṭa* at the centre which projects up the height of the first storey of the coiffure. A second diadem, acting as a stringcourse, divides the crown into two storeys and has a smaller projecting *kirīṭa* which reaches to the crowning lotus finial. Two sets of locks (*kākapakṣa*) appear on each side of this upper storey which hang straight down behind the ears. A floral rosette, billowing ribbon and drooping *aśoka* leaf appear at either end of the lowest diadem.

Vajrapāṇi, on the other hand, wears a crown from the very beginning (fig. 479). On an early example from Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri, the crown is truncated and dominated by three large elliptical *kirīṭas* studded with jewels, which rise up from the rope-like diadem at the base (fig. 259). This type of truncated crown is most closely related to that worn by early Sūrya images, as in the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple,[39] though invariably Sūrya has only the centre *kirīṭa* or crest. In a later image of Vajrapāṇi, from Set A at Lalitagiri (fig. 154), the crown is taller but still flat at the top. The upper part of the crown, above the projecting *kirīṭas*, is decorated with an *ālamba* motif of garlands of pearls dripping from

diminutive *kīrtimukha* masks. Again the overall design of the crown is similar to that worn by Sūrya, as on an image from Kaupur which has a single projecting *kirīṭa* but is additionally provided a thin lotus finial covering the top. In set B at Lalitagiri, however, the crown is the heavily jewelled *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* which becomes standard on images of both Sūrya[40] and Viṣṇu (fig. 481). It is a tall conical crown decorated with vertical bands of jewels alternating with strings of pearls. A broad diadem studded with jewels is worn at the base and is ornamented with a large *kirīṭa* at the centre which may extend up nearly the height of the crown. The crown is usually topped by a lotus finial. In a variation of the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* at Ayodhyā, on an image which may be Vajrapāṇi or Mañjuśrī, the crown is decorated with horizontal rather than vertical bands alternating with jewelled strings (fig. 482). The centre *kirīṭa*, extending up nearly the height of the crown, contains an effigy of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya above the first floral cluster. The crown is capped by a lotus finial while a lotus rosette, billowing ribbon and drooping *aśoka*-leaf appear on each end of the diadem above the ears.

The *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* is a popular coiffure worn by other Buddhist deities, including Jambhala. In an image from Udayagiri the crown is truncated (fig. 394) while on the later image from Baḍa-Tārā it is conical and is capped by a lotus finial (fig. 395). Vajrasattva also wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, as in the image from Solaṁpur in the Indian Museum at Calcutta (fig. 116), though it frequently is adorned with effigies of the Tathāgatas, as in images at Acutrajpur (fig. 115) and Nasikakotian (fig. 114). Mahāvairocana also wears a *kitīṭa-mukuṭa* (fig. 480) whereas the crown of the Crowned Buddha at Bhubaneswar is truncated and dominated by the *kirīṭa* designs projecting up from the diadem (fig. 101). On early images the coiffure of Maitreya is matted in a chignon (fig. 473) while on later images he may wear a tall crown (figs. 119-20), or a truncated *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* as in the example from Bañchua where the dominating centre *kirīṭa* is designed as a *caitya* (fig. 122). In the tall crown worn by Vajradharma or Rakta-Lokesvara of Temple No. 4 at Ratnagiri, it has the shape of an elongated *stūpa* which is decorated with four Tathāgatas while supporting the fifth on its slightly rounded top (fig. 486). The base is encircled by a rope-like diadem with a centre rosette.

With terrifying male deities the coiffure invariably is fashioned on the various hair styles of Śiva. With Heruka (fig. 270) and Mahākāla (fig. 280), for example, the hair often rises up like flames above a serpent coiled at the base, as on images of Bhairava, the terrifying aspect of Śiva (fig. 272). A similar coiffure is worn by Yamāri (fig. 277) whereas Sambara and Vajrahūṅkāra wear the tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* associated with various other forms of Śiva.[41]

With female divinities the coiffure with the upper part of the hair rolled into a chignon continues to be popular throughout the 9th century (fig. 488). There is usually a jewelled diadem at the base and a large *kirīṭa* at the front which projects up to the chignon. In some cases, as on the twelve-armed Cundā, the cord at the base of the chignon is expanded in size so that the chignon has a flattened appearance (fig. 334). In the 10th century there is more variety in fashioning this chignon. In the Tārā image from Solaṁpur, for example, the hair is not combed straight back but rather radiates around a centre at each upper corner of the egg-shaped chignon (fig. 288). The cord at the base of the chignon has a centre clasp in addition to the *kirīṭa* while at each end of the cord is a projecting hair-piece which helps to fasten the chignon. As on Brahmanical images, jewelled chains and hair-pins are introduced to help fasten the chignon, as in the image of Tārā at Ayodhyā (figs. 489-90). She wears a jewelled diadem with an ornate *kirīṭa* which extends almost up the height of the chignon. Jewelled chains are wrapped around the chignon while pins appear at the base. The hair of the chignon has both vertical and horizontal strands. A jewelled pin projects out slightly at the apex while a floral rosette is above each ear.

By the mid-10th century and continuing throughout the 11th century, the *keśi-bandha*

coiffure becomes particularly popular. In this fashion the hair is gathered into a bundle on one side of the head or the chignon is worn at the nape of the neck.[12] By removing the mass of hair from the top of the head, the diadem receives greater prominence and frequently is transformed into a jewelled tiara. In the Mahattarī-Tārā image from Ratnagiri the hair is gathered on the right side of the face and arranged in a bulbous chignon fastened with chains and pins. The diadem consists of multiple jewelled chains with a *kirīṭa* at the centre and a projecting crenelated half-rosette at either side above her ear (fig. 310). A ribbon billows up behind each half-rosette. A similar fashion appears on the Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā in the Patna Museum (fig. 284). A large triangular hair-pin pierces the chignon while the projecting half-rosettes at each side of the diadem are transformed into full rosettes duplicating the design of the centre crest. Ribbons flutter behind the side rosettes. One of the most ornate examples of the *keśi-bandha* coiffure appears on the Khadiravaṇī-Tārā from Bāṇeśwarnāsi, now in the Patna Museum (fig. 307). The hair is tightly braided into a chignon on the right side. Her multi-strand tiara has three projecting *kirīṭas*, one in the centre and one at either end, while the ends are fastened with a projecting, three-pronged pin as on the standing Tārā at Solampur. A ribbon flutters above each ear.

The tiered *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is also introduced on female deities in the early 10th century with a good example appearing on the standing Bhṛkuṭī image from the bronze hoard at Acutrajpur (fig. 338). Locks of hair fan out symmetrically on either side of the vertical band running up the centre, the locks being curled at the edges with one strand running down to the shoulder on either side. A multi-string diadem is worn at the base while a miniature *stūpa* ornaments the centre vertical band.

The most popular coiffure on late female images, however, is the tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, though often, as on the Khadiravaṇī Tārā from Banpur, surface details are obfuscated by accretions of paste (fig. 305). This is also a popular coiffure for independent images of Pārvatī, a good example being the image in the north *rāhā* niche of the Liṅgarāja temple (fig. 492). A near duplicate of this coiffure on Pārvatī appears on the image of Prajñāpāramitā from Maṅgalapur now in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (fig. 491). The multi-string diadem has a centre floral cluster, rather than a lion-mask housed in a roundel, and there are three thin projecting *kirīṭas*, one at the centre and one at either end. The ends of the diadem are fastened with a projecting, crenelated rosette and billow up behind each ear. An *aśoka*-leaf hangs from each rosette. The *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* consists of bands of jewels and pearl-strings running vertically to the top which is crowned by a lotus-finial. A somewhat smaller version appears on the Prajñāpāramitā image at Bāṇeśwarnāsi (C-22). The diadem contains four pearl-strings and the three projecting *kirīṭas* are studded with jewels.

In the image of Vajra-Tārā from Ayodhyā all three heads are crowned with a tall conical crown identical to that worn by the Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī image now placed with Mārīcī and Avalokiteśvara in the sanctum of the Jayadurgā (Khuṭiā) temple. The multi-string diadem has a centre *kirīṭa* ornamented with floral clusters. Above the *kirīṭa* of the centre head is an effigy of a Tathāgata. The bands of jewels and pearl-strings are arranged in tiers running horizontally around the crown rather than vertically as in the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* (fig. 321). Each of the three crowns is capped by a lotus-finial. With Mārīcī, in contrast, the coiffure of the three heads generally fuses together at the top and is crowned by a single lotus-finial (fig. 493).

3. Back-slab Decoration

In some of the earliest surviving images of the Buddha the back-slab is rounded at the top and unembellished, the rounded top possibly symbolizing a halo (figs. 62-66). Such images were probably intended to be set up as a free-standing figure rather than being placed

within a niche. On most slightly later images where the top is not rounded, the head of the Buddha is framed by a plain halo, either circular in shape or an elongated-oval (fig. 68). On standing images it may be surmounted by an umbrella (fig. 57) whereas on seated images the branches of the *bodhi* tree may be carved on the upper edge or above it (figs. 74, 77). A flying *vidyādhara* holding a garland in both hands may be placed in each upper corner (fig. 72). The Buddha may be flanked at the base on either side by a Bodhisattva (figs. 74-76) or they may be placed above each shoulder (figs. 77-78). With images of the Tathāgata Amitābha the halo is sometimes transformed into the womb of a *caitya* symbolizing Sukhāvatī (Western Paradise), as on the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri where it has a band around its border decorated with medallions housing floral rosettes (fig. 129), or on a later image at Lalitagiri where three more bands of scrollwork are added along with one decorating the halo framing his head (fig. 102).

By the late 9th century, as on Brahmanical images, the decorative programme of the back-slab changes as the seat upon which the Buddha sits is gradually transformed into an ornate throne. In the earliest examples, as at Ayodhyā (fig. 112), Baudh (fig. 80) and at Talcher (fig. 111) the design is simple and consists of a horizontal lintel above each pilaster while at Talcher there is an outward facing *makara* only partially completed. The halo on the image at Ayodhyā has beaded borders and is edged with flames. On the image from Talcher the upper part of the halo is etched with spreading foliage of the *bodhi* tree. At Ayodhyā there is a lotus rosette at each upper corner of the back-slab while at Talcher there is no ornamentation. In the more accomplished image at Baudh the pilasters supporting the lintel have a lotus capital and the centre facet of the shaft is decorated with a beaded-scroll. The lintel is designed as a *khura* moulding. The somewhat flattened halo has a beaded border and is surmounted by spreading foliage while a lotus blossom issues beneath the halo on either side. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner.

By the 10th-11th centuries the throne design becomes increasingly ornate. In the Crowned Buddha image at Kuruma the design is only partially completed (fig. 93). The lintel is decorated with scrollwork and beaded borders while an outward-facing *haṁsa* is perched above each pilaster. The halo is decorated with the bead-and-reel scroll motif and edged with flames. At the apex is a *kīrtimukha* mask with foliage issuing from its mouth. A *vidyādhara* couple is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The sides of the back-slab were left incomplete. In an image of Buddha from Ratnagiri in the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur the lintel is supported on either side by a *virāla* motif of a rider on the back of a lion-monster rearing up on its hind legs, a popular throne motif (fig. 89). The lintel is divided into three horizontal mouldings ornately adorned with scroll motifs. On either end of the top moulding is a seated Bodhisattva, Mañjuvara on the right and Avalokiteśvara on the left. Next to each Bodhisattva, on the inside, is a triangular design of jewels. The pointed halo of Buddha has a beaded border and is edged with flames. At the apex is a spreading *bodhi* tree. At each upper corner of the back-slab is a flying celestial, a *vidyādhara* on the right and a *vidyādharaṇī* on the left. Beneath each flying celestial is a small *stūpa*.

On two 11th century images from Ratnagiri, one a Crowned Buddha in the Patna Museum, the back-slab decoration is virtually identical (figs. 94-95). The lintel is again supported on either side by a *virāla* motif of a rider on a lion-monster rearing up above a crouching elephant. The lintel consists of three horizontal mouldings—a *khura*, a *paṭṭa* and a *pheṇi*—ornately decorated with scroll motifs. Perched on either end of the top moulding is an outward-facing *haṁsa* with a string of pearls dripping from its beak. The slightly pointed halo has a border band left undecorated and is edged with flames. Branches of a tree spread out at the apex while a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab.

Included among other images deviating somewhat from this general evolution is the panel at Solampur depicting the Eight Miracles of the Buddha. The throne sides are decorated with scrollwork while a *makara* faces outward at either end of the lintel (fig. 50). The halo is somewhat flattened and has a beaded border edged with flames. Tree branches spread out on either side of the head of the Buddha. He is flanked on either side by three miracles pertaining to his life. The top of the back-slab is pointed. In the centre near the apex is the scene of Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa* contained within a *pīḍha-muṇḍi*. On each side of this scene is a Bodhisattva seated on a lotus while six others are arranged in a horizontal line immediately below, the eight being those of the popular *maṇḍala* discussed earlier. In the Crowned Buddha from Bhubaneswar now in the Orissa State Museum, the Buddha is seated on a lotus within a niche designed as a *haṁsa-toraṇa* (fig. 101). The sides are decorated with a *kumbha-stambha*. Perched on the capital of each *stambha* is an outward-facing *haṁsa* with pearls dripping from its mouth. The *toraṇa* or arch has a trefoil design with a floral crown hanging from the ceiling. At the apex is a *kīrtimukha* mask while the upper corners are adorned with scroll motifs.

In the image from Bāṇeśwarnāsi, and repeated on the badly worn image from Narsinghapur in the Orissa State Museum (AY no. 223), the Buddha is seated within a trefoil-arched *toraṇa* or *caitya* supported on either side by a *virāla* motif of a lion standing on its hind legs. The lintel on each side consists of three mouldings and the arch is superimposed in front of a *pīḍha-muṇḍi* crowned by an *amalaka* and a lotus-finial. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while the spandrels are decorated with Śiva, Indra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā on each side, on the right wielding their weapons as they ride their mount while on the left, with their major set of hands in *añjali*, paying homage to the Buddha. In the more developed back-slab of the image at Fakirpatana, the *vidyādharas* are eliminated so that the images of the four Brahmanical gods are larger in size (fig. 511). The lintel supporting the *toraṇa* has only two mouldings with an outward-facing *haṁsa* perched on either end of the top moulding. The *virāla* motif is eliminated as the sides are decorated with a standing attendant, each wearing a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The trefoil arch is decorated with the bead-and-reel motif and edged with flames. Superimposed above the arch is a *rekhā-deul* having a *tri-ratha* design and a crowning *mastaka*.

A similar elaboration in respect to back-slab decoration is evident with Bodhisattvas and female deities. The upper corners may contain either Tathāgatas or *vidyādharas*. In other cases a row of five Tathāgata images may be aligned at the top, as on a standing image of Tārā from Kaupur (fig. 287), or the five Tathāgatas may be flanked on either end by a Bodhisattva, as on the seated Mahattarī Tārā from Ratnagiri (fig. 310), or there may be an alignment of seven Mānuṣī Buddhas as on numerous images from Udayagiri (figs. 229, 248). In a Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa image from Udayagiri (at Cuttack), a Tathāgata image is placed at each upper corner while a pair of *vidyādharas* hold a crown above the halo of Lokeśvara. On Set A of the free-standing Bodhisattvas from Lalitagiri the sides of the back-slab are edged with flames. With sculptural *maṇḍalas*, of course, the sides are decorated with Bodhisattvas superimposed one above the other.

By the late 9th century the throne design is introduced and the halo becomes more decorative. Part of the back-slab is cut out behind the body of large images, probably influenced by metal sculptures, as on the image of Jambhala at Baḍa-Tārā (fig. 395). Only a square section between the shoulders and waist is cut away. The elongated-oval halo is decorated with lotus petals and has a beaded-border. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner. In the 10th-11th century image of Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa from Ratnagiri carved in chlorite, on the other hand, part of the circular halo is also cut out (fig. 245). The halo is richly embellished and is slightly pointed at the apex. An image of Mañjuśrī appears on the upper right side of the halo while Maitreya is on the upper left side. Gradually more of

the back-slab is cut away. On images of Tārā from Banpur (fig. 305) and Paradipgarh (fig. 300), for example, it is cut away in the centre (behind her) from the seat to the top of her coiffure so that, as on Brahmanical images, the back-slab functions primarily as a frame.

In the standing image of Vajrapāṇi/Mañjuśrī from Ayodhyā, where the cut-out section extends from his feet to his ears, the sides of the back-slab contain a *virāla* motif superimposed in front of a pilaster with an ornate *ḍamarū-garbha* shaped capital (fig. 260). The lintel consists of a broad band ornamented with the *raṅganī* motif of floral rosettes housed in squares. Perched on either end of the lintel is a *kinnara*. The halo is richly embellished and is edged with flames. At the apex is an umbrella. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab flying towards a lotus rosette.

In the fully developed programme of the Khadiravaṇī Tārā in the Tikirai temple at Banpur, the lintel of the framing *toraṇa* is supported at the sides by a *gaja-virāla* motif of a rider on the back of an elephant-headed monster leaping above a crawling warrior (fig. 305). The lintel on either side consists of three richly embellished mouldings. An outward-facing *makara* rests on the lintel at either side while the trefoil-shaped *toraṇa* is decorated with a band of bead-and-reel scrollwork, a beaded border, and is edged with flames. Musicians and dancers are dispersed along the outer edge of the *toraṇa*. The top of the back-slab has an alignment of five Tathāgatas while a *vidyādhara* couple is at each upper corner. On the equally complex back-slab of the Khadiravaṇī-Tārā (fig. 307) and the Prajñāpāramitā (fig. 326) images from Bāṇeśwarnāsi the throne lintel is supported at the sides by an ornate baluster with a *kumbha*-base. The shaft of the baluster is decorated with a hanging festoon with a bell on the inside and an outward-facing *virāla* motif of a lion standing on its hind legs on the outside. The lintel consists of three richly adorned mouldings. The trefoil-shaped *toraṇa*, decorated with the bead-and-reel scroll, a beaded border and edged with flames, is superimposed in front of a *pīḍha-muṇḍi* with a *kīrtimukha* on the crowning *amalaka*. On the Tārā image a female *caurī*-bearer stands in a relaxed position on each end of the lintel while four miniature *stūpas*, each housing a Tathāgata, are dispersed on the edge of the *pīḍha*-mouldings. The fifth *stūpa* is carved on the face of the *toraṇa* beneath the *kīrtimukha*. On the Prajñāpāramitā image a seated Bodhisattva is on each end of the lintel while the female *caurī*-bearers are elevated to the top *pīḍha*-moulding, one on either side. On both images the upper corners are decorated with a *vidyādhara*.

A similar development is visible on the back-slab of Mārīcī images. In the earliest large images, as on the example from Acutrajpur, her three heads are framed by a plain halo while a lotus rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab (fig. 367). In the image from Khiching the halo appears more like the womb of a *caitya*, though not fully evolved, a tree branches out above her three heads, and a small section of the back-slab is cut out from between her legs (fig. 366). On the image from Ayodhyā most of the back-slab is cut out behind her body, her halo is richly embellished and edged with flames, and Varttāli appears on the upper right corner of the back-slab (fig. 379). Gradually the *caitya* develops behind her, first being lightly carved (figs. 369-70) and then deeply carved so that it appears as if she is encased within the womb of the *caitya* (figs. 371-75). The crowning members of the *caitya* are transformed into a *pīḍha-muṇḍi* on the Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī from Mārīcīpur so that her chariot resembles a *ratha* or miniature shrine rather than a covered wagon (fig. 377).

Among the more specialized background programmes the most interesting is the landscape setting, symbolizing Potalaka mountain, associated with Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara. In its earliest appearance, on three Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa images from Udayagiri, including a fragment in the Musee Guimet in Paris, the halo around the head of Avalokiteśvara is hollowed out to simulate the womb of the mountain (figs. 494-95). On either side of his head is an image of a goddess seated in a cave, Tārā on the right and Bhṛkuṭī on the left.

Slightly above and inward on each side, flush with the top edge of the halo, is a smaller cave with a seated *ṛṣi* or mendicant. At the top of the back-slab, each housed in a separate niche, are the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas. These images can be dated to the late 8th century.

In the seated image of Lokeśvara from Acutrajpur the throne lintel above the shoulders of the deity is decorated with scrollwork and the halo framing his head has a beaded border and is edged with flames (fig. 210). The Tathāgatas are dispersed in the background around the halo with Amitābha at the centre (apex) immediately above the head of Lokeśvara. There is little suggestion, however, of a mountain landscape. In the 11th century images from Ratnagiri and Nāgaspur, the former now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta (figs. 212-13, 498), the sides of the back-slab are each decorated with a pilaster which supports a short lintel. An ornate pentafoil-shaped *toraṇa* springing from the lintel frames Lokeśvara and is decorated with scroll motifs. Arranged around the *toraṇa* are the five Tathāgatas, each seated in a cave or *caitya*, with Amitābha at the apex. The rest of the back-slab above the lintel is decorated with trees, foliage, foothills and, between the lower two Tathāgatas on either side, a *ṛṣi* or ascetic. The image from Chaudar now in the Indian Museum is similar, though the sides are left plain, the *ṛṣis* are eliminated, and part of the back-slab is cut out behind the body of Lokeśvara.[43]

In the image from Mudupur the trefoil-shaped halo is carved out around Lokeśvara and animals and hunting scenes are dispersed on the mountain setting (fig. 219). One Tathāgata appears on either side of the halo, above a hunting scene, with each seated in a cave, while the other three Tathāgatas are aligned in the centre at the top of the back-slab. A *vidyādhara* is added at each upper corner. On the image from Bāṇeśwarnāsi now in the Orissa State Museum, the five Tathāgatas are aligned at the top of the back-slab, each seated in a niche (fig. 220). The entire body of Lokeśvara is framed by the cut-out *toraṇa* which begins at the base of the slab rather than from a lintel at shoulder level so that it more effectively simulates the womb of a *caitya* or cave, the womb getting narrower towards the top. The spandrels are decorated with landscape details.

In the image from Balasore the lintel on either side is supported by a pilaster on the inside and a *virāla* motif on the outside. A trefoil-shaped *makara-toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex springs from the lintel. It is decorated with a band of bead-and-reel scrollwork, a beaded border, and is edged with flames (fig. 497). Dispersed around the *toraṇa* in a mountain landscape are four miniature *stūpas*, each housing a Tathāgata image while the fifth is on the coiffure of Lokeśvara. A *ṛṣi* is placed between the two *stūpas* on either side while a wild animal is inserted above each top *stūpa*. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner. The back-slab is cut out behind Lokeśvara from the seat to the ceiling of the *toraṇa*. At Bañchua and Deogaon, where Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva occupy the sides, the *makara-toraṇa* assumes the shape of a *caitya* (rather than having a trefoil shape), and the bead-and-reel scroll is replaced by a garbled scroll motif (figs. 217-18). Two miniature *caityas* are dispersed near the base of the *toraṇa* on either side while the fifth is above the *kīrtimukha*, each containing a Tathāgata. A *ṛṣi* is inserted below the *kīrtimukha* on either side. Wild animals, including boars, deer and monkeys are dispersed throughout the mountain landscape. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The back-slab is cut out behind Lokeśvara from the seat to the ceiling of the *toraṇa*.

In these late examples of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara we thus have the fusion of the *makara-toraṇa* motif, so popular on late Brahmanical images (fig. 317), with the landscape setting of mount Potalaka, complete with caves or *caityas* housing the five Tathāgatas, *ṛṣis* or mendicants, and wild animals.

C. BRAHMANICAL PARALLELS, COMPOSITE DEITIES AND PAN-INDIAN CONCEPTS

Although Buddhism and Hinduism co-existed for over a thousand years in Orissa, it is obvious, as elsewhere in India, that this co-existence was not always peaceful. Internecine strife, rivalry and hostility often disturbed their relationship as various kings championed one religion or the other. In other cases, as noted by D.C. Bhattacharyya, such rivalry became resolved "into a rapprochement leading to the acceptance of the norms of mutual toleration."[44] In that the pantheon of both religions was expanding at the same time and both were evolving from a common heritage, similarities in respect to iconographic concepts and to purpose are to be expected, as mentioned previously. In numerous cases the evolving deities represent parallel developments where it is not always possible to determine who is influencing whom, as in the case of Tārā and Durgā, while in other cases a decided influence of one religion on the other is discernible, as in the case of Buddha/Lakulīśa, Mañjuśrī/Kārttikeya, Pārvatī/Bhṛkuṭī, Nīlakaṇṭha-Lokeśvara/Nīlakaṇṭha Śiva, Hālāhala Lokeśvara/Umāmaheśvaramūrti, Śaṅkhanātha-Lokeśvara/Sthānaka-Viṣṇu, Mārīcī/Sūrya, Vajrānaṅga/Kāmadeva, Mahācīna-Tārā/Mahāvidyā-Tārā, etc., with the degree of influence varying from example to example. As manifested in sculpture, the type of association or degree of influence can be grouped into five broad categories: 1) iconographical or conceptual influence of the deity of one religion on the deity of the other; 2) the creation of composite deities combining iconographic aspects of both religions; 3) the integration or adoption of a deity of one religion into the other; 4) integration or adoption displaying sectarian bias; and 5) animosity whereby the deity of one religion is being desecrated or humiliated by a deity of the other. In addition numerous minor figures, such as *yakṣas, nāgas*, river goddesses, *ḍākinīs, yoginīs*, etc., are common to all early religions in India, i.e., they are Pan-Indian, and thus appear in both Buddhist and Brahmanical art, though their status may vary, as in the case of *yoginīs* and *ḍākinīs*.[45]

In that numerous examples of reciprocal influence and Brahmanical parallels have been cited throughout this work, while others are not prevalent in Orissan art, only a select few are analyzed in detail.

1. Buddha/Lakulīśa

Śiva, as the ascetic deity par excellence, is often depicted in a seated pose practising yoga or holding a begging bowl. As a great teacher, of yoga, music and other sciences, he is known by the name of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, supposedly because he was seated facing south when he taught yoga and *jñāna* to the *ṛṣis*. Gopinatha Rao differentiates four different aspects of Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti: as a teacher of yoga; of *vīṇā*; of *jñāna*; and as an expounder of other *śāstras* (Vyākhyānamūrti).[46] Images of Dakṣiṇāmūrti generally show Śiva in a relaxed pose, such as *ardhaparyaṅka* with a *yoga-paṭṭa* binding his uplifted knee to his body, with one of his hands in *vitarka-mudrā* or *vyākhyāna-mudrā*. For the most part, however, this iconographic form is confined to South India whereas in North India, especially in Orissa, it is the image of Lakulīśa that most often fulfils the role of Śiva in his "teaching" aspect in the iconographic programme of early Śaiva temples. Whether or not Lakulin was merely the organizer or systematiser of the Pāśupata order, or the actual founder, most sources agree that he was considered to be an incarnation of Śiva who settled in western India at a place called Kāyāvarohaṇa or Kārohaṇa.[47] He accordingly had four important disciples—Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya—though their names are slightly varied in the different texts, with the list being increased to seventeen or eighteen *tīrtheśas*, beginning with Lakulīśa, in some later accounts.[48]

The name "Lakulīśa", and its variants such as "Nakulīśa", "Lakulin", etc., are derived from the word *lakula, laguḍa* or *lakuṭa* meaning "club". Lakulīśa is thus the Lord (*īśa*) who bears a club (*lakulin*).[49] It is this club which is the most characteristic identifying feature of Lakulīśa images. In the *Kāravaṇa Māhātmya* an epithet of Lakulīśa is "lakuṭa-pāṇi" and upon

being incarnated at Kāyārohaṇa he is described as being merged into the *liṅga* called Brahma, holding a *vīja-pūraka* or citron in his right hand and an *asi-daṇḍa* (club-like sword) in his left hand. In the *Viśvakarmāvatāra-vāstu-śāstra* manuscript of the Deccan College Library is a verse which specifies that Lakulīśa should be represented *ūrdhva-liṅga* (with erect *liṅga*), seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, and holding a citron in his right hand while his left hand holds a club.[50] These are perhaps the only textual descriptions of Lakulīśa and they conform closely to one of the most popular ways to represent him in sculpture.

The Pāśupatas were particularly noted for their accumulated knowledge in a vast array of subjects, debating and teaching skills, and it is as a teacher that Lakulīśa is depicted on the Orissan temple. Although his image may appear on various parts of the temple, the largest images are those placed in *pāga* niches where they serve as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* (surrounding divinity) in the iconographic programme. By the 8th century his image generally serves as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* on the south side, a placement which associates him with Dakṣiṇāmūrti images. In respect to iconographic details, in early images he is seated either in *sattvaparyaṅka* or *vajraparyaṅka*. Beginning in the 9th century a third pose is introduced where the legs are slightly raised and held in place by a *yoga-paṭṭa* (fig. 134). On most early images his ear-lobes are distended, his hair is arranged in snail-shell curls neatly aligned in rows and he has a cranial protuberance, features suggesting the influence of Buddhism (fig. 499). He is usually depicted *ūrdhvaliṅga* and is generally devoid of body ornamentation. Exceptions to the latter appear on the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubaneswar and on the Someśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam where he wears a *yajñopavīta* and is richly bejewelled[51] while at Jayati[52] and Paikapada (fig. 134) he wears some body ornaments. Examples which deviate in respect to coiffure include an image from the destroyed Bhairava temple at Bhubaneswar, now in the Orissa State Museum, where his hair is braided in two large meshes and surmounted by a serpent hood[53] while on the Someśvara temple it is arranged in a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. In the image at Jayati and in the later image on the Megheśvara temple at Bhubaneswar[54] a crown is held above the head of Lakulīśa by a pair of *vidyādharas* as on images of Buddha in western India. On the image on the south side of the *jagamohana* of the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, dating to the third-quarter of the 8th century, *nāgas* are depicted on the pedestal, as mentioned earlier (fig. 135). They are seated at the corners, however, rather than on either side of the centre stalk as they appear on the pedestal of the Tathāgata images of the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri or with the sanctum images of Monastery No. 1 and Temple No. 5 at Ratnagiri. Also suggesting Buddhist influence is the design of a *tri-ratna*, superimposed with lotus rhizomes and flanked on either side by a deer, in the centre of the pedestal, which vaguely resembles a Saranātha device.

In general the images of Lakulīśa can be divided into two broad groups based on the number of arms, either two or four, with variations in each group depending on his pose, on which side he holds the *lakuṭa*, and whether or not he is accompanied by disciples. The two-armed images are usually earlier in date though small images, due to the restricted amount of space, are generally two-armed and the disciples are eliminated. With two-armed images the hands are invariably in *dharmacakra-mudrā*, stressing his "teaching" aspect, with the left arm cradling the *lakuṭa* against the shoulder. On only four examples, all associated with the Śiśireśvara/Vaitāl Deul temple complex and the products of the same workshop, is the *lakuṭa* cradled by the right arm. In only a few cases, as on the lintel of the Bāṇeśvara temple[55] and on the compound wall of the Mukteśvara temple,[56] both at Bhubaneswar, is the *lakuṭa* held in the left hand like a *daṇḍa*. On four-armed images the uplifted back right hand usually holds a rosary though in some cases it holds a citron or a trident. The back left hand holds a lotus, a trident or a manuscript. In the four-armed image retrieved from the Bindusarovara tank at Bhubaneswar, the back left hand is partially broken and the object held is missing. There is no *lakuṭa* cradled in his arms but it may have been placed standing vertically above his head, the upper part of the back-slab now missing (fig. 500).

The disciples generally vary in number from two to six and are usually arranged on either side of Lakulīśa, frequently being seated on a lotus whose stalk issues from that supporting the *viśvapadma* of Lakulīśa. Exceptions appear on the Someśvara temple and at Jayati where they are placed on the pedestal and on the detached image retrieved from the Bindusarovara which had eighteen *tīrtheśas,* six on the pedestal, four on either side and four above, of which thirteen are still intact. There are also eighteen *tīrtheśas,* nine on either side, flanking the Lakulīśa image on the lintel of the portal of the Māricī-*kuṇḍa* (well) in the compound of the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar.[57] On the Someśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam additional disciples appear on the niche jambs while on the Śiśireśvara temple there are three niches on either side of Lakulīśa with each containing a disciple (fig. 135). The disciples usually hold a book in one hand though in a few cases they hold a trident. On early examples they are clean-shaven whereas on later images they are bearded.

There is thus little doubt of the influence of Buddhist art on the image of Lakulīśa in Orissan sculpture. Many of the Lakulīśa images are identified by the local populace as Buddha and, indeed, even scholars have made this error.[58] The elongated ears characteristic of Buddha also appear on numerous small images of the earliest Brahmanical temples, including even images of Durgā.[59] In that the nucleus of the Buddhist establishments at Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri can be dated to about the 2nd-3rd century A.D. and the 5th century respectively, whereas the earliest surviving Brahmanical temples date to the late 6th century, it seems feasible that the Buddhist sculptural workshops were established first and that sculptors from these workshops were enlisted to help in the construction of the earliest Brahmanical temples. Although the image of the Buddha strongly influenced the image of Lakulīśa, the concept of Lakulīśa being flanked by four disciples, two on either side superimposed one above the other, appears prior to the earliest Buddhist *maṇḍalas* in Orissa with a similar alignment to suggest it may have been pivotal in such a linear development (fig. 499). A transitional step to the fully developed sculptural *maṇḍala* with four Bodhisattvas aligned vertically on either side of the centre deity is the alignment of three on each side with the fourth set placed on the pedestal, as on numerous examples at Udayagiri. This format, as mentioned previously, also appears with the image of Lakulīśa on the Śiśireśvara temple though the two figures on the pedestal are *nāgas* rather than disciples (figs. 135-36). On the image of Lakulīśa retrieved from the Bindusarovara there are four disciples aligned vertically on either side, each seated on a *viśvapadma* as in the case of Bodhisattvas on a Buddhist *maṇḍala*, while additional disciples are on the pedestal and at the top as mentioned earlier (fig. 500). The image probably dates to the 10th century and thus is later than any of the surviving sculptural *maṇḍalas.*

Towards the end of the 9th century new iconographic forms of Śiva as a *yogi* were introduced in the iconographic programme of the Brahmanical temple, including Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Mahāyogi, which possibly were influenced by Buddhist imagery. In contrast to the iconography of South India, where he is usually seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with a *yogapaṭṭa,* in these Orissan images he is seated in the more rigid *vajraparyaṅka* pose.[60] In the four-armed image from the Mallikeśvara temple at Paikapada, Śiva is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* with his principal set of hands on his lap in *dhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 255). His uplifted back right hand holds a rosary while his left hand holds a trident. Iconographically the image is closely related to the slightly earlier image of a four-armed Bodhisattva from Udayagiri, now in the Solapuamā compound at Cuttack, provided the principal set of hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* are not "restorations" (fig. 254). The uplifted back right hand holds a rosary, as in the Śiva image, though the trident is not being held in the back left hand but merely stands next to the hand. This back left hand holds a small vessel as in Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/ Mahākaruṇa images. The most distinguishing feature, however, is the *utpala* which issues from under the left arm of the Bodhisattva. The four devotees on the pedestal are similar to the four disciples of Lakulīśa who are sometimes placed on the pedestal. In both of these

images we thus see reciprocal influence, the trident of Śiva, complete with an intertwining serpent, being adopted as an attribute for the Bodhisattva and the more conventional Buddhist *āsana* replacing the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose.[61]

By the end of the 10th century, with the gradual decline in popularity of the Pāśupata sect in Orissa, the image of Lakulīśa in the iconographic programme of the Brahmanical temple is frequently merged with Śiva Dakṣiṇāmūrti and it eventually disappears altogether, the motif of a guru dispensing instructions to his desciples replacing Lakulīśa as the "teacher". Although a late image of Lakulīśa appears on the Liṅgarāja temple, it appears in an upper niche on the east side, rather than in his conventional position on the south, and is mostly obscured by the projecting roof of the *jagamohana*. In niches on the west side, on the other hand, which play a more dominant position in the iconographic programme, are images of a six-armed Mahāyogi and a four-armed seated image which is a composite of Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Lakulīśa. Identical images appear on the Valukeśvara temple adjacent to the entrance to the Liṅgarāja compound, dating to the same period (mid-11th century). In the composite image, Śiva is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his principal set of hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā* in the manner of Lakulīśa while his lower set of hands are in *dhyāna-mudrā*. In the more complex Valukeśvara composition the face is obliterated but elongated ears and a cranial protuberance are evident.[62] There are two disciples on either side, one above the other, while on the pedestal there are five standing figures with the centre one pouring libations on a *liṅga* or fire altar.

In the six-armed Mahāyogi image Śiva may have his principal set of hands in *dhyāna-mudrā*, as in the example on the Śobhaneśvara Śiva temple at Niali,[63] or in *dharmacakra-mudrā* as in the example on the Megheśvara temple[64] and in *beki* images as on the Liṅgarāja temple.[65] Invariably the other right hands hold a rosary and a trident while the left hands carry a *kapāla* and a *kamaṇḍalu*.

In that these complex forms of Śiva as a teacher or a *yogi* are evolving at the same time as similar multi-armed Buddhist images are being introduced, it appears evident that there is not only reciprocal influence but that the artists employed by both religions are being inspired by Tantrism which is becoming increasingly popular and dramatically affects each religion. This combination of *dharmacakra-mudrā* and *dhyāna-mudrā* appearing on composite images of Lakulīśa and Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti, for example, also appears with Buddhist deities, such as the eight-armed form of Vairocana in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (no. 19) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.

2. Standing Lokeśvara/Standing Viṣṇu

In addition to adopting various features and attributes associated with Śiva, standing multi-armed images of Lokeśvara also share numerous features with standing forms of Viṣṇu, in particular his *vīra* forms or *caturviṁśati-mūrti*. Body ornamentation is especially similar and in numerous broken images, unless the *vanamālā* or an antelope skin is present it is difficult to determine if the fragment represents Viṣṇu or Avalokiteśvara (fig. 463). Although there may be Buddhist influence on the earliest surviving examples of four-armed Viṣṇu images, as at Mathura where the principal right hand displays *abhaya* while the left hand is placed on the hip,[66] in Orissa the earliest four-armed images of standing Lokeśvara appear to be influenced by similar images of Viṣṇu. In the earliest Orissan images of *caturbhuja-sthānaka-mūrti* Viṣṇu the back-set of hands are placed on the head of the flanking images of *cakra-puruṣa* (right) and *gadā-devī* (left), as in detached images at Jājpur dating to the 6th-7th centuries,[67] while the principal set of hands are also lowered. This placement of *āyudha-puruṣas* corresponds to his Śrīdhara form of the *caturviṁśati* list of texts such as the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* in contrast to the placement for Vāsudeva as described

in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (third khaṇḍa, 85.2-14). In two other detached images from the 8th-9th centuries, corresponding to the Hari-Viṣṇu and the Puruṣottama forms (fig. 234), it is the principal set of hands that are placed on the head of the flanking *āyudha-puruṣas* while the back hands are uplifted. In still other cases, as with 9th century images on Śiva temples at Badgaon (Baragaon)[68] and Siṁhanātha,[69] the principal set of hands rest on the head of Garuḍa and Lakṣmī who replace the *āyudha-puruṣas.* This placement of the major left hand on the head of a flanking attendant appears on several early four-armed images of Lokeśvara, as at Ratnagiri (fig. 251), Cuttack (fig. 414) and Udayagiri (fig. 247). The lowered right hand is in *varada*, rather than resting on the head of an attendant, while the uplifted hands hold *āyudhas.*

N.N. Vasu illustrates a four-armed image now housed in the compound of the Buḍā-Jagannātha temple at Baripada, worshipped locally as Ananta-Deva, which he erroneously identifies as Lokeśvara.[70] As described by him, the deity holds a rosary in his principal right hand while the left hand holds a conch. His lower right hand is placed over the head of Sudhanakumāra while the left hand is over the head of Tārā. To substantiate his identification he quotes a *dhyāna* from the *Viśvakarma-śilpa*:

> God Lokeśvara has four arms and three eyes. He has braided hair, on which there is a moon. His ornaments consist of snakes. He is white in complexion. He gives boons and encouragement with two of his hands, while with the other two he holds a rosary of akṣas and a kamaṇḍalu. He is seated on a lotus under the Bodhi tree.[71]

A nearly identical image exists in the village of Mudgala, where it is worshipped as Mudgala-*ṛṣi* by the local populace, which N.K. Sahu identifies as a standing Lokeśvara of the Śaṅkhapāṇi variety. He likewise identifies the two attendants as Sudhanakumāra and Tārā (fig. 501).[72] In both of these images, however, the male on the right, with a *cakra* in his coiffure, represents *cakra-puruṣa* while the female attendant on the left, with a *gadā* in her coiffure, represents *gadā-devī.* This identification is further emphasized in the image at Mudgala where each attendant additionally rests the outside hand on their respective *āyudha.* Viṣṇu wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* (jewelled crown) rather than the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* conventional for Lokeśvara images. In the image at Baripada he also wears a *vanamālā.*

In both of these images Viṣṇu has a stocky build, as in the case of the earliest images at Jājpur mentioned above, and, except for the rosary, conforms to the Śrīdhara form. Although the rosary is not one of the conventional four emblems held by Śrīdhara in the *caturviṁśati-mūrti,* it is prescribed occasionally as an emblem in such lists for Jayanta while in a series of inscribed *caturviṁśati* images at Valam in Gujarat it is one of the emblems for Vāsudeva.[73] A similar image at Bhillideuli, worshipped locally as Ananta-Vāsudeva, has a serpent canopy and it is most likely that these early images with stout proportions and with a rosary in the principal right hand represent his Ādimūrti-Vāsudeva form. This form was especially popular in Bihar and Bengal though the principal right hand held a small fruit (*phala*) and the *āyudha-puruṣas* are reversed in placement.[74]

In addition to their influence on four-armed images of Lokeśvara, some of these early images of Viṣṇu, in particular the Ādimūrti-Vāsudeva form with all four arms lowered, appear to be the inspiration for numerous multiple-armed forms of Lokeśvara, including Sugatisandarśana-Avalokiteśvara (fig. 256) and Amoghapāśa-Lokeśvara.

3. Composite Deities

The reciprocal influence in the concepts of Viṣṇu and Avalokiteśvara is especially evident in numerous images from Eastern India which have been identified either as composite

images of Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara or as images of the Buddhist Viṣṇu. In most cases they have four arms with the *āyudhas* in the back hands frequently being placed on lotuses. In some cases the deity has a serpent hood over his head while an effigy of Amitābha in the coiffure suggests their Buddhist affiliation. Other composite examples include a Sūrya-Lokeśvara in the Asutosh Museum at Calcutta which is possibly of Orissan origin. Six of the arms are broken off while two intact hands, one on either side, hold a full-blown lotus in the manner of Sūrya. An effigy of Amitābha is in his coiffure. The lower part of the image is broken so it is not possible to determine if he was riding in a chariot pulled by seven horses.[75] According to the *Yogāmbara-maṇḍala* (no. 14) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, which divides the forty-eight incorporated Hindu deities into *kulas* according to their colour, Sūrya is grouped with red-hued gods who are adorned with the effigy of Amitābha. Based on this division in the *Yogāmbara-maṇḍala*, and on the division in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) of eighty-nine Hindu deities into *kulas* according to their direction, M.T. de Mallmann identifies such images as Buddhist representations of Hindu deities, rather than composite deities, as Hindu iconography dominates, the only Buddhist feature being the Tathāgata effigy:

> in future, thanks to the Niṣpannayogāvalī, whenever we encounter the image of a Hindu deity surmounted by a Buddha or 'wearing' one in his head-dress, we need no longer invoke a hypothetical 'Lokeśvara'; we can now immediately identify the god (or goddess), without fear or error, as a personage 'adopted' by the Buddhists and thus incorporated into a particular Buddha's spiritual family.[76]

In respect to the image of Sūrya-Lokeśvara, however, the only aspects associated with Sūrya are the two full-blown lotuses, a feature also appearing on images of Lokeśvara though one rises up on his right of its own accord (figs. 206, 221-22), so that in its broken state positive identification is difficult.

Better preserved is a 12th century image of Viṣṇu/Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara from Bengal now in the National Museum, New Delhi, where the *āyudhas* in the back two hands are placed on lotuses. He is flanked by a vertical alignment on either side by four seated four-armed figures suggesting a *maṇḍala*, though it is not clear if they are Bodhisattvas or Vaiṣṇava figures, and at the base by *cakra-puruṣa* on the right and *śaṅkha-puruṣa* on his left. On the pedestal is a ten-armed deity seated within a circular frame identified as a second *cakra-puruṣa* by W. Begley and as Avalokiteśvara by K. Desai.[77] He is flanked on each side by two figures paying obeisance, one of whom is Garuḍa. The iconography appears to be more evenly divided though it is difficult to determine if the image represents the Buddhist Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara, or an image of Viṣṇu strongly influenced by Buddhist iconographic traditions. The statement of de Mallmann quoted above may not hold true for all images, only those where the single Buddhist feature is the effigy of a Tathāgata in the coiffure or above the head.

An Orissan image with similar features is inserted into a niche of the east wall inside the *jagamohana* of the Siddheśvara temple at Jājpur, the image possibly originating from Solaṁpur (fig. 502). The upper half of the image is partially obfuscated by plaster and paint so it is not possible to determine the number of arms. Two sets of hands are lowered with the back set being placed on the head of flanking attendants, male on the right and female on the left. Each holds a lotus with their raised inside hand while the outside hand of the male rests on a sword (?) and that of the female rests on a mace, the female probably representing *gadā-devī*. The front set of hands hang straight down with the palms turned inward. Lush foliage studded with gems flows from each palm to form a stream or stalk, suggesting his great munificence and his role as a god of wealth. A third set of arms are uplifted but the hands, attributes and the back-slab are obscured by plaster. The deity is richly adorned and his hair is matted in a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, in the manner of Lokeśvara, rather

than in the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* conventional for Viṣṇu. Faint vestiges in his coiffure may indicate an effigy of a Tathāgata. In the centre of the pedestal is a spoked disc which contains a two-armed figure seated in *mahārājalīlā* with his right arm resting on his knee while the left hand is on his thigh. The object in his right hand may be a *cintāmaṇi* gem or a *kalpavṛkṣa* to suggest he could represent Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, or, if he is a Brahmanical deity, he may represent *cakra-puruṣa*. He is flanked by four seated figures paying homage who are arranged around the disc (fig. 421). At each corner of the pedestal is an elephant. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* the elephant is associated with the Buddhist Viṣṇu, being the mount of Balabhadra. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

In some cases, as in Hinduism as indicated earlier, one deity absorbs the form and function of another deity. This is particularly evident in the case of the Brahmanical Kāma who is absorbed into other deities, including the Hindu gods Kāmeśvara (Śiva), and Puruṣottama-Trailokyamohana (Viṣṇu) as well as the Buddhist Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara, in the latter two cases the composite deity having as attributes four weapons of Kāma and four of their own, i.e., of Viṣṇu and of Mañjuśrī respectively. That Mañjuśrī is not simply absorbing the Buddhist god of love into himself is evident by the fact that the second pair of weapons, i.e., the goad and noose, are those of Kāma and not those of Vajrānaṅga.

4. Mahācīna-Tārā (Ugra-Tārā)/Mahāvidyā-Tārā

In addition to the numerous and primarily benign forms of Tārā invariably associated with Amoghasiddhi, or the four-faced, eight-armed Vajra-Tārā bearing the image of Ratnasaṁbhava, there is a more terrifying form referred to in two *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* as Mahācīna-Tārā (Tārā of Mahācīna), who has Akṣobhya as her *kuleśa*. Aside from various opinions as to the origin of Tārā, as to whether or not the Buddhist Tārā evolved from Brahmanical Durgā,[78] scholars are also divided as to the place of origin and many suggest that she originated outside of India, in Mahācīna. In various Tantric texts, such as the *Rudrayāmala* and the *Brahmayāmala*, it is said that the sage Vasiṣṭha, being unable to obtain *siddhi* even after years of mutterings and severe austerities, at last pronounced a curse on the deity. Tārā, thereupon, appeared before him and told him that by these austerities it was impossible to attain *siddhi*, but it would easily be attained if he went to Mahācīna, in the country of the Buddhists and the land of the *Atharva Veda*. Vasiṣṭha hence repaired to Cinabhūmi, where Buddha was residing and was indulging in all sorts of loathsome practices. The horrified Vasiṣṭha, appealing to Buddha to allay his doubts and to ultimately grant him *siddhi*, asked many questions regarding Buddha's use of wine and meat, and the presence of the women, entirely without dress, drinking blood and wine and behaving like drunkards, and wanted to know why he associated himself with these women. The Buddha then gave Vasiṣṭha a lecture on the duties of Kaulas, and explained to him their mysteries and utility, and acquainted him with their secret rites and practices. Vasiṣṭha became fully convinced and soon followed the ways of the Buddha, and eventually attained final liberation by the unrestrained use of the *pañcamakaras*. In the *Brahmayāmala* version, Vasiṣṭha was horrified to see Buddha in a deeply drunken state, surrounded by thousands of women, but was directed by a voice from heaven which instructed him to follow the customs and practices current in Cinabhūmi, so that he might obtain final liberation, which was otherwise unattainable. Pleased, Vasiṣṭha went to Buddha and, after being initiated by him, he speedily obtained liberation.[79] In the *Mahācīnakramā-cāra-tantra* version, the Buddha, upon divulging the rite of Tāriṇī to Vasiṣṭha, says: "Women are the gods, women are life, women are adornment. Be ever among women in thought."[80] He then continued, saying:

> Sitting on a dead body or entering a bower of creepers gives great results. If one goes to a burning-place, with dishevelled hair and naked and becomes surrounded

> with the trees and creepers of mahācīna (i.e., Jarā flower) one gets salvation...The devotee should worship Śiva with fragrant, white lauhitya, kunkuma, vilva, maruvaka etc., but not with tulasi. The tatastha yogin should worship Tārā, the saviour of the world at an ekaliṅga, or a burning place or a solitary cross-road.[81]

This legend not only attempts to explain the origin of Tārā but also the Vāmācāra rites associated with Tantrism, suggesting that they originated in Mahācīna and were brought back by Vasiṣṭha who was instructed by the Buddha himself. In the attempt to justify his non-Indian origin theory of Tārā, H.P. Sastri identifies Mahācīna with Tibet and further quotes a significant stanza from the *Kubjikā Tantra* which states:

> Go thou to Bhārata-varṣa in order to spread your influence in every place there; create many (things) in pīṭhas, upa-pīṭhas and kṣetras; go to Bhārata-varṣa and make the following creations—five Vedas, five yogins and five pīṭhas. You shall not have my company until you establish these pīṭhas.[82]

He additionally cites the colophon of one of the *sādhanas* of Ekajaṭā in the *Sādhanamālā* where it is stated that the *sādhana* has been revived in Bhoṭa (Tibet) by Ārya Nāgārjuna (one of the eighty-four *siddhapuruṣas* of India),[83] the implication being that her worship once existing in Bhoṭa was in abeyance until resuscitated by Nāgārjuna. A third argument is a passage appearing in the *Svatantra Tantra* stating that Tārā-Nīlasarasvatī was born in a great lake named Colana on the western slope of Mount Meru, which H. Sastri locates in the Ladakh region and concludes that Tārā worship originated somewhere in this region and that it came to India via Nepal.[84] In all cases, however, the evidences cited are late in date, well after the cult of Tārā had spread far and wide, and M. Ghosh convincingly refutes the arguments with both textual and archaeological evidence. In at least one case, as she suggests, the reference is to Mahāvidyā Tārā rather than to the earlier Tārā associated with the Brahmanical Durgā.[85]

The exact identification of Mahācīna itself is uncertain with some scholars identifying it with China while others place it in Tibet. Based on the *dhyānas* of Tārā in the *Tantrasāra*, which appear to describe images known in Nepal, P. Pal concludes that the term Mahācīna or Bhoṭadeśa "probably was loosely used to denote those areas of the Himalayan region including Nepal where people of Mongoloid stock were predominant." It is not impossible, he continues, "that Ugra-tārā with Akṣobhya in her crown was a popular goddess in the Himalayan region, perhaps specifically in Nepal, and was adopted by the Hindus as a Mahāvidyā."[86]

There is little doubt that the Brahmanical Mahāvidyā-Tārā emerging in the 11th century shares iconographic features with Mahācīna-Tārā (Ugra-Tārā) of Vajrayāna Buddhism, as evident both in the *dhyānas* and in art. In the *Sādhanamālā*, where two *sādhanas* are devoted to her worship, she is described as a fierce goddess who displays an effigy of Akṣobhya in her matted hair:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as (Mahācīna Tārā) who stands in the pratyālīḍha attitude, and is awe-inspiring with a garland of heads hanging from the neck. She is short and has a protruding belly, and her looks are terrible. Her complexion is like that of the blue lotus, and she is three-eyed, one-faced, celestial and laughs horribly. She is in an intensely pleasant mood, stands on a corpse, is decked in ornaments of snakes, has red and round eyes, wears the garments of tiger-skin round her loins, is in youthful bloom, is endowed with the five auspicious symbols, and has a protruding tongue. She is most terrible, appears fierce, with bare canine fangs, carries the sword and the kartrī in the two right hands and the utpala

and the kapāla in the two left. Her jaṭā-mukuṭa of one coil is brown and fiery and bears the image of Akṣobhya within it.[87]

Iconographically the Mahāvidyā-Tārā is likewise depicted in a fearful form and the image of Akṣobhya also appears in a *dhyāna* from the *Tārā Tantra*:

> She shines upon a white lotus arisen from the water, pervading the world. She holds in her hands scissors, a sword, a skull, and a blue lotus. Her ornaments are snakes, which form a girdle, earrings, a garland, armlets, bracelets, anklets. She has three red eyes, fearful tawny tresses, a wagging tongue, fearful teeth. Round the hips she wears the skin of a panther. She wears a diadem made of bleached bones. One should meditate on Tārā, the mother of the three worlds, who is seated on the heart of a corpse, her face resplendent with the power of the Never-decaying (Akṣobhya).[88]

Although the word Akṣobhya means "unconquered" and is equally applicable to both Śiva and Buddha, as noted by P. Pal, an effigy of Śiva does not normally appear in the hair of a goddess, and there is little doubt that in most of these *dhyānas* of Ugra-Tārā it is the Tathāgata Akṣobhya that is intended rather than Śiva.[89] Numerous Tantras, in fact, specify that the Mahāvidyā-Tārā is to be worshipped according to the Buddhist ritual, as in the *Lalitā-upākhyāna*: "The proper way to worship me is the Buddhist way. O Tormentor of Men! That way one man alone knows; none other knows its inner significance."[90]

Though in this *dhyāna* the Mahāvidyā-Tārā is somewhat similar to the image of Buddhist Mahācīna-Tārā, in the earliest textual references to this terrifying Brahmanical form she evolves from the Durgā/Ambikā and Kālī/Kālikā concepts of early Brahmanical myths. In the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (63.59-71), for example, she is identified with these goddesses upon issuing from the interior of the body of Mātaṅgī:

> After the Goddess had come forth out of the interior of Mātaṅgī's body, the white (Goddess) became black like pounded antimony at the very moment, and so she was named Kālikā (the black one), who resides in the Himalaya. The wise seers here call her Ugratārā, for Ambikā always protects her devotees against danger, however terrible it may be. The first *bija*, or also the three together, are called hers. As the same (Goddess) is called Ekajaṭā, she has, for this reason, one single braid.

It is further stated that one should meditate on her as having four arms, being black in colour, adorned with a wreath of heads,

> holding in her two right hands a sword (above) and a blue lotus below; and holding in her left a knife and a skull-bowl respectively; she herself wears one braid on her head, which scratches the sky; she always wears a wreath of shaven human heads on her head and round her neck; she wears a snake as a necklace on her breast; she has red eyes; she wears a black cloth around her loins; she is provided with a tiger's skin; her left foot she has put down on the heart of a corpse, and she has put her right foot on the back of a lion; she herself frequently licks the corpse; she laughs shrilly, is utterly horrible and very frightening, being provided with a conflagration. Ugratārā should continually be meditated upon by devotees who long for happiness.[91]

The description is thus remarkably similar to that of Ugra-Tārā (and Ekajaṭā) in the Buddhist *Sādhanamālā*, except that in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, a Śākta work, Ugra-Tārā is more closely aligned with Durgā, having a lion as her vehicle, and with Kālī, being black in colour. No mention is made that she has a protruding belly, that she is short, or that she bears an effigy of

Akṣobhya in her hair. Although each carry the same four attributes, stand on a corpse, wear serpent-ornaments and a tiger-skin, and have a single braid (*ekajaṭā*), the only feature which possibly suggests Buddhist influence is the fact that she is also called Ekajaṭā. There are numerous four-armed descriptions of Ekajaṭā, including examples in the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Sādhana-samuccaya* discussed earlier, which prescribe the same four attributes though, as in the case of the Buddhist Mahācīna-Tārā, she is blue in colour, has an effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown, has a pot-belly and is of short stature. In the description in the *Sādhana-samuccaya* she is additionally provided with an elephant-hide as her upper garment.

Throughout the 10th century in Orissa new and varied terrific forms of the Devī, in which she no longer has the emaciated body of Cāmuṇḍā so popular in earlier representations, are introduced on Śākta temples. *Yoginīs/ḍākinīs* become popular motifs and we have the initial appearance of *śaktis* for the *dikpālas* in the iconographic programme. Although none of these images conform exactly to later textual descriptions of *mahāvidyās*, there is little doubt that, as *āvaraṇa-śaktis*, they represent incipient forms of these goddesses. The concept of Mahāvidyā-Tārā, as described in the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, most likely evolved from this proliferation of Devī forms in Śaktism rather than from the concept of Mahācīna-Tārā. Mahācīna-Tārā and Ekajaṭā both, in fact, may likewise have evolved from this proliferation as both are strongly influenced by the earlier concept of Cāmuṇḍā/Kālikā, except for their pot-belly which may represent an inverted feature for the sake of easy identification. Already in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (63.70-71) the Brahmanical Ugra-Tārā has eight *yoginīs*, i.e., Mahākālā, Rudrāṇī, Ugrā, Bhīmā, Ghorā, Bhrāmarī, Mahārātrī and Bhairavī, the same eight named in the *maṇḍala* of Tārā in the late 16th century *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa. That Tārā is a form of Kālī seems evident in numerous Tantras where we are explicitly told that Kālī and Tārā must not be differentiated. In some instances the same *mantra* is used for both goddesses. Although they have different forms, in essence they are the same, as emphasized in the *Kubjikā Tantra* where it is said that anyone who knows them to be the same will definitely be liberated but the fool who thinks they are different will rot in hell.[92] For the most part Buddhist influence on Mahāvidyā-Tārā, such as bearing an effigy of Akṣobhya and having a pot-belly, appears to be very late, possibly dating to the 16th century at the earliest.

In the *Mantramahodadhi-tantra* of Mahīdhara (A.D. 1589), Ugra-Tārā also has her hair thrown up in a single braid. She is blue in colour and holds a *kartrī*, sword, *utpala* and *kapāla*. She has a terrible countenance with protruding tongue and terrible teeth, wears a necklace of skulls, and her waist is covered by the hide of an elephant. Her brow is adorned by a flat piece of white bone and an image of Śiva (Akṣobhya) is on her crown. She treads on a corpse placed between two lotuses.[93] Elsewhere in the 16th century *Tārā Tantra* the Mahāvidyā-Tārā is described as the consort of the Never-decaying (Akṣobhya) aspect of Śiva:

> O great goddess, without decaying, Śiva, the lord of sleep, drank the hālāhala poison, hence he is known as the Never-decaying (Akṣobhya). The transcendent power of illusion, ever in lustful dalliance with him, is the Star, Tārā.[94]

Further on, Tārā in her fearful form is described as follows:

> Standing firmly with her left foot forward resting on a corpse, she laughs loudly—transcendent. Her hands hold a sword, a blue lotus, a dagger, and a begging bowl. She raises her war cry, hūṁ! Her matted tawny hair is bound with poisonous blue snakes. Thus the terrifying Tārā destroys the unconsciousness of the three worlds and carries them on her head (to the other shore).[95]

Except for the image of Akṣobhya within her coiffure, whether the Tathāgata or Śiva, there is as yet little direct Buddhist influence.

The most tangible evidence of Buddhist influence on her changing iconography appears in the *Tantrasāra*. In one *dhyāna* the Mahāvidyā-Tārā is described as being four-armed and standing in *pratyālīḍha* on a white lotus placed in a burning funeral pyre. She is bright as the moon and holds a sword and *kartrī* in her right hands while her left hands hold a *kapāla* and an *utpala*. She is frightful, short and obese in appearance. She wears a tiger-skin and a garland of skulls. She is adorned with *pañcamudras* which are (according to the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*) four kinds of aprons made with white bones and a skull. Her hair is arranged in a chignon and her head is adorned by Akṣobhya crowned by a canopy of serpent hoods. Except for the fact that she does not stand on a corpse but rather in a burning funeral pyre, the *dhyāna* is nearly identical with that of the Buddhist Mahācīna-Tārā. According to P. Pal, in adopting this goddess into the Hindu pantheon as a Mahāvidyā, the serpent was made into a canopy for Akṣobhya rather than for Tārā herself.[96] In the *dhyāna* for Ugra-Tārā in the *Tantrasāra*, however, she stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a corpse. Her colour is blue and she holds a sword, *utpala*, *kartrī* and *kapāla* in her four hands. She is short in stature and wears a large flaming chignon tied with a snake. She laughs with a loud and frightening sound. This *dhyāna* is taken from the *Phetkāriṇī Tantra* and there is no mention of Akṣobhya. In another *dhyāna* quoted from the same Tantra she is blue in colour and has a corpse for her seat but her number of arms/attributes are not given. She has three eyes, wears various ornaments and has the image of Akṣobhya on her crown.[97]

In a slightly different form in the *Tantrasāra*, quoted from the *Tāriṇī-Tantra*, she is called Tāriṇī and is black in colour. Her seat is a *kāpala* on a corpse and her major right and left hands display *varada* and *abhaya* respectively while the uplifted hands hold a lotus and a *kapāla*. She has a large belly and is terrifying:

> Two snakes serve as her ear ornaments, and another as her sacred cord. Her face is red, her tongue hangs out, she wears a red dress and her breasts are large and firm. Aggressive and surrounded by a great serpent, she is engaged in meditation and stares at the tip of her nose. She lives in the mountains, drinks blood constantly and grants fulfilment to her devotees. Her three eyes are like the sun, the moon and fire, and her head is tied with a tiger-skin.[98]

In the 19th century *Śrītattvanidhi* (S.T. 69), where she is called Ugra-Tārā, she is of *sindura* colour, is in *pratyālīḍha* and holds a sword, spear, *kapāla* and displays *varada*.[99]

Invariably then, Mahāvidyā-Tārā stands on a corpse and holds a sword, *kartrī, utpala* and a *kapāla* in her four hands. She is ornamented with serpents and may have one coiled braid or her hair may be matted or rise up like flames with a serpent coiled at the base. Buddhist influence includes her short stature, pot-belly and the effigy of Akṣobhya. Like the Mahāvidyā-Kālī, Tārā is worshipped for material wealth, poetic skill and wisdom. Although the corpse is common to both, with Tārā it is seldom identified with Śiva, an exception appearing in the hymn to Tārā (*Tārāstakam*) of the *Nīla Tantra*, the first three verses reading:

> O Mother Devī Nīlasarasvatī Tārā,
> Refuge with Thee I crave.
> Giver of prosperity and wealth art Thou
> To those who worship Thee. Standing on Śiva
> Thy right foot upon His breast and left upon His thigh.
> Ever art Thou, with smiling, lotus-like face.
> Thy three eyes are, as it were, full-blown lotuses.

In Thy hands Thou holdest a knife, a skull, a lotus and a sword.

Thou art the presiding Devī of speech.
Thou art the creeper which grants all desires.
Thou art the giver of all siddhi,
And the power to write both verse and prose.
Three are Thine eyes, as it were, blue lotuses.
Ocean of kindness and compassion art Thou.
I pray Thee of Thy mercy shower upon me the nectar of prosperity.

O Sarbha, I pray Thee remove my fears.
Proud Lady, brilliant are Thy garments,
Bright with coiling serpents.
Thou are clad in tiger-skin.
Thy waist is adorned with tiny tinkling bells.
Thou holdest the heads of two demons
Dripping with blood, just severed by the sword.
Thy waist is girdled with heads of demons,
As it were with a garland.
Thus art Thou beautiful, O formidable One.[100]

According to both the *Nīla Tantra* and the *Phetkāriṇī Tantra*, Tārā should be worshipped in a Śiva temple with an *ekaliṅga*, or in the cremation ground, in an empty house, at crossroads, on a seat made of skulls, on a corpse, in deep water, on the battlefield, in the female organ, and in the lonely forest. In the *Vīra Tantra* a pond, the Ganges and mountains are added as places of worship, but we are told also that one can simply visualize these places while worshipping the goddess anywhere else.[101]

The most important temple dedicated to Ugra-Tārā, and probably the oldest in Orissa in respect to the presiding deity,[102] is the temple at Bhusandapur in the vicinity of Chilka lake. Ugra-Tārā is four-armed and stands on a prostrate corpse engulfed with flames of the funeral pyre (fig. 503). Her principal right hand wields the sword while the left holds a lotus. The lowered right and left hands hold a *kartrī* and a *kapāla* respectively. Her body is covered with modern clothes and thus is not available for inspection though portions of her garland of skulls are visible. She wears *pātra-kuṇḍalas* and is richly ornamented. She has a third eye and her coiffure is covered with a tinsel crown. Her head is framed by a *makara-toraṇa*. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. A devotee with hands in *añjali* stands in front of a *khākharā-muṇḍi* on either side at the base. The *muṇḍis* are surmounted by a *virāla* motif which visually support the lintel of the *makara-toraṇa*. A serpent-anklet is visible on the right leg of Tārā but, due to the tinsel crown and modern clothes, it is not possible to see if she bears an effigy of Akṣobhya or has a pot-belly. Iconographically the image corresponds to Mahācīna-Tārā as described in the *Sādhanamālā* or to Mahāvidyā-Tārā as described in the *Mantramahodadhi Tantra*, the *Tantrasāra* or the *Tārā Tantra*. The image can be ascribed to the 15th or 16th century.

Virtually all of the remaining Tārā images form part of *mahāvidyā* sets and are late in date, primarily from the 18th-20th centuries. Iconographically, as in the case of the various textual descriptions, the placement of the objects varies from image to image, there being no one alignment that is dominant, i.e., the *utpala* may be held in any of her hands except possibly the lower right hand. The principal right hand generally holds a *kartrī* though in some cases it shows *varada-mudrā* or holds a *kapāla*. Invariably the standard four objects are held except on an image on the Khambeśvarī temple at Sonepur where the lower left hand holds a *nāga-pāśa* and on the nearby Bhagavatī temple where this hand is placed on

Chart 33 MAHĀCĪNA-TĀRĀ/MAHĀVIDYĀ TĀRĀ TEXTUAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text	right hands 1	2	2	1 left	Features	Colour	Name
Sādhanamālā	sword	kartrī	kapāla	utpala	Akṣobhya; pot-belly	blue	Mahācīna Tārā
Sādhanamālā	kartrī	sword	utpala	kapāla	Akṣobhya; pot-belly	blue	Ekajaṭā
Sādhanasamuccaya (Tanjur)	sword	kartrī	utpala	kapāla	elephant-hide; snakes	blue	Ekajaṭā
Kālikā Purāṇa (63.64-68)	utpala	sword	kartrī	kapāla	lion; one braid	black	Ekajaṭā/Ugra Tārā
Tārā Tantra	scissors	sword	utpala	skull	Akṣobhya	blue	Tārā
Tārā Tantra	sword	utpala	kapāla	kartrī	blue snakes	blue	Tārā
Tantrasāra	sword	kartrī	utpala	skull	Akṣobhya; pot-belly	bright	Tārā
Tantrasāra (Phetkāriṇī Tantra)	sword	utpala	kapāla	kartrī	short	blue	Ugra-Tārā
Mantramahodadhi Tantra	kartrī	sword	utpala	skull	Akṣobhya; one braid	blue	Ugra Tārā
Nīla Tantra	kartrī	skull	sword	utpala	Śiva as corpse		Nīlasarasvatī Tārā
Tāriṇī Tantra	varada	utpala	kapāla	abhaya	pot-belly	black	Tāriṇī
Śrītattvanidhi (S.T. 69)	sword	spear	skull	varada		sindura	Ugra-Tārā
Kālikā Purāṇa (63.92-96)	kartrī	khaṭvāṅga	hide	noose	tall; wide mouth	blue	Tārā/Cāmuṇḍā

4-ARMED TĀRĀ IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site						Pose	Name
Caurāsi: Vārāhī temple	varada	sword	kapāla	trident	ideal body	standing	Mahāvidyā
Beyālisbāṭi: Gaṅgeśvarī	kartrī	sword	head	kapāla	ideal body	standing	Mahāvidyā
Banpur: Bhagavatī temple	kapāla	utpala	kartrī	sword	pot-belly; muṇḍamālā	walking	Mahāvidyā Tārā
Banki: Carccikā temple	varada	utpala	sword	kartrī	pot-belly	pratyālīḍha	Mahāvidyā Tārā
Baudh: Rāmeśvara compound	varada	sword	?	head	pot-belly; muṇḍamālā	walking	Mahāvidyā Tārā
Bhusandapur: Ugra-Tārā temple	sword	kartrī	kapāla	utpala	squat; muṇḍamālā	ālīḍha	Ugra-Tārā
Jira: Dhakineśvara temple	kartrī	?	utpala	head		ālīḍha	?
Paṭṭanaikia	kartrī	sword	head	utpala	(painting)	bent knees	Mahāvidyā Tārā
Sonepur: Bhagavatī temple	kartrī	sword	utpala	on belly		bent knees	Mahāvidyā Tārā
Sonepur: Khambeśvarī temple	?	?	sword	nāga-pāśa	Śiva crawling	standing	Mahāvidyā Tārā
Sujanāgarh: Budhārcaṇḍī temple	kapāla	utpala	sword	kartrī	pot-belly; on Śiva	ālīḍha	Mahāvidyā Tārā

her belly. In some cases Tārā has a pot-belly as prescribed in several texts while in other cases she conforms to ideal body proportions. She usually wears a garland of skulls and may be represented in *ālīḍha*, in *pratyālīḍha*, or merely standing with or without bent knees. In a few examples the corpse under her feet represents Śiva. In the image from the Rāmeśvara compound at Baudh, the cemetery setting is suggested by the addition of jackals and vultures (fig. 504). In no case does she bear an effigy of Akṣobhya in her coiffure.

5. Jāṅgulī/Manasā

As a companion goddess to Mahāśrī-Tārā and Varada-Tārā, as indicated in chapter X, Jāṅgulī is two-armed and is green in colour. She displays *varada-mudrā* with her right hand while the left hand holds a serpent. As a goddess who cures snake bites and even prevents them, she is widely worshipped among the Buddhists and, according to a *saṅgīti* in the *Sādhanamālā*, she is as old as Buddha himself. The secret of Jāṅgulī, as well as the *mantra* for her worship, supposedly was imparted to Ānanda by the Buddha. There are in addition four *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* which describe the procedure for her worship and give elaborate *mantras* for the extraction of the poison from the body of one who has been bitten by a snake. In these four *sādhanas* are described three different forms for the goddess, two with four arms and one with six arms which has three faces.[103] In one *sādhana* we get the following description of a four-armed white form:

> The worshipper should meditate himself as Ārya-Jāṅgulī who is all white in complexion, four-armed, one-faced, wears the jaṭā-mukuṭa and a white scarf. She is decked in white ornaments of gems and white serpents and...[is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*]. She plays on the vīṇā with the two principal hands, carries the white snake in the second left and exhibits the abhaya-mudrā with the second right, and is radiant like the moon.[104]

A second *sādhana* is similar except *varada* replaces *abhaya* in her second right hand. The *vīṇā*, of course, associates Jāṅgulī with Sarasvatī who, in Japan as noted by A. Getty, is worshipped in the form of a white snake.[105] In *sādhana* no. 121 is a four-armed green form in which she holds the trident, peacock feathers, and the snake in three hands while displaying *abhaya* with the fourth.[106] In the six-armed, three-headed form her complexion is yellow. Two *sādhanas* describe this form with the *dhyāna* contained in one reading as follows:

> The worshipper should quickly conceive himself as Ārya-Jāṅgulī, who is yellow in colour, three-faced, and six-armed. Her faces to the right and left are blue and white. She carries the sword, the vajra and the arrow in the three right hands, and the tarjanī with the noose, the blue lotus and the bow in the three left hands. She rests on the expanded hood of the serpent, is decked in celestial ornaments and dress, is resplendent with the auspicious marks of a virgin, and bears the image of Akṣobhya on [her] head.[107]

The Brahmanical counterpart of the Buddhist serpent goddess Jāṅgulī is Manasā who likewise is invoked as a cure for, or protection against, snake bites. She is especially known as the possessor of Supreme Knowledge (*mahājñāna*), for her power of counteracting poison, and as a daughter of the Śavaras or wild tribes of India.[108] Her popularity thus extends into tribal cultures as well as Brahmanism and within the latter she is equally associated with Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects. Like Jāṅgulī her worship extends back to very early periods of history though she is additionally associated with other serpent figures in various myths, including Kadrū and Jaratkāru. The worship of a woman who had remedies against snake bites is already evident in the *Atharva Veda* (X.4.14) where a little girl of the Kirātas digs a remedy against snake bite with golden shovels upon the ridges of a mountain. Further on

(X.4.24) possibly this same girl is called Taudi and Ghṛtācī and the devotee takes shelter under her "poison-spoiling track".[109] Ghṛtācī is another name for Sarasvatī who herself is spoken of in one passage in the *Atharva Veda* (VI.100) as a destroyer of poison. In early myths Manasā appears to have been identified with Kadrū, one of the two wives of Kaśyapa, while in later myths she becomes identified mostly with Jaratkāru, the sister of the *nāga* king Vāsuki (*Mahābhārata*, Ādi-parvan, 6.13-14; 6.34-36; 6.41-45; 6.49-53). In later texts, such as the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Prakṛti-khaṇḍa, 45-46) and the *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.47.38-58; 48.1-24), Manasā's identification with Jaratkāru is firmly established as well as her association with Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. In both texts she is given twelve names: Manasā, Jaratkāru (Jaratkārī), Jagadgaurī, Siddha Yoginī, Śaivī, Vaiṣṇavī, Nāgabhaginī, Nāgeśvarī, Jarat-kārupriya, Āstikamātā, Viṣahari and Mahā Jñānayutā. She is called Manasā because she is the mind-born daughter of Kaśyapa, or she plays with the mind, or meditates on God with her mind and gets rapture in her meditation. For three years Manasā adored Kṛṣṇa and through her asceticism and powers of yoga became an adept. Kṛṣṇa, seeing her body emaciated due to austerities (in the manner of the sage Jaratkāru), named her Jaratkāru. She was named Jagadgaurī because of her fair colour and the fact that she was most enchanting and graceful in the three worlds. As the disciple of Śiva she is named Śaivī and as Viṣṇu's disciple she is known as Vaiṣṇavī. Because she saved the *Nāgas* in the Snake Sacrifice performed by Janamejaya, she is called Nāgeśvarī. Being the sister of snakes, she is called Nāgabhaginī; she is called Viṣahari because she can take away poison. Because she received the Siddha-yoga from Mahādeva, she is called Siddha Yoginī; as she received from Śiva great knowledge, she is called Mahā Jñānayutā and due to her ability to revive the dead she is known by the name of Mṛtasamjīvanī. Being the mother of the great ascetic Āstika, she is known as Āstikamātā and as the dear wife of the great ascetic Jaratkāru, she is called Jarat-kārupriya:

> He who recites these twelve names while worshipping Manasā Devī, he or any of his family has no fear of snakes...The snakes run away out of fear from the sight of him who daily recites the Manasā stotra. Ten lakhs of times repeating the Manasā mantra give one man success in the stotra. He can easily drink poison who attains success in this stotra. The snakes become his ornaments; they carry him even on their backs. He who is a great Siddha can sit on a seat of snakes and can sleep on a bed of snakes. In the end he sports day and night with Viṣṇu.[110]

In respect to the worship of Manasā, she is visualised as white in colour like the *campaka* flower, is adorned with many gems and clothes that are pure like fire. She wears a sacred thread made of serpents. She is profoundly wise and devoted to her husband. She presides over adepts and is an adept herself, the very image of perfection. After meditating on her she is to be worshipped with offerings while pronouncing the twelve-letter seed *mantra*: "*Oṁ Hrīm Śrīm Klīm Aim Manasā Devyai Svāhā*." This mystic incantation is rendered perfect when recited five *lakhs* of times. For a man who attains this perfection, bitter poison is turned into nectar. Whoever on the last day of Āsādha on the milk-hedge plant invokes this goddess and worships her and whoever on the fifth day of Manasā adores her with many ingredients certainly attains wealth, sons, fame, etc.[111]

As the celestial goddess of fortune in heaven, as one who grants boons, who is always eager to shower kindness upon her votaries, who is versed in all sciences, who is the source of all knowledge, who is tranquil and supreme, who gives to all immunity from danger, whose conveyance is the prince of snakes and who is the queen of serpents, as one who can turn poison into nectar and revive the dead, her great popularity is easily understandable as are the attempts to connect her variously with the leading male deities of the Brahmanical pantheon. In the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Prakṛti-khaṇḍa, I.61-80), for example, we read:

Manasā, the daughter of Kaśyapa, is one of the principal digits of Nature. She is the

chief pupil of Śiva and profoundly wise. She is the sister of Ananta and adored by Snakes...Herself the image of Viṣṇu, she is constantly devoted to Him...she presides over the mystic incantations or charms of snakes and is radiant with the effulgence of Brahmā. She is the image of Brahmā whom she constantly contemplates. She is the slave of Hari-Hara: she is chaste and devoted to her husband Jaratkāru. She is the mother of the best saint, Āstik Muni.[112]

Elsewhere in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Prakṛti-khaṇḍa, 46.128-41), she is called the sister of Indra and is eulogised by Indra as an image of purity, as one exempt from feelings of envy and anger, because, in spite of her innocence, she did not curse her husband in return and thereby "advertised to the world the climax of devotion to the husband, of which a wife could be capable."[113] In the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (I.28.1), where she is born of the heart of Rudra (Śiva), the *mantra* conducive to the removal of poison of all serpents is as follows:

O! the skeletal form of Kāla and Vikāla! O Carviṇi! (the chewing); Bhūtahāriṇī (destroying creatures); Phaṇiviṣiṇī (venom of serpents); Virathanārāyaṇi (Nārāyaṇi devoid of a chariot); Ume; burn, burn in the hand Caṇḍe (O! fierce), Raudrī, Maheśvarī, Mahāmukhi (large-faced), Jvālāmukhi (flame-mouthed), Śaṅkukarṇi (dart-eared), Śukamuṇḍe (parrot-headed), destroy the enemy Sarvanāśini! (destroyer of all). Khakha thou seest the blood in every limb. O Goddess Manasā, enchant, enchant. Thou born of the heart of Rudra! Thou art stationed in the heart of Rudra. Thou hast the form of Rudra. O! Devī protect me, protect me. *Hūṁ Māṁ Phapha Ṭhaṭha*. Thou hast the girdle of Skanda. Thou removest the poison of planets and enemies. *Oṁ Śāle Māle*, remove, remove. O Viśoka (free from sorrow). *Hāṁ Hāṁ Śavari Hūṁ Śavari Prakoṇaviśare Sarve! Viñca Meghamile!*[114]

The parentage of Śiva also appears in contemporary Bengali ballads which state that Manasā was fashioned in the nether regions by an artisan employed by Vāsuki, the king of serpents, from the seed of Śiva which, placed on a lotus leaf, had impetuously travelled down through the stem to the place of Vāsuki.[115] Her association with Brahmī or Sarasvatī appears in a *dhyāna* from a Tantric work quoted by N.N. Vasu:

Oṁ! I salute the goddess, who is the mother of serpents, has a face like a moon, is of beautiful complexion, is benign, rides on a swan, is noble-minded, wears a red garment, always bestows all things (to her devotees), has a smiling face, has her body decorated with various ornaments of gold, jewel and nāga-gems, has with (her) eight serpents, has got two high breasts, is a yoginī and is beautiful.[116]

According to Bhattasali this is the *dhyāna* that is commonly recited today in the ceremony of the worship of Manasā.[117] A similar *dhyāna* is addressed to Manasā by Dhanvantari in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Kṛṣṇa-Janma khaṇḍa, 51.54-62) though the swan is replaced by a serpent:

I adore the goddess the radiance of whose hue vies with the graceful campaka, whose entire body is very lovely, whose pleasing, circular face is lighted up with a gentle smile, who is clad in fine dress, who is ornamented with the load of chignon on her head and decorated with ornaments, who gives to all immunity from danger, who is always eager to shower kindness upon her votaries, who is versed in all sciences, who is the source of all knowledge, whose conveyance is the prince of snakes and who is the queen of serpents, who is tranquil and supreme.[118]

In numerous *dhyānas* for Manasā in Brahmanical Tantric works the goddess is given the epithet "Jāṅgulī" and throughout Orissa images of Manasā are often called Jāṅgulī to suggest

that one and the same goddess is worshipped by Hindus and Buddhists alike. An example of this appears in the following *dhyāna*:

> I adore the lotus-born goddess of the wilds (Jāṅgulī), the healer of (the effects of) poison, and daughter of Śaṅkara. She is resplendent as gold, has a pleasant face beautiful like the lotus, and has a hood of kings of serpents over her head. Her body, covered with snakes, is smeared with celestial unguents and all her limbs are graceful. She constantly holds in joy Protection and Boon in her two hands.[119]

Although there are no descriptions of six-armed images, there is a *dhyāna* of Āstikajaratkāru, quoted in the commentary of Kāśīrāma Vācaspati on the *Tithyādi Tattvam* of Raghunandana, where she has four arms:

> I take shelter unto the goddess, the mother of Āstika. She has a young child (on her lap). She shines like the golden lotus. Huge snakes always attend on her on all sides. She has full and prominent bosoms. She holds two snakes in her two hands. She has a smiling countenance and is decorated with the ornaments of shining snakes.[120]

One of her remaining hands embraces the child on her lap while the other most likely displays a *mudrā*, probably *abhaya-mudrā* as in the case of *mātṛkās*.

In respect to iconography we thus have a two- and four-armed form of Manasā, though the four-armed form is associated exclusively with her Āstikajaratkāru form in which she, as mother, holds her child on her lap. In her two-armed form she displays *varada* and *abhaya* whereas the two-armed Jāṅgulī displays *varada* and holds a serpent. Although, like Jāṅgulī, she is identified with Sarasvatī and is even given the *haṁsa* as her mount in one *dhyāna*, in no surviving *dhyāna* does she hold the *vīṇā* which is the major cognizance for the four-armed white Jāṅgulī. Invariably in sculpture Manasā is two-armed and in the majority of the images, according to N.K. Bhattasali, she is seatd in *lalitāsana* with her right hand holding a fruit while displaying *varada*. Her left hand holds the serpent and her head is crowned by a canopy of seven serpent hoods. A *snuhi* tree branches out above the serpent-canopy and a large vessel appears beneath her seat. She may be flanked by Jaratkāru and Vāsuki.[121] For the most part, except for the fruit, her iconography thus conforms to that of the two-armed Ārya-Jāṅgulī serving as a companion goddess to Tārā in the *Sādhanamālā*.

The cult of the serpent goddess Manasā/Jaratkāru was particularly popular in Orissa, contrary to the opinion of P.K. Maity who believed the cult to have been confined primarily to northeast India,[122] with more than one hundred extant images being noticed by various scholars, though about sixty represent her in the Āstikajaratkāru aspect whereby she cradles a child (Āstika) or a revived man on her lap.[123] The forty-some remaining images can be divided into two broad modes depending on her pose, being seated in (1) *vajraparyaṅka* or *sattvaparyaṅka*, and (2) in *lalitāsana*. In that the majority of the images are no longer *in situ* but placed in small, makeshift shrines and are often badly worn from *pūjā* rituals, they are difficult to date with precision and it is not always possible to determine if they were originally conceived as Buddhist or Brahmanical.

In mode (1), where she is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, the goddess either holds a vessel in front of her chest with both hands, in the manner of *nāga* images forming part of the doorframe decoration of both Brahmanical and Buddhist temples or monasteries, or she holds a vessel in one hand, the other usually holding a flower. An exception appears at Debidol where she holds a vessel in each hand. In an image in a small shrine at Kantapara, where she is worshipped as Vilāsinī, she holds a rosary in her right hand while her left hand displays

abhaya. In images now placed within the rebuilt Caṇḍī temple at Kenduli, worshipped as Ambā and Ambālikā, they hold the flower of a mango in one hand and a lotus in the other.[124]

In mode (2), where she is seated in the more relaxed *lalitāsana* pose, her right hand may be extended in *varada* while the left hand holds a vessel, a flower or a serpent. A good example of an image in this mode is the one placed in a field at Jayarampur (Kaupur) in Balasore district (fig. 505). She is seated in *lalitāsana* with her right hand, resting on the knee, extended in *varada* while the left hand, placed on the other knee, holds a serpent. She is richly adorned, wears a *yajñopavīta*, and her head is crowned by a canopy of seven serpent hoods, there thus being eight accompanying serpents as prescribed in the *dhyāna* for Manasā mentioned above. On the right side of the lintel crowning her throne-back is the seated and emaciated *ṛṣi* Jaratkāru, her husband, while on the left side is seated her son Āstika, his hands folded in *añjali*. Manasā is flanked on either side of her seat by a *caurī*-bearing male attendant. Beneath her *viśvapadma* seat is a kneeling devotee and his wife on the right corner and a vessel on the left corner. In a variant of mode (2) the serpent is held in the right hand while the left hand holds a vessel or an offering, possibly a fruit.

Placed within the modern Suvarṇeśvara temple at Śakuntalapur in Cuttack district, along with other dislodged images, is a rare example of Manasā, or a serpent deity, seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with her left arm resting on her raised knee. Her left hand is missing. Her right hand is extended in *varada* and may possibly have held a small object or offering. She is richly adorned and wears *pātra-kuṇḍalas*. She has a canopy of seven serpent hoods and a scarf billows up behind her shoulders. At Bañchua, placed in the centre of the village along with other dislodged images, Hindu and Buddhist, is a rare example of a standing Manasā, or female serpent deity. Unfortunately most of the middle portion of her body is missing while her right arm is broken off at the elbow and the left arm is broken at the wrist. Her hair is tied in a chignon on the right side of her head. Her head is framed by a canopy of seven serpent hoods. A large *ghaṭa* is placed by her left foot while near her right foot are the coils of a serpent. The pedestal beneath her *viśvapadma* seat has a vessel in the centre flanked by bowls heaped with offerings, a censer, a lamp and a bell.

In her Āstikajaratkāru form Manasā is seated in *lalitāsana* with a child on her lap though gradually this child is transformed into a prostrate or reclining male figure being revived from the dead. In the earliest examples, as in three images at Tuṇḍurā, a lion is placed on the pedestal to suggest her association with Durgā. In the best surviving example at Tuṇḍurā, identified as Skanda-ṣaṣṭhī by N.N. Vasu,[125] Manasā is seated in *lalitāsana* cradling the child on her left thigh while her slightly raised right hand holds either a lotus or possibly a serpent (fig. 506). She is richly adorned and her head is framed by a canopy of seven serpent hoods. A kneeling devotee appears at each corner of the pedestal.

In numerous other cases N.N. Vasu identifies the motif of Āstikajaratkāru with Śākya-siṁha, "the infant lion of the Śākyas", on the lap of Mahāprajavatī Gautamī which he bases on a passage in the *Lalitavistara*:

> There was a garden called Vimalavyūha. The Bodhisattva strayed into that garden and was there taken on the lap by Mahāprajavatī Gautamī.[126]

He suggests that the branches of the *snuhi* tree above Manasā represent the Vimalavyūha garden. The lion and the serpent on the pedestal he interprets as the emblem of Śākya-siṁha and the king of the *nāgas* respectively.[127]

Although Vasu identifies the image in a bamboo grove at Baḍapāḍā as the Buddhist Jāṅgulī,[128] I know of no independent image of the serpent goddess in Orissa which can

positively be identified as Jāṅgulī despite the fact that many of these images are referred to by the local populace as Jāṅgulī. Most likely the name has been preserved by the *mantra* recited by the priest. For the people, of course, it matters little whether the image is called Manasā or Jāṅgulī. At Aruha, a small village near Kanheivinda in Balasore district, for example, an image of a serpent goddess on the edge of a tank is worshipped as "Budhi Jāgulei", despite the fact that there is no trace of Buddhist deities or shrines in the vicinity.

6. River Goddesses

The sanctity of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā is quite ancient and as auspicious motifs they are invariably associated with the iconographic programme of the doorframe of temples, caves or monasteries of Buddhists as well as Hindus. In the earliest surviving structural temples in northern India or on the cave temples of western India, for example, they appear at the top of the doorframe, one on either side in the manner of a bracket figure on a *toraṇa*, or at the base where they serve, or function, as door guards. Despite their important role in the iconographic programme of religious structures, there is little, if anything, written about them in Buddhist texts whereas various Brahmanical texts not only extol their sanctity but describe various myths which associate them with the most important Brahmanical deities. In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (I.35-37), for example, it is stated that anyone who bathes in these rivers goes straight to heaven and a man becomes freed from all sins and purifies his family to seven generations.[129] Though both rivers, their iconography is often complementary with one being light in complexion and the other dark, one associated with Śiva and the other with Kṛṣṇa. Gaṅgā, for example, is frequently associated with Śiva and in numerous myths is even considered as a wife, eliciting jealousy from Pārvatī, and is invariably depicted in the matted hair of Śiva who broke her fall from heaven after being called down through the penance of Bhagīratha.[130] In the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Kāśī-khaṇḍa, 27.8-9), Gaṅgā even assumes the role of the Śakti of Śiva (Sadāśiva), being considered as *prakṛti*:

> She, the Gaṅgā, is my supreme mūrti, having the form of water, the very essence of Śiva's soul. She is nature (prakṛti) supreme and the basis of countless universes.
>
> For the protection of the world do I playfully uphold the Gaṅgā, who is Mother of the world, the supreme Brahman's very embodiment.[131]

As liquid *śakti*, her fall from heaven to the head of Śiva is repeated, as noted by D. Eck, "countless times daily in the simple ritual act of pouring water upon the Śiva-liṅga." The incandescence of the *liṅga* of fire is thus joined with torrential energy of the celestial waters:

> Without the Gaṅgā, Śiva would remain the scorching brilliant liṅga of fire; without Śiva, the Gaṅgā would flood the earth. Bearing her on his head, Śiva became the vehicle for the Gaṅgā's fall. But if Śiva is a vehicle for the Gaṅgā, she is also a vehicle for Śiva; for it is through her liquid śakti that Śiva is able to enter into the world as an active agent of salvation.[132]

In numerous late Purāṇas, including the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Prakṛti-khaṇḍa, 6) and the *Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.6), Gaṅgā is a wife of Viṣṇu, along with Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī, and they frequently quarrel among themselves over the attentions of their common husband.

The Yamunā river, on the other hand, is more closely associated with Kṛṣṇa who sported on its banks with the *gopīs*. Like Kṛṣṇa, she is dark-coloured and her beauty is extolled in numerous poems, as in the *Yamunāshtakam* of Śaṅkarācārya, the opening and closing verses reading as follows:

May the daughter of Kalinda ever cleanse my mind of its impurity.
She whose waters, beauteous as the back body of the enemy of Mura,
Cleanse the overgrowth of plants and shrubs which line its pleasant banks.
Indra's heaven compared with Thy waters is but a thing of straw.
Destructress of the sorrow of the three worlds—
Dhunotu me manomalam Kalindanandinī sadā.

May the daughter of Kalinda ever cleanse my mind of its impurity!
Pleasant always is She with Her groves,
Where Nandanandi ever played.
Bright is She with the ripened blossom
of the kadambā and mallika flowers upon Her banks.
It is She who safely carries across the ocean of the world
All such men as bathe in Her stream.
Dhunotu me manomalam Kalindanandinī sadā.[133]

In respect to textual descriptions of their iconography, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Third khaṇḍa, 52.19-20) states that Gaṅgā stands on a *makara* and holds a lotus in her hands. She is white as the moon and has a beautiful face. She is placed on the right (of Varuṇa) while Yamunā is on the left. Yamunā stands on a tortoise and holds a *cāmara* and a blue lotus. She is placid and her colour is like a blue lotus.[134] In the *Agni Purāṇa* (50.16-17), Gaṅgā is described as holding a pot and flower. She stands on the *makara* and is of white complexion. Yamunā stands on a tortoise and holds a pot. She is of dark complexion.[135] In the *Lakṣmī Tantra* (37.48-51) where they are associated with the decorative programme of the doorframe, after worshipping Lakṣmī (on the lintel) and the guards Caṇḍa and Pracaṇḍa at the base, it is stated:

> From left to right across the middle of the two side frames, (the adept) should then worship Gaṅgā and Yamunā, who bear in their hands pitchers containing holy water, and are pretty in their pristine youth, of white complexion and smiling countenance. Gaṅgā should be meditated upon as gracious and with a face (as beautiful) as the full moon. The river Yamunā should also be (regarded) as (possessing) similar (form), (only) she is (dark) as an inky cloud.[136]

In Orissa, for the most part, the river goddesses do not form part of the iconographic programme of the doorframe on the earliest surviving structures but rather are housed in niches on either side of the door where, on Brahmanical temples, they function as *āvaraṇa-devatās*. Rare exceptions are the 8th century Tāleśvara temple at Bhubaneswar[137] and the 9th century Maṇikeśvara Śiva temple at Śukleśvara[138] where they function as attendants to the *dvārapālas*, a placement which becomes popular in the later 10th century. A similar juxtaposition appears in Buddhist iconography on the fragmented 7th century doorframe at Lalitagiri where, accompanied by a female attendant, they are housed in a niche with the *dvārapāla* (figs. 436, 458). Both Gaṅgā and Yamunā stand in a *tribhaṅga* pose with one arm uplifted, the hand holding a flower, and the other arm draped around the shoulders of their attendant. In neither case is there a vehicle so that their identification as river goddesses is tentative.

At Ratnagiri only the image of Yamunā has survived and she is in a niche on the west side of the doorframe of the front porch of Monastery 1 where, following Brahmanical traditions, she functions as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* (fig. 508). She stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose holding a lotus in her uplifted left hand while her right arm is draped around the shoulders of her attendant as in Brahmanical examples (fig. 507). She wears a long *śāṭī* which hangs to her ankles and is fastened at the waist by an ornate girdle of interlocking links. She wears a transparent upper garment and a *kucha-bandha* binds her breasts. She is richly adorned and a pearl-string hanging from her necklace is fastened around her upper waist. Her hair is arranged in a bun at the nape on her right side. An elongated-oval shaped halo is behind

her head, the top portion missing as well as the surmounting umbrella, while a canopy hangs from the upper right corner of the niche. Beneath her feet is a tortoise. The attendant holds the staff of the umbrella with both hands. She is dressed similar to Yamunā. On the other side of the river goddess is a second female attendant, as on Brahmanical examples, who holds a bag of flowers over her left shoulder while her raised right hand holds a lotus. The pedestal is decorated with wavy lines symbolizing water. A small fish is carved in the waves beneath the flower girl.

Both river goddesses have survived from a large structural monument at Udayagiri with Yamunā now housed in the Mahākālī shrine at the site while the image of Gaṅgā was shifted to the Patna Museum (figs. 509-10). The goddesses assume mirror-image *tribhaṅga* poses with one arm resting on the shoulder of an attendant. A second attendant holds the umbrella as on numerous contemporary Brahmanical images (fig. 507). Gaṅgā stands on the back of a *makara* and is richly ornamented similar to the image at Ratnagiri. Her coiffure consists of a large shell-like chignon placed at the nape above her right shoulder. She holds a long garland in both hands while the flower-girl facing her holds a flower in her uplifted right hand with her bag of flowers hanging over her left shoulder. She stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose on a fish. The small attendant holding the umbrella stands with one leg crossed on another fish while numerous animals, including the front part of an elephant, are visible swimming in the water decorating the pedestal. Above the two attendants behind Gaṅgā are two emaciated ascetics standing in water, one holding a garland while the other displays *añjali*. Another emaciated ascetic stands in water above the flower-girl. A pair of *haṁsas* flying above Gaṅgā are about to adorn her with a string of pearls. The Yamunā panel is nearly identical, though reversed, but is badly worn from *pūjā* rituals and the pedestal is broken off.

Stylistically and iconographically these surviving images of the river goddesses are identical with their Brahmanical counterparts and there is nothing to indicate their Buddhist affiliation.

D. RELIGIOUS SYNCRETISM

Various Brahmanical deities, as indicated throughout this work, have been assimilated into the Buddhist pantheon, usually as minor deities in a *maṇḍala* or as companions to a major Buddhist divinity including the Buddha himself. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, for example, the eight Hindu *dikpālas* or guardians of the directions appear in the fourth circle while beyond this circle is a large congregation of deities which include a list of fifteen Hindu gods and goddesses headed by Brahmā.[139] A similar assimilation, though less pronounced, appears in Brahmanical art where Buddhist deities are incorporated into its pantheon. On a lower level this religious syncretism is operative with the inclusion of Buddhist images in the iconographic programme of the Hindu temple, as on the compound wall of the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. At the highest level this syncretism is evident in the cult of Jagannātha whereby the principles of all religious sects, including tribal, are assimilated into one form of religion. The most obvious example in art, however, is the adoption of Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

The most unique concept of a deity introduced by Vajrayāna Buddhism, as pointed out by D.C. Bhattacharyya, was that of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of mercy or *karuṇā*:

> In this compassionate character of the Bodhisattva, and in his resolve to improve upon the fate of the suffering humanity, there emerged a very effective spiritual leadership of the proletariat. Presumably there followed an en masse support of the social underdogs for the deity. It is not unlikely that this caused defections from other faiths...So far as the mass rooting is concerned, the Vaiṣṇava faith was predominant throughout India. The Vaiṣṇavas, therefore, could not afford to sit over

> the increasing popularity of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara who emerged as a formidable parallel to the idea of socialism advocated by Kṛṣṇa.[140]

It was thus nothing unusual, according to D.C. Bhattacharyya, "that the Buddha was proclaimed as one of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, and that he even was enshrined with all iconographic paraphernalia."[141]

1. Buddha as Avatāra of Viṣṇu

It is only after the Gupta period that Buddha is added to the list of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and, though several Purāṇas refer to him as an *avatāra*, very little importance is attached to him. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (47.247), for example, where the *avatāras* are only briefly described, we read the following:

> For the establishment of righteousness and the destruction of asuras, through asceticism, there was the 9th incarnation, in the form of Buddha of Divine splendour, with His Eyes as beautiful as lotus, and with the sage Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as the officiating priest.

In the story of the *avatāras* in the *Agni Purāṇa* (16.1-4), Agni states:

> I am describing the manifestation (of Viṣṇu) as Buddha, by reading and hearing which one gets wealth. Once in the battle between devas and asuras, devas were defeated by the daityas (demons, sons of Diti). They sought refuge in the lord saying, 'Protect us! Protect us!' He (Viṣṇu), who is of the form of illusory delusion, became the son of Suddhodana. He deluded those demons. Those, who had abandoned the path laid down in the Vedas, became the Bauddhas and from them others who had abandoned the Vedas. He then became the Arhat (Jaina). He then made others as Arhats. Thus the heretics came into being devoid of vedic dharmas.

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (II.7.37), the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III.18) and the *Tantrasāra* he likewise assumed the guise of a heretic to delude the mind and attract the hearts of *asuras* in the Kali-yuga. Essentially he is conceived as an insidious devil's advocate who, by propagating ideas leading to wickedness, weakened the opponents of the gods and caused them to ultimately be destroyed or to turn back, for the good of their salvation, to their old faith in the traditional gods. This concept is greatly elaborated in the *Skanda Purāṇa* where the gods, forcibly exiled from Kāśī, had to delude king Divodāsa in order to effect their return. At Śiva's request, Viṣṇu proceeded to Dharmakṣetra, just outside of Kāśī, where he resided under the form of Buddha with Lakṣmī as a female recluse and Garuḍa as a pupil, all three thus engaged in disseminating false doctrines throughout the city and in inducing the king to resign his crown.[142] Viṣṇu also assumes a deceptive role in his Vāmana *avatāra*, appearing in the form of a dwarf, and in some cases the sculptors give Vāmana Buddhist features, as in the image from the *daśāvatāra* set on the Maṇibhadreśvara temple at Bhubaneswar where he has elongated ears and his coiffure consists of tightly-coiled snail-shell curls aligned in tiers in the manner of Buddha (fig. 526).[143]

In the *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra* (ch. 56), in a section on Buddhist images, it is stated that the images may be depicted standing or seated on a lion throne and that they are distinguished by the *aśvattha* (holy fig) as well as by the *kalpavṛkṣa* (wish-granting tree). The Buddha should have two arms, an *uṣṇīṣa*, a broad forehead, full face, a long nose, smiling eyes and elongated ears. "His body is fleshy, his chest broad, his belly round, and his arms long. He wears a yellow garment (*pītāmbara-dhara*), and his complexion is white. Like other idols, the Buddha images are made of wood, stone or iron (*loha*)."[144]

In the *Agni Purāṇa* (49.8) we get the following description of Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu:

> The figure of Buddha (should be made) as calm, having long ears, white complexion, wearing a cloth, and seated on a lotus with its petals upwards and as conferring favour and protection.

Nothing is mentioned of Vaiṣṇava emblems while his lotus-seat is described as *ūrdhva-padma*, i.e., a high lotus petal. Added details in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* include lotus-marks on the palms and feet and short curly hair on the head. He should appear graceful as though representing the father to all creatures. The cloth covering his body is the yellow garb (*kāshāya*) of ascetics and on his shoulder should be a piece of *valkalā*, i.e., clothing made out of bark.[145] In the *Hayaśirṣa-saṁhitā* ("Ādi" 22.34-36a) he is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* displaying *samādhi* and a "*yoga-dṛṣṭi*" expression. He has long pendent ears, a gem in his navel, wears bark garments and has one palm uplifted. He is also described as "Father of the world",[146] while in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* he displays *dhyāna-mudrā*.

In Orissan sculpture, as the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, Buddha is depicted in *dhyāna-mudrā*, as in the *daśāvatāra* set on the back-slab of the Viṣṇu images at Saintala or the Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa image from Dharmaśālā. In one of the best surviving examples, originally serving as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* on the Pañcapāṇḍava temple at Ganeswarpur, dating to the early 10th century, he is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands on his lap in *dhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 513). He wears the robes of a monk, has elongated ears and his hair is arranged in snail-shell curls in the conventional manner. His head is framed by an elongated-oval halo. The back-slab is unembellished and there are no attendant figures. A similar example in a *daśāvatāra* set appears on the upper storey of the Mādhavananda temple at Mādhava dating to the early 13th century. A second and larger image of Buddha is placed on the north *gavākṣa-maṇḍana* of the *jagamohana* beneath an upper panel depicting a king spearing a lion in the manner of Śiva defeating the demon Andhaka. Both of these *gavākṣa* images most likely represent the king, Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (A.D. 1211-38), credited with constructing the temple. Whereas his depiction as a hunter testifies to his skill and courage as a warrior/hunter, his depiction as the Buddha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu stresses his intellectual and meditative qualities, the two complementary aspects thus combining the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist sects.[147] As an *avatāra*, the Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* (fig. 514). He has elongated ears, snail-shell curls and an *uṣṇīṣa*. An *utpala* rises up on each side to support his Vaiṣṇava emblems, a *cakra* on the right and a conch on the left.

With the emergence of the Jagannātha cult in Orissa the Buddha is often identified with Jagannātha, as in the *Dharma-pūjā Vidhāna*, in the *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dāsa, the *Dāru Brahma Gīta* of Jagannātha Dāsa, the *Śūnya-saṁhitā* of Acyutānanda Dāsa and the *Śaśiseṇā* of Pratāpa Ray.[148] In late *daśavatāra* sets either Buddha or Jagannātha may appear as the ninth *avatāra*.

2. Vajrayoginī/Chinnamastā

The yellow form of Vajrayoginī, as indicated in chapter IX, is adopted into Hinduism as one of the Mahāvidyās, though her colour and name are changed to red and Chinnamastā respectively while Kāma and Rati are frequently added beneath her feet. Her yellow form is described in *sādhana* no. 232:

> The worshipper should conceive himself as Bhaṭṭārikā Vajrayoginī...of yellow colour, who carries in her left hand her own head severed by herself with her own kartrī held in her right hand. Her left hand is raised upwards while the right is placed below. She is nude, and her right leg is stretched while the left is bent down. He (the

> worshipper) should also meditate on the streams of blood issuing from the severed body as falling into the mouth of the severed-head and into the mouths of the two yoginīs on either side of her.[149]

The *yoginī* on her right is the green Vajravarṇanī who carries a *kartrī* in her left hand and a *kapāla* in her right hand while the *yoginī* on her left is the yellow Vajravairocanī who holds the same objects but reversed. The setting is the awful cremation ground.

Once accepted into the Brahmanical pantheon, myths of origin are created, as in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* which narrates the origins of Chinnamastā. According to this story, one day while bathing in the river Mandākinī with her attendants, Pārvatī became sexually excited and therefore black. Her attendants became hungry and demanded food. Not having anything else to serve them, she chopped her own head off with her nail and held the severed-head in her left hand. The blood that flowed sustained her companions.[150] In the *Chinnamastā Tantra* she is described as follows:

> Her left foot forward in battle, she holds her severed-head and a knife. Naked, she drinks voluptuously the stream of the blood-nectar flowing from her beheaded body. The jewel on her forehead is tied with a serpent. She has three eyes. Her breasts are adorned with lotuses. Inclined toward lust, she sits erect above the god of love, who shows signs of lustfulness. She looks like the red China rose.[151]

More widely known, however, are two *dhyānas* in the *Tantrasāra*, one of which is taken from the *Triśakti Tantra*, where Chinnamastā stands on Kāma and Rati who are engaged in sexual intercourse in the reverse posture (*viparīta-rati*). She is bright as millions of suns or red as the hibiscus. She is described as both beautiful and frightening:

> The worshipper should imagine a half-open white lotus on his own navel with the red orb of the sun in its pericarp. This orb is identified with the yoni triangle. Here resides Chinnamastā holding her own severed-head in her left hand and drinking the blood flowing from her severed throat with her dreadful tongue. Her hair is dishevelled. She holds a skull-vessel in the left hand and a knife in the right. Fierce and naked, she stands in pratyālīḍha attitude. She stands on Rati and Kāma who are engaged in viparīta-rati. She looks like a girl of sixteen and has highly developed breasts. Ḍākinī stands to her left and Varṇinī to her right, both of them drinking the blood which flows from her severed throat. Ḍākinī is full of effulgence having matted locks, three eyes, white teeth, developed breasts, dishevelled hair, skull-vessel in her left hand and knife in the right. Varṇinī is red complexioned and has most of the emblems of the former.[152]

In two other *dhyānas* in the *Tantrasāra* she is described as seated in her own navel within her own body. She is detached, without any qualities, formless, beyond *sattva* and other qualities and bestower of freedom. She can only be known through a trance and cannot be seen by the naked eye. As mentioned by P. Pal, Chinnamastā or Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā was worshipped mostly by individuals in what are known as retaliatory or *abhicāra* rites. In the *Tantrasāra* we are informed that a householder should recite only the *dhyāna* where the goddess is invoked in abstract terms. Yet, the text additionally tells us that if any woman takes this *mantra*, "she not only becomes a ḍākinī along with other ḍākinīs, but, losing her husband and son, she becomes a perfected yoginī who can move about at will."[153]

Elsewhere the copulating figures beneath Chinnamastā are interpreted as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā while the Devī and her two *yoginīs* are matched philosophically with the triad of preliminary patterns which creative energy is felt to adopt.[154]

Basically then, the headless yellow form of the Buddhist Vajrayoginī was borrowed and incorporated wholly into the Brahmanical pantheon where she is named Chinnamastā and serves as one of the *daśamahāvidyās*. The only notable change is the erotic nature attributed to Chinnamastā, evident in the fabricated story of her origin and the addition of Kāma and Rati copulating beneath her feet.

Although I know of no surviving image of this headless yellow form of the Buddhist Vajrayoginī, there are many examples of the Brahmanical Chinnamastā, most of which date from the 18th-20th centuries and form part of *daśamahāvidyā* sets. Invariably the iconography is consistent with the *dhyānas* which prescribe that Kāma and Rati be engaged in copulation beneath her feet, though in some cases the erotic couple are eliminated, as in the example from the Budhār-caṇḍī temple at Sujanāgarh (fig. 515). There are also several four-armed images including a modern version at Baragadia which serves as a door guard, the other guard being Dakṣiṇa-Kālikā. Chinnamastā is depicted walking on a patch of grass. Her lower right hand holds the severed-head of a bearded male, probably representing Brahmā, while her raised hand holds a sword dripping with blood. Her upper left hand holds her own severed-head while her lower hand holds a *kapāla* which catches the blood squirting from her head. The *yoginīs* Ḍākinī and Varṇinī appear like skeletons in the background where they catch the squirting blood in their mouths. Two jackals are added, one on either side of Chinnamastā, who likewise drink the blood gushing from the severed-heads of Brahmā and Chinnamastā. Chinnamastā is mostly nude and is painted yellow.

E. SECTARIAN BIAS: ADOPTED DEITIES IN A SUBORDINATE ROLE

In many cases, as would be expected, the deity of one religion integrated or adopted into the other is given a decidedly subordinate role, as in the motif of Buddha descending from Trāyastriṁśa heaven where Brahmā and Indra serve as attendants. Another example appears in the *Kāraṇḍavyuha* wherein the greatness of Avalokiteśvara is enhanced by having Hindu deities emanate from his body. As summarized by D.C. Bhattacharyya, the relevant portion reads:

> from the eyes of the god emerged the sun and moon, Maheśvara (Śiva) from the forehead, Brahmā from the shoulders, Nārāyaṇa from the heart, Sarasvatī from the two rows of teeth, Vāyu from the mouth, Pṛthvī from the feet, Varuṇa from the abdomen, Vahni from the navel, Lakṣmī and Śrī from the left and right thighs respectively,...[155]

Avalokiteśvara is thus conceived in a supreme form, similar to the Viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu, while the Brahmanical deities are obviously subordinate.

This subordinate role is also manifested in respect to the iconographic descriptions of Hindu deities, aside from being assigned one of the five Tathāgatas as a sire, in various *maṇḍalas* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, as in the Brahmā group of ten deities of the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* where most of them display *añjali* with one set of hands suggesting they are paying homage to the principal Buddhist deity.[156] Examples of Hindu deities displaying *añjali*, as indicated, appear on the upper left corner of the back-slab of the image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa* from Fakirpatana where, as the four *māras*, they are paying homage to his victory (fig. 511). As described in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Brahmā rides the *haṁsa* while carrying a rosary and lotus in his hands showing *añjali*. His other two hands hold the staff and *kamaṇḍalu*. Viṣṇu rides Garuḍa while holding the *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in his hands showing *añjali*. His other two hands hold a mace and the bow. Śiva is described as follows:

> Maheśvara sits on the bull, and is white in colour. His crown of matted hair is beautified by the moon. He is four-armed. With the two principal hands he displays añjali over the head, and with the two others he carries the triśūla and the kapāla.[157]

Indra is not included in this list though as a *dikpāla* in this *maṇḍala* he rides the elephant and holds in his two hands the *vajra* and the breast of a woman.[158]

On the upper right hand corner of the back-slab of the Fakirpatana image these four Hindu deities are riding their mount while wielding their weapons in a threatening manner. Indra is depicted on his elephant wielding a *vajra* in his uplifted right hand while the object in his left hand is indistinct. On the upper left corner his hands are folded in *añjali* in front of his chest while a goad leans against his right shoulder. Brahmā, on the upper right, sits on the *haṁsa*. He is four-armed but his attributes are indistinct. On the upper left side his principal set of hands display *añjali* while his uplifted hands hold a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu*. Viṣṇu, on the right, is seated on a *viśvapadma* supported by Garuḍa. His uplifted principal right hand wields a *cakra* while the uplifted left hand holds the mace. The other two objects are indistinct. He wears a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. On the left side his principal set of hands display *añjali* while his uplifted right hand holds a *cakra* (?). The other object is missing. Śiva, on the right, is seated in *lalitāsana* on his bull (?), partially obscured by the edge of the *toraṇa*, and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. His uplifted back hands hold a trident and a serpent while his lower hands are broken off at the elbows. On the left side his principal set of hands are clasped in *añjali* while his uplifted hands hold a rosary and a trident or *paraśu*. A similar juxtaposition of these four Hindu deities appears on the back-slab of the Buddha in images from Bāṇeśwarnāsi and Narsinghapur.

In the *Trailokyavijaya-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* various Brahmanical gods, after being converted to Buddhism by Vajrapāṇi, are not only incorporated into the *maṇḍala* but are given new Vajra names and their attributes are explained within the terms of a Buddhist context. Śiva, from contact with Vajrapāṇi's foot, is revitalized as a Tathāgata named Bhasmeśvara-nirghoṣa (Soundless Lord of Ashes) in the realm known as Bhasmacchatra (Umbrella of Ashes) for the benefit of all living beings and for the conversion of evil-doers. The lunar disc was extracted from Vajrapāṇi's foot and placed on Śiva's head as a crescent.[159]

Though rare, there are a few surviving examples where Buddhist images are depicted on Hindu temples paying homage to Brahmanical deities, as at Śukleśvara where an image of a Buddhist figure, identified by his elongated ear-lobes, a halo and *uṣṇīṣa*, is carved beneath the *pārśva-devatā* image of Pārvatī on the north side of the Maṇikeśvara Śiva temple. He stands with knees slightly bent and holds his hands in *añjali* in front of his face. A second example appears at Rāṇipur-Jhariāl where, according to an inscription on the Someśvara temple, Buddha was one of four deities enshrined within the temple, the others being the presiding deity (Someśvara), i.e., the Śiva-*liṅga*, Kārttikeya and Gaja-Lakṣmī.[160] The image of Buddha is carved on the wall of the antarala leading into the sanctum (fig. 512). Buddha is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands clasped in *añjali* suggesting he is paying homage to Someśvara.

F. SECTARIAN ANIMOSITY AND HUMILIATION

The very fact that Brahmanical deities are sometimes assigned the role of *māras* or "wicked beings" in itself suggests outright animosity and numerous scholars have commented on this, including B. Bhattacharyya who, after describing the humiliation of Gaṇeśa by various Buddhist deities, states:

> Their animosity may be further illustrated by the following features of the sādhanas. The four Hindu gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra have been designated uniformly as the four māras or wicked beings, and several Buddhist gods have been described as trampling them under their feet.[161]

A similar development appears in Śaktism where these Hindu deities, as ghosts, are trampled on or serve as a couch for various forms of Devī, discussed in more detail below. This trampling of deities is a particularly blatant ignobling act. According to D.C. Bhattacharyya the number of examples expressing such sectarian animosity is not very many in contrast to examples displaying the spirit of conciliation, but adds that the major role in fabricating such images "was played by the Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna Buddhists, who frequently represented their deities at the cost of humiliating some of the well-known deities of Hindusim."[162] In some cases scholars have attempted to explain such degrading activity through localized sectarian rivalry. B Sahai, for example, suggests that since such images are mostly found in the Nālandā and Bodhgaya regions of Bihar, they likely express a reaction of the local Buddhists to the hostility of some Hindu fanatics in Bihar, or that "they might have been the cause of the provocation to the traditionally liberal religious attitude of the Hindus."[163]

D. Mitra, in her comments about a large bronze of Vajrahūṅkāra trampling upon Hindu deities from the hoard discovered at Acutrajpur, suggests that the image was specially ordered with a specific purpose:

> It appears that the Buddhists of this establishment, being apprehensive of the mustering strength of the followers of the Brahmanical cults, particularly Śaiva and Śākta, at this place created and installed this icon, a flagrant example of ill-feeling towards the Brahmanical faith, with the object of combating with the all-absorbing forces of Brahmanism which was, apparently, in the ascendancy and of drawing the people to the Buddhist fold by showing the impotence of the Brahmanical deities under the feet of the Buddhist god. The overcoming power of this two-armed Buddhist deity is emphasized in a dramatic way by the depiction of the scattered weapons of the multi-armed Brahmanical god and goddess.[164]

Although there is little in the way of documentation as to the exact meaning of such activity, it seems apparent that the action is primarily pejorative rather than salvific. As to whether the deities are conceived merely as being humiliated or as being dead is difficult to determine. A rare reference to their condition appears in the *sādhana* for the sixteen-armed Mahākāla in the *Sādhanamālā* where it is stated that he should be meditated upon as trampling Vajrabhairava "in the form of a corpse".[165] In the altercation between Śiva and Vajrapāṇi in the *Trailokyavijaya-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, mentioned earlier, as soon as Vajrapāṇi pronounced his *vajra*-syllable (*HŪṀ!*), all the Hindu gods fell down on their faces, emitting miserable cries, and went to him for protection. Śiva alone remained motionless on the ground, quite dead.

> All except Maheśvara are raised up and converted. Only thereafter at Vairocana's behest does Vajrapāṇi bring Maheśvara back to life, for as Vairocana remarks: 'If he is not raised up, his life will be wasted to no purpose, while if he is brought back to life, he will become a good man.' However, when he is restored, Maheśvara still refuses to submit. 'I can bear death,' he says, 'but I will not obey your command.' There follows a further short battle, in which Vajrapāṇi triumphs by means of his spells, and treads down Maheśvara with his left foot, and Umā, Maheśvara's consort, with his right.[166]

The Lord felt great compassion for Śiva and pronounced a spell, comprising the compassion of all Buddhas, and Śiva, from contact with the Lord's foot, experienced the joys of salvation, etc. This is reiterated later in the *Trailokyacakra-mahāmaṇḍala* where all the Tathāgatas ask Vajrapāṇi to release Śiva's body from under his foot, producing from their hearts that "quintessence" which draws in the consciousness of a dead person so as to "restore the life in the corpse of Maheśvara", the hook-*mudrā* being placed on the head of the dead man so that he will again receive his life-force. As soon as the spell was pronounced, the Lord Buddha entered the body of Śiva and pronounced this verse:

> Oho! the peerless wisdom of all the Buddhas.
> Even a body which is dead returns to the sphere of the living!

After Vajrapāṇi pronounced his spell, Śiva was released and came to life again. The Buddhas then consecrated his body as fully alive and established him as a vice-regent in Bhasmacchatra.[167] The emphasis on magic spells and *mudrās* suggests that the Hindu deities being trod upon are to be considered as corpses, that they are dead but may be brought back to life through proper Buddhist rituals.

In the *Abhidhānottara* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta Ms. No. G. 10759) it is stated that Heruka, in addition to trampling upon Bhairava and Kālarātrī, wears the skin of Rudra, suggesting that he is dead, while in the *Cakrasambara-sādhana* manuscript in the same library (Ms. No. G. 4752) it is written that Śrīcakrasambara, while trampling upon Hara and Pārvatī, "cuts the arms of Caturānana (i.e., the four-faced Brahmā)."[168] According to B. Bhattacharyya, Brahmā has been most severely humiliated by the Buddhists, his severed-head being a favourite trophy in the hands of Buddhist deities:

> the Buddhist deities mercilessly hold the heads by the matted hair and flourish them in their hands. This is how the Buddhists attempted to exhibit the superiority of their gods over those of the Brahmanical faith. It is a matter of satisafaction, however, that the Hindus never disgraced any gods belonging to the alien faith in this manner.[169]

For the most part the number of deities explicitly prescribed to carry the head of Brahmā are primarily esoteric and multi-armed, including the 12-armed Sambara of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*; the 12-armed Śrīcakrasambara of the *Vajrayāne Pūjāvidhi* (Ms. No. G. 9968); the 12-armed Ubhayavarāhāṇanā, Uḍḍiyāna, Vajravetālī and Vajradhātīśvarī forms of Mārīcī in the *Sādhanamālā*; the 16-armed Prasannatārā of the *Sādhanamālā*; the 24-armed Kālacakra in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*; and the 24-armed Vidyujjvālākarālī of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Exceptions include a six-armed Samantabhadra in the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and a six-armed Vajrasarasvatī in the *Sādhanamālā*.[170] In numerous other cases a severed human-head is a prescribed attribute though it is not specifically identified as belonging to Brahmā, as with the two-armed Yamāri in the *Kṛṣṇayamāri-Tantra* (Ms. No. G. 9964); a ten-armed Mahāpratyṅgirā from the *Pūjāpaddhati* (Ms. No. A. 12); a 12-armed Heruka in the *Abhidhānottara* (Ms. No. G. 10759);[171] a 16-armed Mahākāla in the *Sādhanamālā*;[172] and a thousand-armed Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinī in the *Nārāyaṇa-Paripṛcchā* (Ms. No. G. 9985).[173] The Brahmaśiras, or "head of Brahmā", of course, is the Pāśupata weapon or vow, a powerful weapon whose "magic worked in many ways, for it could be aimed by the mind, by the eye, by words, and by the bow."[174] It is particularly associated with Śiva/Bhairava, who severed it from Brahmā, though there are few textual descriptions where it is prescribed as his attribute, an exception being his four-armed Brahmaśiraśchedakamūrti form in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.[175] Invariably Bhairava carries the *kapāla*, in essence the severed-head of Brahmā as it stuck to his palm, rather than an actual head though there are exceptions, including four-armed standing and dancing forms where he may carry both the *kapāla* and a severed-head (fig.

523). In his wanderings over the earth, as recorded in the *Varāha Purāṇa* (96.11-13), he went to mount Mahendra in Orissa and, while there, divided the skull:

> the skull was broken into three portions. When it was broken, Bhava taking the hair separately made his sacred thread with them. But the hair, the great bone and the eye-jewels and a portion of the skull filled with blood, remained in his hand. The other portion was broken into pieces and were placed into his tangled hair.[176]

Elsewhere (*Skanda Purāṇa,* 7.1.9.5,6) his *muṇḍamālā*, or garland of heads, is referred to as "Brahmā heads". As an iconographical feature, however, the severed-head is more often associated with Cāmuṇḍā, the consort of Bhairava, to suggest its affiliation with Śākta/Tāntra rituals and symbolism. It is quite plausible, therefore, that the textual prescription of a severed-head for a Buddhist deity, whether identified as Brahmā or not, is in keeping with evolving Tantric practices, as mirrored in the iconography of Brahmanical deities, and is not a specific attack on the Brahmanical Brahmā. In respect to the head of Brahmā carried by the twelve-armed Sambara, it is said:

> Therefore the head of Brahmā symbolizes the full abandonment of the error concerning the effect that derives from these (realizations), (namely the not being moved toward ascesis by the hope of a reward); the skulls forming the lace of the god mean embodying the light born of the peace conquered in the suppression of all the extremes.[177]

In some cases, however, this animosity and humiliation is directed towards the religious community rather than a specific deity, as in the *Kṛṣṇayamāri Tantra* (fol. 15A) where it is stated that the image of Yamāri "should be made with the flesh of the brahmins pulped with the ashes collected from the funeral grounds."[178]

1. Buddhist/Brahmanical Deities with a Śava-Vāhana

As in the case with Brahmanical art, the prescription or actual depiction of a corpse (*śava*) as a *vāhana* (vehicle) or seat is associated primarily with feminine deities to likewise suggest its original Śākta/Tāntra affiliations. There are very few male deities with a *śava-vāhana* and most of them are derivative of the Brahmanical deity Bhairava, including Heruka, three forms of Hevajra, and Mahākāla[179] while Vajraḍāka, as described in the *Vajraḍāka Tantra* (Ms. G. 3825),[180] is a four-faced, four-armed form of Vajrasattva. The latter, encircled by a host of *ḍākinīs*, holds a *vajra*, sword, bell and human skull in his hands, has a smiling mien, and is the colour of the moon. While Mahākāla tramples on one or more corpses, the others are all depicted dancing on a corpse.

Curiously, despite the fact that the home of the Brahmanical Bhairava is a cemetery, the *śava-vāhana* is conspicuously absent in most textual descriptions, though it is commonly prescribed for Cāmuṇḍā, his consort. Included among the rare textual accounts where he is given a *śava-vāhana* is a ten-armed form in the *Agni Purāṇa* (52.10-11) where, after naming the sixty-four *yoginīs*, Śiva is referred to as Kṛttivāsa. Accordingly, he is described as holding a sword, goad, *paraśu*, arrow and a*bhaya-mudrā* in his right hands while his left hands hold a bow, trident, *khaṭvāṅga* and noose, the fifth weapon or *mudrā* not being mentioned; or he is seated on a corpse and must be worshipped in the midst of *mātṛkās*.[181] Another rare description where he is seated on a corpse appears in the *Śilparatna* where he is eight-armed, of terrible appearance and is named Virabhadra. Two hands are in *abhaya* and *varada* while the others hold a sword, *śūla, paraśu, ḍamarū*, shield and *kapāla*.[182] In dancing forms, even in his most terrifying emaciated form, known in Orissa as Vāmadeva, I know of no textual accounts which prescribe a *śava-vāhana*. In the *Śilpa Prakāśa* (I.186-91), for example, we get the following description:

With matted hair, the head adorned with the king of snakes, carrying sword and skull-bowl, Hara, wearing a garland of skulls,
having reddish hair, three reddish eyes and fierce teeth, furious,
with erect liṅga, naked,
With a sacred thread made of a snake, a skeleton body, adorned with khaṭvāṅga, kheṭaka, skull-bowl and sword,
On the left a preta on the point of the lance (śūla) forming a nice umbrella, a trident and an axe, he is shining brightly, always engaged in dancing.[183]

There are, of course, related forms of Śiva whereby he is depicted with a prostrate figure beneath him, as in the form of Vīrabhadra standing on the crawling Dakṣa, popular on early Orissan temples, or in his Naṭarāja form where he dances on the dwarf Apsmāra. The corpse and the cemetery setting for images of Bhairava only appear in Orissan art with the advent of Śākta/Tantra concepts and rituals, making their initial appearance on images of Cāmuṇḍā.[184] By the late 10th or early 11th century, however, the *śava-vāhana* is so strongly associated with Bhairava in Orissa that even conventional *āvaraṇa-devatās* such as Ekapāda-Bhairava and Andhakāsura-vadha-mūrti images are provided a corpse as a seat or a vehicle.

With Cāmuṇḍā, on the other hand, there are numerous references to her *śava-vāhana*, as in Śiva's praise to her in the *Varāha Purāṇa* (95.45-51) where it is stated, "Thou dost remain in the vehicle of corpses. O auspicious goddess thou hast a seat on corpses."[185] In the *Agni Purāṇa* (50.21-25) description of the *mātṛkā* Cāmuṇḍā, she stands on the dead body of a man.[186] In the *Tantrasāra*[187] and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[188] her vehicle is a human corpse while in the *Śrītattvanidhi* as a *mātṛkā* she has the dead body of a human being (*pretaga*) as her mount.[189] In the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (63.64-68), as Ugratārā/Ekajaṭā her right foot is on the back of a lion while her left foot is on the heart of a corpse whom she frequently licks while as Cāmuṇḍā (63.92-96) she sits upon a *kabandha*.[190] In the *Īśānaśiva Gurudeva Paddhati* it is stated that when depicted independently, her right leg is firmly on the seat while the left foot tramples Dārukāsura.[191] In a *mantra* in the *Agni Purāṇa* (134, 135), where she is asked to crush, trample or burn the enemy, Cāmuṇḍā has the face of an owl and dances frantically, sits on the back of a ghost, or rides the terrific dead body.[192] In a *mantra* from the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (I.138.7-8), she lives in the cremation ground and rides a great spirit.[193] In the *Yaśastilaka* of Somadeva her dancing floor is the bosoms of dead men.[194] In these textual descriptions, *śava* (corpse) and *preta* (ghost or spirit) are often used synonymously though there is no doubt that in numerous cases a human corpse is definitely intended, capable of being licked, and that it may serve as a seat or as a vehicle.

In respect to textual reference to a *śava-vāhana* for Buddhist female deities the number is far greater than for male deities and includes Uḍḍiyāna-Kurukullā, Vajracarcikā, Nairātmyā and Vaśya-Vajravārāhī—all dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka*; Mahācīna-Tārā, Parṇaśavarī, Vajrayoginī and three forms of Ekajaṭā—who are in *pratyālīḍha*; and Ārya-Vajravārāhī and Mahākālī[195]—who stand in *ālīḍha*. A five-headed, ten-armed form of Mahāpratyṅgirā in the *Pūjāpaddhati* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. A. 12) rests on a corpse while the *mātṛkā* Cāmuṇḍā of the same manuscript is seated on a corpse, though in both cases the exact pose is not specified.[196] According to a variant tradition the *Cakravartinīs* of the six *Ḍākas* in the *Saṭcakravarti-maṇḍala* (no. 25) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* are seated on a corpse rather than on the Hindu deity beneath their consort.[197] There are also numerous secondary goddesses who stand on a corpse, including four directional goddesses in the *Mahākāla-maṇḍala* who are in *ālīḍha*; six spoke-goddesses on the sun-wheel beneath Saptākṣara, also in *ālīḍha*; and fifteen *yoginīs* in the *Hevajra-maṇḍala* who stand in *ālīḍha*.[198] The cemetery itself—suggestive of the corruptibility of our physical being, the fatal dissolution of flesh, the inanity of passions,

and the insubstantiality of whatever appears—was a favourite place for meditation and training of ascetics.[199]

For the most part the corpse beneath these Buddhist deities, as in the case of Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā in Brahmanical art, remains anonymous and most likely is symbolic of the cemetery setting in which gruesome rituals or meditation takes place or, on a symbolic level, represents the threefold world. In respect to the corpse beneath Heruka, in the *Hevajra Tantra* (I.iii.3-4) it is stated:

> One should imagine before one a solar disk arising from the syllable Raṃ and at its centre a crossed vajra which has emerged from the syllable Hūṃ. As produced from this vajra one should imagine a balustrade and canopy. (Then within the balustrade) one should first imagine a corpse which represents the whole of existence, and the yogin, seated thereupon, should conceive himself of the nature of Heruka.[200]

Death, being the end of those marks of ignorance which are mind and the product of mind, is thus release.[201]

In Brahmanical art the corpse may be symbolic of *Mahāpralaya* or the "Great Dissolution". In that the graveyard is "the gateway to spiritual success, to regeneration and bliss",[202] and is considered the Great Ether (*Mahākāśa*) in which "all creatures are merged as corpses in the Great Dissolution", the corpse can be interpreted as Nirguṇa-Brahman, as noted in the *Gāyatrī Tantra*: "By the word corpse is indicated Brahman as the dead body (*preta*)".[203] In Orissan images of Cāmuṇḍā the graveyard setting is further emphasized by nocturnal animals pecking or gnawing at the corpse and by yogins engaged in *śava-sādhana* activities.

Due to the great number of surviving images of Cāmuṇḍā in Orissa, most dating from the 8th through the 13th century, it is possible to study in detail its *śava-vāhana*. On the earliest images it appears to be a warrior or an *asura* and is depicted either dead or asleep, invariably resting its head on one arm as if it were a pillow. It may be placed immediately beneath Cāmuṇḍā, mode (A), or it may be placed on the pedestal beneath her seat, mode (B). Gradually the corpse appears to awaken and either pays homage to Cāmuṇḍā by clasping its hands in *añjali* or it looks up at her in admiration, often supporting its head with one hand. Physically the corpse is slowly transformed into a nude *ṛṣi/yogi*. The fact that the corpse is "awakening" suggests it may symbolize *puruṣa* (cosmic man) activated by *prakṛti* (Cāmuṇḍā), even though it cannot be identified as Śiva himself. This *puruṣa* aspect of the corpse becomes more pronounced in mode (B) where Cāmuṇḍā is seated on a *viśvapadma* and the corpse is below on the pedestal. Even on some of the earliest examples in this mode, dating to the late 8th century, the stalk of the *viśvapadma* seat of Cāmuṇḍā issues from the navel of the corpse (fig. 521), the corpse thus being conceived as Nirguṇa-Brahman, the couch or support (*Ādhāra*) of Cāmuṇḍā.[204] Thus, just as the graveyard setting, symbolizing *Mahāpralaya*, is more than a mere cemetery, so the corpse, though anonymous, is more than just a dead body; it is inactive *puruṣa*, while Cāmuṇḍā, as *prakṛti*, is the primordial *śakti* who devours all at the dissolution of all things. In some 11th century examples, in fact, the corpse can be identified with Śiva so that the anonymous aspect is also becoming transformed.

Gradually, as the Śākta concept of the Sāṅkhya philosophical system became more widespread in popularity, the identification of the corpse as Śiva (*puruṣa*) becomes more tenable. Initially, *prakṛti*, while ever unconscious, was solely responsible for activity, and *puruṣa*, conscious and thus the superior principle, was inactive and unchanging. With the development of Śaktism, *prakṛti* became identified with *śakti* (Energy) herself. "But since śakti was a conscious power, prakṛti was no longer merely the activating material force but also

the power of consciousness. By logical extension, the male principle, puruṣa, would be unconscious without prakṛti-śakti. Accordingly, in Śākta views, Śiva without his wife Śakti is not only inactive but also unconscious, a corpse (*śava*)."[205]

In Tantric Buddhism, however, with its emphasis on *upāya* and *prajñā*, described in the *Hevajra Tantra* under the imagery of the Yogin and the Mudrā (the female companion adept), who stand for *karuṇā* and *śūnyatā* respectively, it is the male principle that is active:

> In all classes of Buddhist Tantras the most important thing is the stress on this union of Prajñā and Upāya, either in the philosophical sense or the esoteric yogic sense. The authority of renowned Buddhist Ācāryas like Ārya-Vimalakīrti and others have often been quoted...that Upāya is bondage when unassociated with Prajñā, and even Prajñā is also bondage when unassociated with Upāya, both of them again become liberation when the one is associated with the other. Their commingling through the instructions of the competent teacher, like the inseparable co-existence of the lamp and the light, will conduce to success in realising the real nature of the self and the dharmas.

Prajñā, the female element, "is conceived as the absolute knowledge which is negative and passive", while *upāya*, the male element, "is the positive and active principle."[206]

Thus, in that the corpse is invariably male in Buddhist art, it cannot represent the inert principle being "awakened" by the active principle standing above. Rather than serving as a seat or a *vāhana*, as in the case of Cāmuṇḍā in Brahmanical art, the corpse is usually being trampled or danced upon in Buddhist art. Although the corpse of Śiva under the foot of Vajrapāṇi/Trailokyavijaya in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* is restored to life, this is accomplished primarily through *dhāraṇīs*. His placement under the foot of Vajrapāṇi was for subjugation and conversion while his "rebirth" was that of Buddhahood, being established in Bhasmacchatra for the benefit of all living beings and for the conversion of evil-doers.[207] Though the placement of a corpse beneath a deity appears to be a parallel development in Hinduism and Buddhism with various similarities in respect to symbolism, yet there are basic differences which become progressively more pronounced as their individual philosophies become more polarized.

Thus, whereas in Hinduism the corpse or cemetery setting is symbolic of *puruṣa* and/or *Mahāpralaya*, implying salvation for the devotee, in Buddhism, through death and/or humiliation, it is the trampled Hindu deity who, coerced into conversion, is "saved". Once converted he may help the devotee along the same path. Salvation is thus indirect for the devotee and is not explicit in the imagery, i.e., it is not a foregone conclusion that the dead/or humbled Brahmanical deities will be converted, only that they are weak and ineffectual in comparison to Buddhist deities.

2. Brahmanical Goddesses with Hindu Deities as Śava-Vāhanas

Perhaps the earliest surviving textual references which attempt to identify the corpse beneath the Brahmanical Devī appear in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, a Śākta work generally ascribed to the 11th century. The transitional nature of the work seems evident in the description of Mahāmāyā Kāmākhyā (60.52-70) where the author is somewhat hesitant in identifying the corpses serving as her *vāhana* as Hindu deities. Her mounts, either singly or all together, are a white ghost (Mahādeva), red lotus (Brahmā) and lion (Hari):

> When it is time for love, she likes to stand on a red lotus laid down upon a white ghost; when she has abandoned love, she likes to stand on the white ghost.

Chart 34

BUDDHIST DIVINITIES WITH A ŚAVA-VĀHANA

Divinity (male)	Arms	Text	Kuleśa	Colour	Pose	Features
Heruka	2	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	blue	ardhaparyaṅka	muṇḍamālā, ashes
Hevajra (3)	6/4/2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 5	Akṣobhya	blue	ardhaparyaṅka	yab-yum
Mahākāla	2	Sādhanamālā		blue	tramples	serpents, skulls
Vajrasattva-Vajraḍāka	4	Vajraḍāka-tantra		white	dancing	4 faces
Uṣṇīṣas deities (8)	2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 22			vajraparyaṅka?	bejewelled
Divinity (female)						
Ekajaṭā (3)	8/4/2	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	blue	pratyālīḍha	muṇḍamālā, tiger-skin
Mahācīna-Tārā	4	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	blue	pratyālīḍha	muṇḍamālā, tiger-skin
Nairātmyā	2	Sādhanamālā 228, 230, 231	Akṣobhya	blue	ardhaparyaṅka	fangs, protruding tongue
Vajracarcikā	6	Sadhanamālā	Akṣobhya	blue	ardhaparyaṅka	muṇḍamālā, tiger-skin
Mahāpratyṅgirā	10	Pūjāpaddhati	Akṣobhya?	white	pratyālīḍha?	5 heads
Uḍḍiyāna Kurukullā	4	Sādhanamālā 179, 183, 186	Amitābha	red	ardhaparyaṅka	muṇḍamālā, tiger-skin
Parṇaśavarī	6	Sādhanamālā 149	Amoghasiddhi	green	pratyālīḍha	tramples diseases
Vajrayoginī	2	Sādhanamālā 233, 236	Ratnasaṁbhava	red	pratyālīḍha	
Ārya-Vajravārāhī	4	Sādhanamālā 224	Vairocana	red?	ālīḍha	muṇḍamālā
Vaśya-Vajravārāhī	2	Sādhanamālā 220	Vairocana	red	ardhaparyaṅka	muṇḍamālā
Mahākālī	4	Pūjāpaddhati		blue	standing	muṇḍamālā, tiger-skin
°Kālikā (SE)	2	Sādhanamālā (Mahākāla)		blue	ālīḍha	nude, fangs
°Carcikā (SW)	2	Sādhanamālā (Mahākāla)		red	ālīḍha	nude, fangs
°Caṇḍeśvarī (NW)	2	Sādhanamālā (Mahākāla)		yellow	ālīḍha	nude, fangs
°Kuliśeśvarī (NE)	2	Sādhanamālā (Mahākāla)		white	ālīḍha	nude, fangs
°Herukī (spoke)	4	Sādhanamālā (Saptākṣara)		blue	ālīḍha	skulls in headdress
°Vajravārāhī (spoke)	4	Sādhanamālā (Saptākṣara)		yellow	ālīḍha	skulls in headdress
°Ghoracaṇḍī (spoke)	4	Sādhanamālā (Saptākṣara)		red	ālīḍha	skulls in headdress
°Vajrabhāskarī (spoke)	4	Sādhanamālā (Saptākṣara)		green	ālīḍha	skulls in headdress
°Vajraraudrī (spoke)	4	Sādhanamālā (Saptākṣara)		smoky	ālīḍha	skulls in headdress
°Vajraḍākinī (spoke)	4	Sādhanamālā (Saptākṣara)		white	ālīḍha	skulls in headdress
°Yoginīs (15)	2	Hevajra-tantra I.viii.16-19		black	ālīḍha	tiger-skin

°attendant goddesses

> She is Kāmadā when she stands on her lion going everywhere. At one time she takes pleasure in the white ghost, at another time it is the red lotus; at another time again she takes pleasure in the back of her lion and assumes every form at will. When she stands on the red lotus, the lion and the ghost are in front of her; when the Goddess stands on the ghost, She looks out upon the other in front of her. When Mahāmāyā gives the fulfilment of wishes in her own form, she stands on the ghost, the lotus and the lion together, when she is worshipped.

We are then told that she is supported by the gods Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva, that they appear as her mounts in altered forms as it is not becoming for them to be her mount in their own shape.[208] A similar description is given for the goddess Kāmeśvarī (68.16-26), her seat being a white ghost on a lion placed above a red lotus.[209]

In one of three descriptions of Tripurā-Bhairavī in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (66.85-90), she carries the bow, arrows, rosary and book in her four hands while standing in *samapāda* on the back of a ghost laid on the back of four other ghosts.[210] In this *dhyāna* her form is transitional between the later forms of the *mahāvidyās* Ṣoḍaśī and Bhairavī. In a third form (67.63-67), more closely aligned with Bhairavī, her seat is a single ghost and it is identified with Sadāśiva:

> she sits in the half-lotus pose on the heart of the god Sadāśiva, who is laughing, after she has laid him down under her, as a ghost; she wears round her neck a wreath of human heads mixed up with red lotus flowers, reaching unto her feet; she has full and uplifted breasts; she has four arms and she is naked; in her upper right hand she has a rosary, with her lower one she grants boons; with the (upper) left hand the Creative Power of the worlds gives security, in the lower (left hand) she bears a book; she has three eyes; her face is smiling; she suffers from enjoying the streaming blood; she is beautiful in all her limbs.[211]

Thus, as early as the 11th century, the corpse beneath the Brahmanical Devī was starting to be identified as Śiva or, conversely, her seat was composed of ghosts or symbols representing Hindu deities. In the various descriptions of the Devī we are presented incipient forms of the later *mahāvidyās* Kālī, Tārā, Bhairavī and Ṣoḍaśī, all of whom are associated with a *śava-vāhana*.

In later texts, such as the *Bhairavayāmala* or the *Lalitā-māhātmya* (37.48-52) attached to the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,* the five ghosts composing the couch of Ṣoḍaśī/Lalitā are identified with the *Mahāpreta*, i.e., Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahesana or Indra, Īśvara and Sadāśiva, with the latter forming the plank of the couch.[212] The Devī is thus known as Pañcapreta-mañcādhiṣṭāyinī.[213] Although the Mahāvidyā Bhairavī is not provided a corpse, in the *Jñānarṇava Tantra*, dating somewhat earlier than the 16th century, and repeated in the *Tantrasāra* (16th century), is a ten-armed Rudra-Bhairavī which has Śiva as her seat (*śivasiṁhāsanasthitām*).[214] The corpse beneath the Mahāvidyā Tārā is also identified as Śiva in the hymn to Tārā (*Tārāstakam*) of the *Nīla Tantra*, as mentioned earlier, while in the *dhyāna* of Bhīmā from the *Kaṅkālamālinī Tantra* it is identified as Viṣṇu:

> I salute the great goddess Bhīmā, who has the colour of a blue lotus, who has well-developed high breasts, is seated on a seat over the sleeping body of Śrī Hari, has three eyes, is benign, has a mudrā and a sword in her hands, gives boon (*vara*) and assurances of safety (*abhaya*), wears a beautifully-coloured bright garment and who has a dangling precious necklace of candrakānta stone.[215]

The corpse is here said to be sleeping while in various descriptions of Tripurā, who creates,

preserves, and destroys Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, these gods are said to be worshipping at her feet.[216] In numerous images from Nepal, however, as pointed out by P. Pal, the goddess is depicted trampling on all three gods.[217] In the case of the Mahāvidyā Chinnamastā, discussed previously, the images of Kāma and Rati under her feet are engaged in *viparīta-rati* or inverse copulation and thus are not conceived as corpses.

It is the image of the Mahāvidyā Kālī which best exemplifies the Śākta view of the Sāṅkhya philosophical system whereby the corpse in the cremation ground represents Śiva as *puruṣa* (inactive) while the Devī is *prakṛti* (active). In early myths Kālī is often a name applied to Pārvatī or Durgā and invariably represents the wrathful nature of the Devī, her name often being interchangeable with Cāmuṇḍā. Eventually she evolves as an independent goddess, with myths of her own, though it is difficult to determine when the identification of the corpse with Śiva himself first occurs. In numerous early descriptions, in fact, she is not even associated with a corpse, as in the example of Gaurī-Ambikā in the *Śilpa Prakāśa* (II.360-63) which dates somewhere after the 13th century. Her *dhyāna* is as follows:

> On a beautiful pedestal with various decorations the Śakti is standing upright in tribhaṅga pose.
> In the upper hands, the skull-bowl (*kharpara*) in the left and the sword (*khaḍga*) in the right, in the lower hands the mudrās of: 'fear not!' and of 'bestowing boons'.
> Her vehicle is a divine lion, she is surrounded by attendants, holding cāmara and other implements, they should adorn the sides and the upper parts.[218]

Though without a *śava-vāhana* her iconography in respect to *āyudhas* and/or *mudrās* is identical with the later concept of the Mahāvidyā Kālī in her Dakṣiṇa-Kālikā form. Her vehicle, the lion, suggests her affiliation with Durgā.

By the 14th century, as evident in the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* (23.12-17), a new concept of Kālī emerges where she is described as being seated on a corpse which is identified with Mahādeva. Once this form of Kālī was accepted into the Hindu pantheon, as noted by P. Pal, myths were then created or recast to suit this image.[219] Although numerous scholars, including Pal, have suggested that this form of Kālī was adopted from Buddhism, particularly due to the corpse,[220] more likely, as I have suggested, she represents one of the numerous forms of a non-emaciated terrifying goddess evolving from the earlier concept of Cāmuṇḍā. By the 11th century, as indicated, the corpse was starting to be identified with Śiva. Another possible influence on the identification with Śiva are South Indian myths in which Śiva, to quell the fury of Kālī after her defeat of various demons, lies down in her path so that she dances upon him. Once she recognizes him she becomes embarrassed and stops her dance,[221] or, conversely, Śiva's *liṅga* becomes erect and enters her whereupon Kālī pulls out her tongue in ecstasy and her anger disappears.[222] Although Vajravārāhī is stated to trample upon both Bhairava and Kālarātrī, there are no examples where a Buddhist goddess stands or is seated on Śiva alone nor are there any examples where one displays *varada* and *abhaya*.

Iconographically, Dakṣiṇa-Kālikā either stands on or is seated on Śiva who lies corpse-like beneath her.[223] In either mode she may additionally be engaged in inverse sexual union with him. In a *dhyāna* in the *Tantrasāra*, quoting from the *Kālī Tantra* and the *Svatantra Tantra*, for example, it is stated that she is seated on the bosom of Mahādeva, lying as dead, and takes the initiative in sexual dalliance.[224] Śiva, as *puruṣa* (corpse), is neither producer nor produced, but passive, and a looker upon the actions of *prakṛti*. "It is not the Puruṣa who is active in the creation of the world, but it is She who, in the light of His gaze, dances the world dance."[225] In some cases there are two corpses under Kālī, as in the *Karpūrādi-stotra* (verse 7):

> O Mother, even a dullard becomes a poet who meditates upon Thee raimented with space, three-eyed, Creatrix of the Three worlds, whose waist is beautiful with a girdle made of numbers of dead men's arms, and who on the breast of a corpse, as Thy couch in the cremation ground, enjoyest Mahākāla.[226]

According to Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon),

> The upper figure is Śiva (Sakala), who is awake, because, he is associated with his Power as efficient and material cause...His Śakti being now creative. He lies inert, for He is Immutable Being. He is white because he is Consciousness and Illumination (Prakāśa)...Under him is another male figure, darker in colour, to represent colourlessness (vivarṇa), with closed eyes. This mysterious figure (Niṣkala Śiva) is called Śava or the Corpse. It illustrates the doctrine that Śiva without his Power or Śakti can do and is, so far as the manifest is concerned, nothing.[227]

In respect to Kālī standing or sitting on Śiva in Brahmanical art, the humiliation of Śiva is not pejorative but salvific, for in quelling the frenzy of Kālī he is saving the universe from destruction. In Bengali devotionalism, as represented in the work of Ramaprasad Sen (A.D. 1718-75), the author admonishes Kālī for being shameless, cruel, and hard-hearted, yet he also tells us that Śiva is just pretending to be a corpse, because he knows those feet are dispensing divine grace and are none other than Brahman. His holding of Kālī's feet upon his chest is thus said to be, in fact, his trance-like meditation on her feet: "he is said to keep his eyes shut, feigning sleep, because he knows that when he "wakes up" he will have to share her feet with her sons (her devotees)." The bhaktic interpretation, "of her bloody, spouse-trampling feet has transformed them into a symbol of the supremely merciful refuge of the universe, granting freedom from fear of death and rebirth with her."[228]

In the *dhyānas* of Buddhist goddesses, as pointed out by A. Bharati, the trampling or dancing upon a demon or a Hindu god is always described as a potentially hostile or toxic situation, i.e., annihilation: "the Vajrayānist was never conscious of a totally different alternative significance which might have been underlying the models for these icons." In the Hindu Śākta tradition, "the goddess dances on Śiva, her spouse—not to destroy him, but to symbolize, for the devotee, the basis of its cosmosophy—Śiva without Śakti is a corpse."[229]

3. Buddhist Divinities Trampling on Hindu Deities

If, as noted by D.C. Bhattacharyya and mentioned earlier, Vaiṣṇavism was predominant throughout India and particularly engaged with Buddhism in a struggle for religious supremacy, one would think that Viṣṇu especially would be depicted in Buddhist art as an object of humiliation. There are only a few examples, however, where he is so depicted, as with Harihariharivāhana where he along with Garuḍa and a lion serve as *vāhanas*[230] or with Vajrajvālānalārka where he and his wife are being trampled.[231] He is also included as one of four *māras* under the feet of Daśabhujasita-Mārīcī, 12-armed Ubhayavarāhānana,[232] 16-armed Hevajra, 16-armed Prasannatārā, and 24-armed Vidyujjvālākarālī.[233] He is also one of six Hindu deities serving as seats for the six Cakravarti Ḍākas in the *Saṭcakravarti-maṇḍala* (no. 25) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*[234] and as one of eight deities serving as seats under directional goddesses surrounding the Pañca-ḍākas of the *Pañca-Ḍāka-maṇḍala* (no. 24) of the same text or under goddesses surrounding Hevajra in the *Hevajra Tantra* (II.v.37), the other seven Hindu gods in these last two *maṇḍalas* being Brahmā, Indra, Śiva, Yama, Kubera, Nairṛti and Vemacitrin.[235]

Brahmā likewise serves as a seat in the *Saṭcakravarti-maṇḍala*, in the *Pañca-Ḍāka-maṇḍala* and in the *Hevajra Tantra* while as one of four *māras* he is similarly trampled by

Daśabhujasita- and Ubhayavarāhānana-Mārīcī, 16-armed Hevajra, 16-armed Prasannatārā,[236] and 24-armed Vidyujjvālākarālī. Both he and Śiva are trampled by Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi. Indra, in addition to serving as one of four *māras* and one of eight gods in the above-mentioned *maṇḍalas*, is one of six Hindu gods serving as seats in the *Saṭcakravarti-maṇḍala* and as one of eight beneath the feet of Paramāśva (Hayagrīva), the others being Śrī, Indrāṇī, Rati, Prīti, Madhukara (Kāma), Jayakara and Vasanta.[237] Other Hindu deities being trampled upon include Aparājita beneath Bhūtaḍāmara; Āditya under Ratnaḍāka in the *Saṭcakravarti-maṇḍala*; Kāma with Rudra under the feet of Kālacakra,[238] and with his consort beneath Tārodbhava-Kurukullā;[239] and Gaṇeśa who is trampled on by Aparājitā[240] or whose presence is implied (as an obstacle or *vighna*) under the feet of Parṇaśavarī[241] and Vighnāntaka.[242] In the case of Gaṇeśa, as indicated earlier, it is more likely afflictions which must be overcome before enlightenment can be obtained that are being symbolized by his image rather than merely an attack on his person. As noted by J. Leoshko, "from the Buddhist point of view Hindu religious practices could be viewed as part of Māra's bag of deluding tricks that keep one from enlightenment."[243]

The deity most often singled out for humiliation or desecration is Śiva, either singly or accompanied by his consort or by one or more other Hindu gods. In the *Saṭcakravarti-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, in fact, he is represented twice as a seat for Buddhist divinities—as Maheśvara he is placed beneath Padmaḍāka while as Bhairava accompanied by Gaurī he is placed under Vajrasattva/Jñānaḍāka.[244] As Bhairava he is placed under the feet of Vajrahūṅkāra while as Bhairava accompanied by his consort, usually named Kālarātrī, he is trampled by two-armed Sambara, 12-armed Sambara, 12-armed Cakrasambara,[245] six-armed Saptākṣara,[246] twelve-armed Heruka,[247] six-armed Trailokyavijaya, and two-armed Vajravārāhī.[248] As Maheśvara accompanied by his consort Umā, he is trampled by eight-armed Trailokyavijaya.[249] As Hara accompanied by Śivā, he is trampled by Cakrasambara.[250] As Śiva accompanied by Brahmā, he is trampled by six-armed Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi[251] while as Rudra accompanied by Anaṅga (Kāma) he is crushed by 24-armed Kālacakra. As one of the four *māras* he is under the feet of 16-armed Hevajra, 16-armed Prasannatārā, 12-armed Ubhayavarāhānana-Mārīcī, Daśabhujasita-Mārīcī,[252] and 24-armed Vidyujjvālākarālī. He also appears as one of eight Hindu deities placed under eight directional goddesses in the *Pañca-Ḍāka-maṇḍala* (no. 24) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and in the *Hevajra Tantra*.

For the most part, then, Bhairava/Śiva is being trampled by Buddhist deities strongly influenced by him in respect to their iconography. This antagonism between Śaivism and Buddhism, as noted by G. Tucci, has left traces in Tantric literature and iconography:

> The god that rules and guides the world of demons and opposes the law and its progress is Maheśvara, the lord of the gods. In the fight between Vajrapāṇi or Yamāntaka on one side, and Maheśvara on the other, is shadowed the rivalry between Buddhism and Hinduism. With the crowd of his gods he is embodied in the figure of his supreme god. And Buddhism wants to affirm its superiority in the fight by imagining Maheśvara along with his consort Umā put under the feet of the defenders of the faith.[253]

The aetiological myth he discusses, obviously created to explain the iconographic features of the deity, is the battle between Mahādeva (Śiva) and the 34-armed Vajrabhairava. The tradition (summed up by Bharo the Nepalese) is as follows:

> Once upon a time there was a fight between Skanda-Kumāra, the son of Mahādeva and Umā, and the asura Rudra. And this he lost. Then Mahādeva, the lord of the sphere of concupiscence (kāmaloka), assembled the thirty-three species of armies, the army of the eight species of sickness, and of the eight species of calamities and won

over Rudra. He requested Mañjuśrī for help. In order to face the thirty-six armies he emanated from his body thirty-four arms. Against the crowd of horsemen of the subterranean asuras he emanated the head of a buffalo, against the eight species of sickness and the eight species of calamities staying on earth, he emanated sixteen feet; and against Mahādeva he erected the member and revealed the Tantra of Vajrabhairava in ten thousand verses.[254]

Iconographically, this form of Vajrabhairava (Yamāntaka) is dark blue in colour, has nine faces with the central one being that of a buffalo, has thirty-four arms, sixteen feet, is *ūrdhvaliṅga* and naked, has a pot-belly, wears a garland of fifteen heads freshly cut, has a crown of five terrific skulls and stands in *pratyālīḍha* above the figure of Śiva.[255] Conversely, the figure of eight-headed, sixteen-armed and four-legged Mahākāla embracing his Prajñā in the *Sādhanamālā* is said to trample upon Vajrabhairava in the form of a corpse.[256]

In most instances Bhairava/Śiva when being trampled upon by a Buddhist divinity is accompanied by his consort, an aspect never represented in Hindu art, and their pose implies that humiliation was intended. Except for the rare example in the *Saṭcakravarti-maṇḍala* where the six Cakravartī are seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on the chest of six Hindu deities, the triumphant Buddhist gods are posed either standing or dancing. Invariably one foot is placed on the head of Bhairava while the other is placed on the breast of his consort, as in the case of Trailokavijaya, who stands in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude, tramples upon the head of Maheśvara with his left leg, while the right presses upon the bosom of Gaurī. In the *Trailokyavijaya-maṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha-sūtra*, as indicated, Śiva (and Gaurī) is considered to be dead but is eventually given new life by Vajrapāṇi (Trailokyavijaya), his body being consecrated as fully alive.[257] In the description of the twelve-armed Sambara, in contrast, it is stated:

> With his right leg set forward he presses down the head of Kālabhairava, who has four arms; two of them are in the act of adoration; in the second of the right he holds the magic drum (ḍamarū), and in the second of the left he holds the sword. His left leg is bent and presses the breast of Kālī (Dus-mtshan-ma) red and also with four arms, two of which are joined in adoration, and of the other two the one on the right holds a skull (kapāla) and the left one holds the khaṭvāṅga.[258]

The placement of Śiva and Gaurī is not only reversed but each has one set of hands clasped in *añjali*, paying homage to the triumphant Buddhist deity, to suggest that their life has been "restored". In the three surviving images from Orissa, two stone images of Sambara and a bronze image of Vajrahūṅkāra, Śiva (Bhairava) is placed under the left foot of the Buddhist deity while Gaurī (Kālarātrī) is under the right foot. In the two images of Sambara, the two-armed Kālarātrī is emaciated, suggesting she represents Cāmuṇḍā, and holds a *kartrī* and a *kapāla* (figs. 517-518).[259] The pot-bellied Bhairava holds a rosary, *ḍamarū* and trident in three hands while the fourth possibly displays *varada*. In the image of Vajrahūṅkāra from Acutrajpur, in contrast, Kālarātrī is not emaciated and has four arms. Two of her hands are in *añjali*, clasping the foot of the triumphant Buddhist deity, while her four scattered *āyudhas* are a sword, hatchet, trident and shield (?). The ten-armed Bhairava wears a garland of skulls and likewise has a set of hands in *añjali* which touch the left leg of Vajrahūṅkāra (fig. 519).

For the most part then, at least with male deities, the Buddhist divinity triumphs over the Hindu deity most closely like himself, as in the case of Yamāntaka putting an end to Yama or Uccuṣma-Jambhala pressing down the head of Kubera to make him vomit jewels,[260] to suggest that humiliation is the primary emphasis rather than actual death, even though

the defeated Hindu deity may appear corpse-like. This latter aspect, suggesting he is inert, inactive or ineffectual, is further emphasized in the Vajrahūṅkāra image by the manner in which the weapons are scattered and by the *añjali-mudrā*, a *mudrā* frequently prescribed for adopted Hindu deities in Buddhist texts. To insure complete humiliation and defeat, the Hindu deity is accompanied by his Śakti who is both his consort and his energy or power. Even in her presence, however, he is "powerless" and she is "without energy", i.e., she is also a corpse. In the *dhāraṇī* recited by Vajrapāṇi to defeat Śiva in the *Trailokyavijaya-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha-sūtra* the names of Śumbha and Niśumbha are invoked, two *asura*-brothers defeated by Śiva's spouse in various Purāṇas,[261] which further stresses her humiliation and her inert state.

The motif of Buddhist female deities trampling upon Hindu divinities is not as popular. When so depicted they usually stand on multiple male gods, in the manner of the Brahmanical goddesses Mahāmāyā Kāmākhyā, Kāmeśvarī/Lalitā, Tripurā-Bhairavī, or Ṣoḍaśī, rather than on a single deity with or without his consort. Invariably the Hindu deities beneath their feet include Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Upendra, Śiva and Indra who most likely symbolize the four *māras* or wicked beings, as so identified in the case of Vidyujjvālākarālī.[262] A similar symbolism involves Aparājitā, the destroyer of all wicked beings called *māras*, who tramples upon Gaṇeśa, suggesting, as noted by J. Leoshko and mentioned earlier, that Hindu deities and/or practices may be interpreted as obstacles (*vighnas*) or "afflictions which must be overcome."[263] In Orissan examples at Lalitagiri (fig. 346) and Udayagiri (fig. 347), as discussed previously, there is also a corpse beneath the right foot of Aparājitā which probably refers to other *vighnas* or *māras* while in the example from Udayagiri there is also a corpse beneath the female attendant holding the parasol.

This symbolism is also evident in descriptions and images of Parṇaśavarī. As an emanation of Akṣobhya in *sādhana* no. 148 in the *Sādhanamālā*, she tramples under her feet the *vighnas* while threatening the host of other *vighnas* with her fists.[264] In *sādhana* no. 149, as an emanation of Amoghasiddhi, she is stated to trample under her feet various diseases and pestilences.[265] In two images in the Dacca Museum she tramples upon two prostrate male figures having scales or small-pox marks on their body who personify diseases and epidemics. She is flanked by small figures of Hayagrīva, the Hindu god of Fever, on the right and Śītalā, the Hindu goddess of small-pox, on the left, both depicted flying off in opposite directions to escape the wrath of Parṇaśavarī.[266] On the pedestal is the prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa, holding a sword and a shield, "evidently vanquished after a fight with the goddess."[267] In a mutilated image of Parṇaśavarī in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, the goddess tramples upon Gaṇeśa himself.[268]

Rare examples where Hindu divinities serve as seats or *vāhanas* appear in the *Hevajra-Tantra* (II.v.29-37) where they are seats for the eight dancing directional goddesses. The same eight also appear in the *Pañca-Ḍāka-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where it is stated that the seats of the goddesses at eight quarters "should be either corpses or Brahmanical gods and others."[269]

This interpretation of Hindu deities as obstacles (*vighnas*) or afflictions which must be overcome may also apply to those being trampled by Buddhist male deities, as in the case of Trailokavijaya. In the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*, for example, Vajrapāṇi as Trailokyavijaya tramples on the sins of the deceased while in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* he crushes and purifies people's hindrances (Śubhākarasiṁha). In the *Trailokyavijaya-mahāmaṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, where he treads upon Maheśvara and Umā, these Hindu deities are considered "wicked beings" who must be converted by the wrathful Vajrapāṇi (i.e., Trailokyavijaya). After subduing these evil beings, and stationing them in the *mahāmaṇḍala*, he does the same with diseases. The three worlds conquered by Trailokyavijaya

Chart 35

BUDDHIST DIVINITIES WITH HINDU DEITIES AS VĀHANA

Divinity (male)	Arms	Text	Kuleśa	Pose	Vāhana
Mahākāla	16	Sādhanamālā	5 Tathāgatas	trampling	Vajrabhairava
Vajrahūṅkāra	2	Sādhanamālā 257	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	Bhairava
Sambara	2	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	ālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī
Sambara	12	Niṣpannayogāvalī	Akṣobhya	ālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī
Cakrasambara	12	Vajrayāne Pūjāvidhi	Akṣobhya	ālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī
Saptākṣara	6	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	ālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī
Heruka	12	Abhidhānottara	5 Tathāgatas	ālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī
Trailokyavijaya	6	Niṣpannayogāvalī 11	Vajrasattva	ālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī
Jñānaḍāka Vajrasattva	2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 25		vajraparyaṅka	Bhairava & Gaurī
Padmaḍāka	2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 25		vajraparyaṅka	Maheśvara
Trailokyavijaya	8	Sādhanamālā 262	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	Maheśvara & Gaurī
Trailokyavijaya	8	Niṣpannayogāvalī	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	Maheśvara & Umā
Cakrasambara		Cakrasambara-sādhana	Akṣobhya	tramples	Hara & Śivā; cuts arms of Brahmā
Kālacakra	24	Niṣpannayogāvalī 26	Akṣobhya	ālīḍha/dancing	Rudra and Anaṅga
Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi	6	(Tibet yi-dam)	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	Śiva and Brahmā
Bhūtaḍāmara	4	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	Aparājita
Buddhaḍāka	2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 25		vajraparyaṅka	Brahmā
Hevajra	16	Niṣpannayogāvalī 5	Akṣobhya	ālīḍha/dancing	Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Indra as 4 Māras
Uccuṣma-Jambhala (2)	2	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya/Ratna	pratyālīḍha	Kubera
Ratnaḍāka	2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 25		vajraparyaṅka	Āditya
Viśvaḍāka	2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 25		vajraparyaṅka	Indra
Vajraḍāka	2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 25		vajraparyaṅka	Viṣṇu
Harihariharivāhana	6	Sādhanamālā	Amitābha	seated	Viṣṇu, Garuḍa, lion
Vajrajvālānalārka	8	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	ālīḍha	Viṣṇu & wife
Vighnāntaka	2	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	(vighnas=Gaṇeśa)
Paramāśva/Hayagrīva	8	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	Indrāṇī & Śrī, Rati & Prīti, Indra & Madhukara, Jayakara & Vasanta
Divinity (female)					
Aparājitā	2	Sādhanamālā 204	Ratnasambhava	tramples	Gaṇeśa
Parṇaśavarī	6	Sādhanamālā 148	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	vighnas (Gaṇeśa)
Vajravārāhī	2	Sādhanamālā	Vairocana	pratyālīḍha	Bhairava & Kālarātrī
Tārodbhava Kurukullā	4	Sādhanamālā	Amitābha	vajraparyaṅka	Kāma & Rati on Rāhu
Vidyujjvālākarālī	24	Sādhanamālā	Akṣobhya	pratyālīḍha	Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Indra as 4 Māras
Daśabhujasita-Mārīcī	10	Sādhanamālā 139	Vairocana	ālīḍha?	Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Indra
Ubhayavarāhāṇana-Mārīcī	12	Sādhanamālā 145	Vairocana	ālīḍha?	Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva et al
Prasannatārā	16	Sādhanamālā	Ratnasambhava	pratyālīḍha	Brahmā, Upendra, Rudra, Indra
Pañca-ḍākas	2	Niṣpannayogāvalī 24	5 Tathāgatas	pratyālīḍha	Brahmā, Upendra, Rudra, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Nairṛti, Vemacitrin
Goddesses	2	Hevajra Tantra II.5		dancing	Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama, Kubera, Nairṛti, Vemacitrin

have a double connotation, i.e., they are the three worlds of being—the world of desire (*kāmalokya*), the world of form (*rūpalokya*), and the formless world (*arūpalokya*); and they are the three poisons—desire, anger and ignorance. Accordingly,

> Maheśvara and his consort Umā represent the three poisons of greed, anger and ignorance. Maheśvara also represents the hindrance of the passions and Umā represents the hindrance of worldly knowledge. Trailokyavijaya heavily crushes the passions underfoot, but he merely keeps mundane knowledge under control. The three poisons and the two hindrances are vanquished by the two feet of Meditation (*dhyāna*) and Wisdom (*prajñā*).[270]

In the battle against Vajrabhairava, the army of Mahādeva included eight species of sickness and eight species of calamities as mentioned above, for which Vajrabhairava emanated sixteen feet so as to trample them.

4. Śiva-Liṅgas and Yūpas

Various scholars, including B. Bhattacharyya, have often pointed out that, contrary to Buddhist practices, the Hindus "never disgraced any gods belonging to the alien faith in this manner",[271] and invariably stress that, in fact, the Buddha was adopted as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Though certainly not as obvious as Buddhist examples, there are some instances where it appears that Hindus were similarly attempting to humiliate or denigrate Buddhist deities or the Buddhist religion. In some 10th-11th century images of Cāmuṇḍā, for example, the corpse beneath her, gradually being transformed from an *asura*/warrior into a yogi/*ṛṣi*, is represented with elongated ear-lobes, closely-cropped hair and monastic garb in the manner of a Buddha or Buddhist priest. One of the best examples is the image from the Haracaṇḍī temple at Kuṇḍeśvara (fig. 520). *Śava-sādhana* activities are depicted in the graveyard scene below.

The example most noted by scholars revolves around the huge *liṅga* enshrined within the Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, the temple being built on a tall platform with a second-storey gallery constructed within to enable the officiating priest to perform libations as it rises nine feet high from the floor, being twelve feet eight inches in girth at the base. R.L. Mitra, writing in the late 19th century, was probably the first to suggest that the *liṅga* is a portion of an Aśoka pillar that was converted at a later date into a *liṅga*:

> that it had stood there an honoured monument of that great emperor; that when the place passed from the Buddhists to the Hindus, the column was somehow broken; and that the latter have since built over the lower part of the column a temple to give it shelter, and named it a liṅgam. It was the policy of the Brahmins not ruthlessly to sweep away the monuments of their rivals, and thereby offend the masses who were more or less attached to them, but to convert them, whenever possible, to objects of Hindu faith; and the shaft of the column could not be better and more easily utilized than by naming it a liṅgam.[271]

K.C. Panigrahi, on the other hand, suggests that the pillar and its inscription were deliberately destroyed, as was the lion capital found nearby: "the destruction of the inscription on the pillar, its conversion into a Śiva-liṅgam and the attempt to destroy the lion capital totally, supply clear proofs of vandalism wrought on a Buddhist monument by the Śaivas."[273] Elsewhere he suggests that "the manner in which a Buddhist monument has been converted into a Phallic emblem also indicates a violent struggle between the Buddhists and the Śaivas", and cites a tradition from the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, covering eight chapters, of a dreadful war said to have taken place between the gods and demons on the bank of the river Gandhāvatī (Gāṅguā), flowing in the close neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar, which, though couched in

mythological form, records a violent struggle between the Buddhists and the Śaivas. In the myth the Buddhists supposedly were the demons while the followers of Śiva were the gods.[274]

H.C. Das is also of the opinion that the colossal *liṅga* at Kumbhitragadhi, on the eastern bank of the Subarnarekhā river about three miles from Jayarampur in northern Balasore district, was originally a Buddhist *stūpa*. It is twelve feet high, is made of chlorite and highly polished, and has a *śakti* thirty-six feet in circumference.[275] In respect to the Śiva-*liṅga* found at Gohiriāsāhi, two miles from the Soro Railway Station, which has a Buddhist *dhāraṇī* inscribed in characters assignable to the 9th-10th century on four sides of its square pedestal, S.C. De dismisses the idea that it originally was a votive *stūpa* and was later transformed into a *liṅga*, his opinion being based primarily on the fact that, after being so converted, there can be no reason for allowing the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* to remain. He suggests that the *dhāraṇī*, by this time, "had lost its significance as a Buddhist one and came to be regarded as a *mantra* used for inscriptions on an image, Buddhist or Brahmanical. It is about the period when Buddhism in Orissa was in the process of assimilation by the Brahmanical faith."[276] Buddhism, however, was still quite strong and popular at this time and, contrary to the opinion of S.C. De, the *liṅga*, with a band of scrollwork running around the shaft near the base, certainly does resemble a monolithic *stūpa*. The conventional tripartite division into Brahmābhaga (square base), Viṣṇubhaga (octagonal middle) and Rudrabhaga (cylindrical top) is conspicuously absent.

The most blatant example of Brahmanical animosity towards Buddhism appears with the decoration on the *yūpa* or sacrificial post erected in front of a temple. The *yūpa* itself, consisting of a sphere (head) and a post (trunk), is symbolic of the primeval Puruṣa, who was sacrificed and dismembered by the gods to become the substance of the universe. In the *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad* (4.17-22), where it is stated that the *yūpa* comes from the human form and vice-versa, numerous types of *yūpas* are described, including the *vṛṣa-stambha*, used for ancestor worship on the day of the deceased, and *mithuna-stambhas* for animal sacrifices in *homa* ceremonies. In the latter type, a pair of mating boars are carved on the upper part of broad stone pillars. "By its ritual application enemies become paralysed like pillars."[277] Of particular interest here are the examples of *yūpas* decorated with images of Buddhist figures, one of the best surviving examples being the *yūpa* erected in front of the late 8th century Vaitāl Deul at Bhubaneswar (fig. 524). On the side facing the door the *yūpa* has two Buddha figures, placed in niches one above the other, with each seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. Their hands are clasped in front of their chest in *añjali*, thus paying homage to the deity enshrined within, while serving symbolically as Puruṣa, whose image "becomes manifest" in the *yūpa* to which the sacrificial victim is tied.

G. EROTIC MOTIFS

As in the case of Brahmanical temples, erotic motifs are included in the overall iconographic programme of Buddhist structures, though due to the almost total destruction of Buddhist architecture, very few examples have survived. The earliest examples invariably are associated with the decorative programme of the doorframe where, as mentioned in various Brahmanical texts, they served as one of numerous auspicious motifs.[278] Perhaps the best surviving example is the *mithuna* on the doorframe of Monastery 2 at Ratnagiri (fig. 447). The lovers face one another with the male lifting the chin of the female as he prepares to kiss her, a popular motif throughout Orissa at this time.[279] Other examples of *mithuna* (amorous couple) on early doorframes appear at Udayagiri where they are juxtaposed in small niches up the height of the jamb (fig. 456).

Later examples include a 10th century lintel at Ratnagiri where the couple are placed in the *dvāra-lalāṭa-bimba* panel (fig. 450). Two *mithuna* images also appear fixed to the inside

wall of the *jagamohana* of the Mahākālī temple at Ratnagiri. Numerous erotic motifs are also incorporated into the decorative programme of the sanctum facade of period II of Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri, including male exhibitionism with pot-bellied *yakṣas* displaying their *liṅgam*, a popular motif on Brahmanical temples of this period. Although there are no (surviving) examples of erotic rituals involving successive stages of activity, Tantric influence seems evident in numerous scenes of ritual hair-cutting frequently combined with erotic activity (fig. 527).[280]

Particularly interesting and explicit erotic imagery appears on two boundary stones (*gardabha*) at Ratnagiri with imprecatory verses warning against transgressing the property granted. Similar imprecatory verses appear in copper-plate grants throughout India where we are warned to preserve land that has been given, and are often informed that the preservation of a grant is more meritorious even than making a grant. We are invariably warned that "he who takes away land either given by himself or by others, rots with his ancestors as a worm in dirt (filth)." Boundary stones, in addition to these imprecatory verses, include visual imagery, frequently of a sexual nature, such as a pig copulating with a woman, while the warning in verse may threaten anyone transgressing this property that this will happen to your mother! These two *gardabha* at Ratnagiri, in addition to depicting a bestial scene, also include a scatological scene which has escaped the notice of scholars who have commented on these stelae. In both cases the bestial scene at the top depicts a donkey copulating with a pig while the scatological scene represents a kneeling figure eating faeces and urine excreted by a squatting figure (fig. 528).

In the longer and better preserved of the two inscriptions, the first two verses record the grant of two *pravartas* of paddy per *hala* of land by a Kāyastha of Nālandā named Janananda in favour of the *saṅgha* (community of Buddhist monks at Ratnagiri). The final three verses read as follows:

> Whoever nullifies this grant, which has been honoured by good people, his mother is a small (*khuḍḍikā*) sow and his father is indeed a donkey.
> Whoever protects this grant, which is meant for fulfilling all desires (expected out of the religious merit) he comes to (live in) heaven together with his ancestors and relations.
> Whoever nullifies this grant or again causes to do so, he rots in the hell called Raurava together with his forefathers.[281]

The badly damaged second inscription opens with a reference to the grant of paddy which could be made by any scion of a dead man's family for stopping his entry into hell. We are then informed that the man, named Maṅgalarāja, is dead and the last stanza states that the father and mother of anyone guilty of resumption of the grant would be a donkey and a sow respectively.[282]

It is thus obvious that the bestiality scene on these two *gardabha* represents the parents of whoever attempts to nullify the grant while the scatological scene refers to hell. In the Purāṇas the detestable nature of human faeces is especially evident in descriptions of various hells, provisioned with the opposite of happiness, and in the punishments inflicted upon the sinners as the fruit of their actions on earth. The Vaitarāṇi river (which runs through hell), for example, is filled with faeces, urine, puss, blood, etc., and when hungry, the sinners are forced to eat such things, referred to as "the most despicable food in the world." In the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (2.22,61) the ghosts lament that their diet consists of faeces, urine, filth and exudations: "we lick up the urine mixed with semen from the vaginal passage of the widow having illicit intercourse with her paramour." The punishment for inflicting cruelty upon one's parents is to have the mouth filled with faeces and worms. In the *Agni Purāṇa* (203.10-12) one who has discontinued doing the five sacrifices is forced to eat urine while in the *Brahma*

Purāṇa (105.82) those who are guilty of slaying living beings have to "traverse the path with their bodies emitting putrescent odour of fat and blood with faeces and urine smeared all over as though they were unguents." In the *Varāha Purāṇa* (200.37) one who has robbed brahmins of their legal property, after being thrown into a blazing fire for five hundred years, is born as a worm in human excrement.

Raurava hell is frequently considered to be the first among twenty-eight major hells in Hindu texts because it is so terribly hot; though it contains water, it is remembered as one that scorches. In the *Agni Purāṇa* (203.6-9) it is prescribed that one who steals the land will be slowly tormented in the Raurava hell till the Great Deluge. The *Varāha Purāṇa* (200.42-43) likewise assigns those guilty of stealing the property of others to Raurava, stating that they should thereafter be burnt in the Kumbhīpāka torture and afterwards be born as asses and then as loud-braying mules carrying various loads while being afflicted with hunger, thirst and fatigue. Elsewhere in the *Varāha Purāṇa* (133.1-2) the punishment for one voiding stool while engaged in the worship of Viṣṇu is to dwell in Raurava for a thousand celestial years and eat excreta under intense affliction. Thus, though the donors were apparently Buddhists, both insciptions and imagery attest to the strong influence of Hindu or pan-Indian traditions and in particular to descriptions of Raurava hell such as appear in the *Varāha Purāṇa* which additionally includes rebirth as an ass as well as the eating of excreta as punishments for resident sinners.

References

[1]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, I, pp. 5-6.

[2]K.C. Panigrahi suggests that the sculptors working on Brahmanical temples and Buddhist monasteries during the Bhauma period had received training in the same school and tradition of art. See K.C. Panigrahi, *Arts Asiatiques*, IV, p. 285. See also Thomas Donaldson, "Individual Styles & Workshop Participation in the Early Temples of Bhubaneswar", *Chhavi II*, ed. Anand Krishna (Benares, 1982), 80-91.

[3]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, pp. 797-98, figs. 2183-88.

[4]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, pp. 179-81.

[5]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, figs. 2193, 2195.

[6]*Ibid*., II, figs. 2038-2044, 2113-14.

[7]*Ibid*., II, figs. 2116-18.

[8]*Ibid*., II, fig. 1948.

[9]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, p. 277 and pl. CCLXXIV(C).

[10]Thomas Donaldson, "Development of the Gavākṣa Window on Orissan Temples", *JISOA*, Vol. VII (1976), fig. 36.

[11]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, fig. 2300.

[12]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, II, pls. CCXXI-CCXXII.

[13]*Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi (Benares, 1895-97). See also the *Agni Purāṇa* (42.20-21).

[14]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 163.

[15]D. Mitra identifies the second image on each side as a king or a prince due to the umbrella over his head. More likely it represents a Bodhisattva.

[16]According to A. Getty (*op. cit.*, p. 23) a scarf wound around the waist and tied on the left side with the ends falling to the feet is one of two distinctive marks of Maitreya, the other being a *stūpa* in the crown.

[17]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, pp. 829-30, figs. 2702-2712.

[18]*Ibid*., I, p. 118.

[19]*Ibid*., II, p. 269.

[20]*Ibid*., II, fig. 2394.

[21]*Ibid.*, II, fig. 2539.

[22]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 244, pl. CLXXXVIII(A).

[23]*Ibid.*, II, p. 275.

[24]*Ibid.*, II, pp. 347-48, pl. CCLXXV(A).

[25]For early examples of this scroll motif see T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, figs. 2865-67.

[26]C.S. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-71.

[27]J. Beams, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[28]R.P. Chanda, *MASI*, No. 44, pl. III(3).

[29]See K.C. Panigrahi, Arts Asiatiques, IV, fig. 14.

[30]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, figs. 2836-46.

[31]For examples see K.C. Panigrahi, *Arts Asiatiques*, IV, figs. 7-9.

[32]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 178.

[33]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, figs. 3912-83.

[34]*Hymn to Kālī (Karpūrādi-stotra)*, trans. Arthur Avalon, introduction and commentary by Vimalananda-Svami (Madras, 1965), p. 56.

[35]K. Krishna Murthy, *Hair Styles in Ancient Indian Art* (Delhi, 1982), p. 14.

[36]See Thomas Donaldson, "Coiffure in Orissan Sculpture: Part 1: Brahmanical Male Figures", *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (1985), fig. 16.

[37]*Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (57.44) as quoted by J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 587.

[38]Among the texts which prescribe five tufts of hair are the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*.

[39]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III. fig. 3888.

[40]*Ibid.*, III, figs. 3900-03.

[41]*Ibid.*, III, figs. 3569-72, 3666-79.

[42]In Brahmanical art this coiffure is usually confined to lesser figures though when seated with Śiva, Pārvatī generally has a chignon at the nape of the neck. See T. Donaldson, *Arts of Asia*, 15, no. 5, pp. 71-72, figs. 41, 43, 45.

[43]See N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 61.

[44]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images*, p. 64.

[45]For various aspects of *yoginīs* see Vidya Dehejia, *Yoginī: Cult and Temples* (New Delhi, 1986), pp. 11-38.

[46]T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 vols in 4 parts (New Delhi, 1971 reprint of 1914 edition), Vol. 2, part 1, p. 273.

[47]Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Paurāṇic and Tantric Religion* (Calcutta, 1966), p. 90; David N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 175-81; and the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, translated by "A Board of Scholars", ed. J.L. Shastri, AITMS vols. 5-6 (Delhi, 1973), Vol. I, pp. 98-99.

[48]D.R. Bhandarkar, "Lakulīśa", *ASIAR* (1906-07), pp. 190-91.

[49]D. Lorenzen, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[50]D.R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[51]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, fig. 3484.

[52]*Ibid.*, III, fig. 3485.

[53]*Ibid.*, III, fig. 3480.

[54]*Ibid.*, III, fig. 3487.

[55]Debala Mitra, "Lakulīśa and Early Śaiva Temples in Orissa", *Discourses on Śiva*, ed. Michael W. Meister (Philadelphia, 1984), fig. 135.

[56]*Ibid.*, fig. 134.

[57]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, fig. 2566.

[58]The image of Lakulīśa from Kasbā, now in the compound of the Fakirmohan College at Balasore, for example, was identified as Buddha by N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. xlix.

[59]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, fig. 3231.

[60]See *Ibid.*, III, figs. 3458-63.

[61]*Dhyāna-mudrā* appears only sporadically on Orissan images of Śiva, as does the *vajraparyaṅka* pose, and usually is restricted to images stressing yoga.

[62]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, I, fig. 963.

[63]*Ibid.*, I, fig. 1212.

[64]*Ibid.*, III, fig. 3488.

[65]*Ibid.*, III, fig. 3453.

[66]Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu* (New Delhi, 1973), fig. 1.

[67]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, I, fig. 429; III, fig. 3701.

[68]*Ibid.*, III, fig. 3682.

[69]*Ibid.*, III, fig. 3683.

[70]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, fig. 42.

[71]*Ibid.*, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

[72]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 216-17.

[73]K. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[74]Cf. Amita Ray, "Tradition of Early Caturbhuja Images of Viṣṇu on Stone Plaques from Bengal", *Akṣayanīvī: Essays presented to Dr. Debala Mitra*, ed. Gouriswar Bhattacharyya (Delhi, 1991), p. 311 and figs. 1-11.

[75]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images*, p. 25, fig. 20.

[76]Marie-Therese de Mallmann, "Hindu Deities in Tantric Buddhism", trans. Simon Watson Taylor, *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 2 (Bonn, 1968), pp. 43-49.

[77]K. Desai, *op. cit.*, fig. 51; W.E. Begley, *Viṣṇu's Flaming Wheel: The Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra* (New York, 1973), pp. 62-63, figs. 41-42; and R.C. Agrawala, "Unpublished Sculptures and Terracottas in the National Museum, New Delhi, and Some Allied Problems", *East and West*, Vol. 17 (1967), pp. 280-81, figs. 17-18.

[78]See K.K. Dasgupta, "Iconography of Tārā", *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. D.C. Sircar, pp. 115-27; and H. Sastri, *MASI*, No. 20, pp. 1-28.

[79]B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, pp. 155-56.

[80]Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* (Princeton, 1969), p. 264.

[81]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. lv.

[82]*Ibid.*, p. liii; and N.N. Bhattacharyya, "Chinese Origin of the Cult of Tārā", *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. D.C. Sircar, p. 144.

[83]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 193.

[84]H. Sastri, *MASI*, No. 20, pp. 14-16, 23.

[85]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-26.

[86]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, p. 72.

[87]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 190.

[88]A. Danielou, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

[89]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, p. 71.

[90]A. Danielou, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

[91]van Kooij, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25.

[92]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, pp. 10-13.

[93]N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-06.

[94]A. Danielou, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[95]*Ibid.*, p. 277.

[96]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, pp. 71-72. A similar feature appears on several late Orissan images of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha where the latter is seated on the coils of Śeṣa/Balabhadra. The bust of Balabhadra with a canopy of serpent hoods is placed above the head of Nṛsiṁha.

[97]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, pp. 67-69.

[98]*Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

[99]Balram Srivastava, *Iconography of Śakti: A Study Based on Śrītattvanidhi* (Varanasi, 1978), p. 35.

[100]Arthur & Ellen Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, pp. 50-52.

[101]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, p. 72.

[102]The image worshipped as Ugra-Tārā in the Tikirai temple at Banpur is actually an image of Khadiravaṇī-Tārā.

[103]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 191.

[104]*Ibid.*, p. 192. I have changed "rests on an animal" to "is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*" as stated in the text

[105]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

[106]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 192.

[107]*Ibid.*, p. 192.

[108]N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

[109]*Ibid.*, p. 222.

[110]*Śrīmad Devī Bhāgavatam*, pp. 991-92.

[111]*Ibid.*, pp. 992-93.

[112]*Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa*, trans. Rajendra Nath Sen, 2 vols., SBH 24 (New York, 1974 reprint), I, p. 86.

[113]*Ibid.*, I, p. 216.

[114]*Garuḍa Purāṇa*, trans. "A Board of Scholars", ed. J.L. Shastri, AITMS vols. 12-14 (Delhi, 1978-80), part I, p. 97.

[115]N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[116]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

[117]N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[118]*Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa*, II, pp. 317-18.

[119]N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[120]*Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.

[121]*Ibid.*, p. 226.

[122]Pradyot Kumar Maity, *Historical Studies in the Cult of the Goddess Manasā* (Calcutta, 1966), pp. 298-99.

[123]See Sadhu Charan Panda, *Nāga Cult in Orissa* (Delhi, 1986); and Thomas Donaldson, "Nāga Images and the Cult of Manasā in Orissan Art", *Rūpa Pratirūpa: Alice Boner Commemoration Volume*, ed. Bettina Baumer (New Delhi, 1982), pp. 99-109.

[124]T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, figs. 3263-64.

[125]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii, fig. 15.

[126]*Ibid.*, p. xlviii.

[127]*Ibid.*, p. xlix.

[128]*Ibid.*, p. 26, fig. 47.

[129]*Kūrma Purāṇa*, ed. Anand S. Gupta, trans. Ahibhusan Bhattacharyya (part I) and Saktkari Mukherji, Virendra V. Varma and Ganga S. Rai (part II) (Varanasi, 1972), pp. 232-37.

[130]See A. and E. Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, pp. 157, 181, 198 and 215.

[131]Diana L. Eck, "Gaṅgā: The Goddess in Hindu Sacred Geography", *The Divine Consort: Rādhā and the Goddesses of India*, eds. John Stratton Hawley and Donna Marie Wulff (Berkeley, 1982), p. 179.

[132]*Ibid.*, p. 179. See also Thomas Donaldson, "Rare Orissan Sanctum Images Associated with the Agni-Soma Symbolism of the Enshrined Śiva-Liṅga", *Berliner Indologische Studien*, Vol. 4/5 (1989), pp. 327-37.

[133]A. and E. Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, pp. 181-85.

[134]*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (Third khaṇḍa), ed. Priyabala Shah, 2 vols. (Baroda, 1958, 1961), II, pp. 147-48.

[135]*Agni Purāṇa*, I, p. 133.

[136]*Lakṣmī Tantra: A Pañcarātra Text*, trans. Sanjukta Gupta (Leiden, 1972), p. 235.

[137]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, II, fig. 2821.

[138]*Ibid.*, II, pp. 856-60, pl. 2846.

[139]B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, pp. 64-65; and D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 52-59.

[140]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images*, pp. 68-69.

[141]*Ibid.*, p. 69.

[142]W.J. Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology* (London, 1974 reprint of 1900 second edition), pp. 227-30.

[143]R. Champakalakshmi, *Vaiṣṇava Iconography in the Tamil Country* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 106, mentions a panel at Ellora where king Bali is intentionally represented as a Buddha though it is Viṣṇu (as Vāmana) who is deceptive!

[144]P.K. Acharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

[145]T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1, part 1, p. 219.

[146]H. Daniel Smith, *A Sourcebook of Vaiṣṇava Iconography According to Pañcarātrāgama Texts* (Madras, 1969), p. 159.

[147]This panel is invariably decorated with images of the king which may represent his *jñāna* or *karma* aspects. See *Śilpa Prakāśa*, trans. Alice Boner and Sadāśiva Rath Śarmā (Leiden, 1966), p. LII.

[148]Cf. K.C. Mishra, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-70. Whereas numerous early scholars believed the origins of Jagannātha evolved from Buddhism, G.C. Tripathi opines that the association of Jagannātha with Buddha is due more to the fact that both stood outside the pale of Brahmanism. The Buddha incarnation, not so firmly established in Hindu tradition, would also be the one most easily dislodged for the sake of Jagannātha when he was added as an incarnation. See G.C. Tripathi, "Jagannātha: The Ageless Deity of the Hindus", *The Cult of Jagannāth and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, eds. Anncharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke and Gaya Charan Tripathi (New Delhi, 1978), pp. 479-80.

[149]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 247.

[150]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, p. 82.

[151]A. Danielou, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[152]Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion* (New Delhi, 1982 edition), p. 353.

[153]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, pp. 80-82.

[154]Philip Rawson, *The Art of Tantra* (Greenwich, Conn., 1973), p. 133.

[155]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images*, pp. 55-56.

[156]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 363-65. Five more *mātṛkās*, not mentioned by Bhattacharyya, bring the number to fifteen. In the *Śrīcakrasambara Tantra* the eight *dikpālas* display *añjali* with their principal set of hands, hold a *kapāla* in the other left hand and their major cognizance in the other right hand. See *Śrīcakrasambara Tantra*, p. 15.

[157]*Ibid.*, p. 364.

[158]*Ibid.*, p. 352. In the four-armed examples from the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha*, Indra carries the *vajra*, umbrella and pitcher while displaying *abhaya*, or he holds the *vajra*, jewels, umbrella and lotus. See D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 57-59.

[159]*Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, pp. 39-47.

[160]K.N. Mahapatra, *OHRJ*, III, no. 2, pp. 70-71.

[161]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 389, and the *Sādhanamālā* Introduction, pp. cxxx-cxxxiv.

[162]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images*, p. 62.

[163]B. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[164]D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 86-87.

[165]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 347.

[166]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, pp. 136-38; *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, p. 41.

[167]*Ibid.*, p. 139. See also A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, II, pp. 721-25.

[168]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 24, 26.

[169]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 389.

[170]*Ibid.*, p. 352. In Tibet both Bhṛkuṭī and Ekajaṭā in their Tantric forms may carry the head of Brahmā; see A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26.

[171]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, pp. 24, 37, 49.

[172]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 346-47.

[173]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 40.

[174]Stella Kramrisch, *The Presence of Śiva* (Princeton, 1981), p. 259.

[175]Ramesh S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains* (Bombay, 1972), p. 75.

[176]*Varāha Purāṇa*, trans. Sri Ahibhusan Bhattacharyya, ed. Sri Anand Swarup Gupta (Varanasi, 1981), p. 332.

[177]G. Tucci, *The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism: Tsaparang*, p. 25.

[178]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 49.

[179]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 156, 347.

[180]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 18.

[181]*Agni Purāṇa*, I, pp. 138-39. In the latter case he has five faces.

[182]R.S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains*, p. 80.

[183]*Śilpa Prakāśa*, p. 78.

[184]See Thomas Donaldson, "Orissan Images of the Emaciated Cāmuṇḍā as the Devouring Devī-Śakti and the Consort of Bhairava", *Culture, Tribal History and Freedom Movement*, ed. P.K. Mishra (Delhi, 1989), pp. 43-99.

[185]*Varāha Purāṇa*, p. 329.

[186]*Agni Purāṇa*, I, p. 134.

[187]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, p. 62.

[188]T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, vol. I, part 2, p. 386.

[189]B. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[190]van Kooij, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-27.

[191]R. Nagaswamy, *Tantric Cult of South India* (Delhi, 1982), p. 126.

[192]*Agni Purāṇa*, II, pp. 396-400.

[193]*Garuḍa Purāṇa*, I, pp. 123-25.

[194]Krishna Kanta Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture* (Sholapur, 1968), p. 56.

[195]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 55.

[196]*Ibid.*, pp. 38, 54.

[197]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[198]D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, pp. 74-75.

[199]See G. Tucci, *The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism: Tsaparang*, pp. 50-53.

[200]D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, p. 57.

[201]*Ibid.*, p. 63, n. 4.

[202]P. Rawson, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[203]A. Avalon, *Karpūrādi-stotra*, p. 68.

[204]*Ibid.*, p. 68. I have not included any 8th century examples here.

[205]Cheever Mackenzie Brown, "The Theology of Rādhā in the Purāṇas", *The Divine Consort: Rādhā and the Goddesses of India*, eds. John Stratton Hawley and Donna Marie Wulff (Berkeley, 1982), p. 68.

[206]Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (Berkeley, 1974 edition), pp. 92-96. See also Agehananda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition* (Bombay, 1976 edition), pp. 202-09.

[207]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, pp. 138-39.

[208]van Kooij, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

[209]*Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

[210]*Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.

[211]*Ibid.*, p. 161.

[212]*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, V, pp. 1284-85.

[213]Arthur Avalon, *Principles of Tantra: The Tantrattva of Śrīyukta Śiva Candra Vidyārṇava Bhattacārya Mahodaya*, 2 vols. (Madras, 1960), II, pp. 498-99; and P. Rawson, *The Art of Tantra*, p. 132.

[214]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, p. 77.

[215]N.N. Vasu, *op. cit.*, pp. lxviii-lxix.

[216]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, p. 79.

[217]P. Pal, *Nepal/Where the Gods are Young*, pp. 104-05, figs. 71-72. The goddess is named Guhyakālī.

[218]*Śilpa Prakāśa*, p. 93.

[219]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, pp. 65-66.

[220]*Ibid.*, pp. 64-66.

[221]See David Kinsley, *The Sword and the Flute* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 104-08.

[222]Frederique Apffel Marglin, *Wives of the God-King: The Rituals of the Deva-Dāsīs of Puri* (New York, 1985), pp. 214-15.

[223]See Chintaharan Chakravarty, *Tantras: Studies on their Religion and Literature* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 90.

[224]P. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra*, p. 58.

[225]A. Avalon, *Karpūrādi-stotra*, pp. 56-69.

[226]*Ibid.*, p. 69.

[227]Sir John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon), *Śakti* and *Śākta* (Madras, 1969, 7th edition), p. 267.

[228]Cheever Mackenzie Brown, "Kālī, the Mad Mother", *The Book of the Goddess: Past and Present*, ed. Carl Olson (New York, 1983), p. 119.

[229]A. Bharati, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
[230]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 136.
[231]*Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.
[232]*Ibid.*, pp. 212-13.
[233]*Ibid.*, pp. 194-95.
[234]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[235]*Ibid.*, p. 105; and D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, p. 112.
[236]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 250.
[237]*Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.
[238]*Ibid.*, p. 187.
[239]*Ibid.*, p. 149.
[240]*Ibid.*, p. 246.
[241]*Ibid.*, p. 196.
[242]*Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.
[243]J. Leoshko, "The Case of the Two Witnesses", p. 48.
[244]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[245]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 27.
[246]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 162-63.
[247]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 24.
[248]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 218.
[249]*Ibid.*, pp. 184-85; and D. Mitra, *Achutrajpur*, pp. 89-90.
[250]D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, p. 26.
[251]A. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.
[252]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 212-13.
[253]G. Tucci, *The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism: Tsaparang*, p. 83.
[254]*Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.
[255]*Ibid.*, pp. 85-87; and A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
[256]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 347.
[257]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, pp. 138-39.
[258]G. Tucci, *The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism: Tsaparang*, p. 23.
[259]In Orissan imagery, when Bhairava serves as the consort to Cāmuṇḍā he usually has only four arms whereas she may have eight or ten.
[260]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 179, 239.
[261]D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, I, pp. 137-43.
[262]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 195.
[263]J. Leoshko, "The Case of Two Witnesses", p. 48.
[264]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 196-97.
[265]*Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.
[266]*Ibid.*, p. 233.
[267]N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 60, pl. XXIII.
[268]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, fig. 140.
[269]M. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
[270]*Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, pp. 84-85; *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, pp. 40-42; A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*, I, pp. 275-79; II, pp. 716-23.
[271]B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 389.
[272]R.L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153-54.
[273]K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, p. 359.
[274]K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 214-15.
[275]H.C. Das, *OHRJ*, XXVIII, 1 & 2 (1982), p. 63. A square *vedi* decorated with scrollwork has been separated from the *liṅga*.
[276]S.C. De, *OHRJ*, I, No. 4 (1953), p. 272, pl. 51.
[277]*Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad*, trans. Alice Boner, Sadāśiva Rath Śarmā, and Bettina Baumer (New Delhi, 1982), p. 68.

[278]Cf. Thomas Donaldson, "Propitious-Apotropaic Eroticism in the Art of Orissa", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 37, No. 1/2 (1975), pp. 76-77; and *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 38, No. 2/3, p. 189.

[279]See T. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, figs. 4085-90.

[280]The offering of hair, like the offering of blood, implies establishing bonds and giving one's self to the deity. See Devangana Desai, "Some Rare Sculptures Depicting Offering of Hair and Maithuna", *JISOA*, Vol. V (1972-73), pp. 86-90.

[281]D. Mitra, *Ratnagiri*, I, p. 215. The inscriptions were deciphered by D.C. Sircar who assigns a date of about the 12th century.

[282]*Ibid.*, pp. 214-15.

GLOSSARY

Abhaya-mudrā: hand pose, indicative of protection and assurance, in which the hand is raised with the palm outward and fingers stretched.

Abhiṣeka: lustration; ritual bathing of an image; purificatory sprinkling of water.

Ācārya: preceptor.

Akṣamālā: rosary of beads.

Ālamba: ornament of hanging bead-garlands generally issuing from the mouth of *kīrtimukha* masks.

Alasā-kanyā: indolent or playful maiden.

Ālīḍha: a particular pose, or attitude of legs in the posture of an archer with the right leg outstretched and the left slightly bent.

Amalaka or *Amlā*: fluted disc, resembling an *amalaka* fruit, crowning the top of the *gaṇḍi* or spire.

Añjali-mudrā: a gesture of veneration and worship in which the palms are joined, usually in front of the chest.

Aṅkuśa: elephant-goad.

Antarīya: unstitched cloth wrapped around the waist and legs of a male person.

Antarvāsa: long cloth wrapped around the lower part of the body of Buddha and Buddhist monks.

Ārāma: grove; garden; place of pleasure.

Ardhacandra-mudrā: hand pose resembling a crescent moon, often held at the thigh.

Ardhaparyaṅka: "half" *paryaṅka* pose; in standing or dancing attitude, one leg, folded, is kept horizontally and the other is straight; in seated attitude, one of the legs, folded, is kept horizontally on the seat while the other knee is raised, the foot on the seat, and generally supports an outstretched arm (as in *mahārājalīlā*); or the second leg may hang pendent (as in *lalitāsana*), various scholars giving different interpretations as to the seated pose.

Āsana: seat or pedestal; a seated posture.

Aṣṭamahābhayas: eight great perils which may threaten one's life, i.e., a wild elephant, a lion, a serpent, fire, a goblin, imprisonment, brigands and a sinking ship.

Aśoka: a particular kind of tree (*Jonesia aśoka Roxb*) which blossoms forth red flowers; flowers of this tree; tree of "Consolation".

Asuras: those who "are not devas", i.e., the mortal enemies of the gods; demons.

Āvaraṇa-devatās: secondary divinities surrounding the main image in the temple, forming a protective ring.

Āyaka: projected part of the drum of a *stūpa*.

Āyudha: symbolical weapons or attributes in the hands of the divinities.

Bāḍa: wall portion of the temple below the curvilinear spire or pyramidal roof.

Bala: broad plain roll-moulding, running horizontally; fascia.

Bāṇa: arrow.

Baraṇḍa: moulding(s) forming the top element of the *bāḍa*.

Beki: neck of the temple; cylindrical member forming the lowest component of the crowning elements of a *stūpa*.

Bhadrāsana: a seated posture in which both legs hang pendent; *pralamba*.

Bhikṣu: Buddhist monk.

Bhūmi: storey; plane; horizontal division of the spire or *gaṇḍi*.

Bhūmi-amlā: fluted disc demarcating one *bhūmi* from another.

Bhūmisparśa-mudrā: earth-touching hand posture, associated with Buddha invoking the earth-goddess to bear witness of his having resisted the temptation of Māra. In this *mudrā* the right palm, with fingers stretched, touches the ground or seat and the left palm rests on the lap.

Bīja-mantra: the germ of a *mantra*; a letter or a syllable used in casting spells and in the invocation of gods.

Bodhi: enlightenment.

Bodhi tree: tree of enlightenment; tree under which a Buddha receives *bodhi*. In the case of Gautama Buddha, it is either the fig (*Ficus religiosa*) or the banyan (*Pippala*).

Bodhyaṅgī-mudrā: variation of *dharmacakra-mudrā* in which the index finger of the left hand is clasped by the five fingers of the right hand.

Brahmaśiras: severed-head of Brahmā; Pāśupata weapon or vow.

Caitya: ornamental motif, resembling the window of a Buddhist rock-cut *caitya*-hall, in the shape of a stylized horseshoe.

Cakra: wheel or disc; symbol of absolute completeness; in Buddhism it symbolizes the "wheel of Law". It was considered as one of the seven precious possessions of a *cakravartin* who, following the roll of the wheel, became the master of the entire land traversed by the wheel.

Cakravartin: universal ruler or invincible king, wheels of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction; ruler of a *cakra* or country described as extending from sea to sea.

Cāmara: fly-whisk or fan made with the tail of a yak.

Campaka: white flower with yellow centre.

Capeṭadāna-mudrā: pose with right hand raised in the act of dealing a slap.

Carccikā: hand pose with the hand placed near the chin and the little finger inserted into the mouth; name of Cāmuṇḍā.

Carma: hide; shield.

Caurī: fly-whisk or fan made with the tail of a yak; *cāmara*.

Chhatra: parasol; umbrella; *chaṭṭri*.

Cintāmaṇi: magic gem which satisfies all desires; may take the form of a flaming pearl, a *stūpa* or a *caitya* and may be three, six, seven or nine in number.

Ḍākinī: same as *Prajñā*; a female figure personifying an initiation or stage of wisdom; female imp or sorcerer, eater of raw flesh; ogress.

Dakṣiṇāvarta: turning (from the left) to the right; lines winding spirally clockwise; lock of hair curling clockwise.

Ḍamarū: small drum in the shape of an hourglass.

Daṇḍa: stick; staff; club or mace.

Dhāraṇī: a magical prayer, or merely a conglomeration of syllables for the purpose of casting a spell; *mantra* for protection.

Dharma: Buddhist law or doctrine; ethical precepts; discharge of one's duty.

Dharmacakra: wheel of law.

Dharmacakra-mudrā: hand posture indicating the turning of the wheel of law which combines the *jñāna* (wisdom)-*mudrā* and *vyākhyāna* (exposition)-*mudrā*. In this *mudrā* the two hands are held near the chest, the right palm (inner surface) turned outwards, with the tips of the thumb and the index finger joined (*vyākhyāna-mudrā*) and the left palm turned inwards (*jñāna-mudrā*).

Dhyāna: mental concentration or meditation; descriptive *mantra* of a deity contained within a *sādhana*; *samādhi*.

Dhyāna-mudrā: *mudrā* of meditation with both hands placed on the lap, right hand on the left, with fingers fully extended and the palms facing upward; also called *samādhi-mudrā*.

Dikpālas: guardians of the eight quarters.

Dīpa: lamp.

Ḍombī: low class woman; "washer-woman".

Dvārapāla: door guard at the entrance to a shrine.

Dvibhaṅga: standing pose with double bends in the body.

Gadā: mace.

Gaja-krānta: motif of a lion seated with three legs on the back of an elephant. The other front paw is held in front of the chest ready to strike the crouching elephant; *gaja-siṁha*.

Gaja-Lakṣmī: auspicious motif of Lakṣmī seated on a lotus and flanked on either side by an elephant bathing her with water from a jar held in their proboscis.

Gaja-virāla: a rampant leonine monster with the head of an elephant triumphantly standing above a crouching or prostrate demon-warrior.

Gaṇḍi: "trunk", curvilinear spire or pyramidal roof above the *bāḍa*; *śikhara*.

Gavākṣa: mullioned window on the north and south centre projections of the *jagamohana*.

Gavākṣa-maṇḍana: sculptured panel above the *gavākṣa* window.

Gelaba: scrollwork consisting of a meandering vine with frolicking boys climbing its branches alternately on either side. Also known as *manushya-kautukī* or *ḍalimāṅkuḍi*.

Ghaṇṭā: bell.

Ghaṭa: water-pot; pitcher.

Haṁsa: goose; swan.

Hāra: necklace; thin neck ornament.

Harmikā: small pavilion; cubical member at the base of the shaft of an umbrella and at the crown of the dome of a *stūpa*.

Hasta: arm, hand, or arm pose.

Hastī: elephant; wondrous elephant, a precious possession of a *cakravartin* who, mounted on it, could cover the broad earth to its very ocean boundary in a few hours.

Indīvara: blue lotus.

Jagamohana: rectangular or square hall in front of the sanctum of a temple; *maṇḍapa*.

Jalapatra: scroll motif of superimposed water-plants forming a standard motif on doorframes. Also known as *bhara jhañjhi*.

Japamālā: rosary.

Jaṭā-mukuṭa: a coil of matted and clotted hair forming a conical crown.

Jina: one who has attained the state of supreme knowledge; directional Buddha.

Jñāna-mudrā: pose indicating spiritual knowledge; the tips of the middle, forefingers and of the thumb are joined together and the hand is held near the heart with the palm turned towards it.

Kākapakṣa: coiffure arranged in three tufts with the side tufts fanning out like the wings of a crow and hanging down to the shoulders.

Kalaśa: water jar.

Kalpadruma/Kalpavṛkṣa: wish-granting tree.

Kamaṇḍalu: an oblong water-vessel with a handle and a spout.

Kanika-pāga: corner vertical segment running up the height of the structure.

Kanyā: "damsel", young girl, female in various poses.

Kapāla: bowl made of a human skull.

Karaṇḍa-mukuṭa: coiffure shaped like an inverted jar with tiers of tightly-coiled curls.

Kartarī-hasta: hand pose in which the thumb and ring finger form a circle while the middle fingers are kept straight up to simulate the horns of a deer.

Kartrī: a small knife, sometimes the edge is uneven like a saw; sacrificial knife.

Karttṛkā: chopper.

Karuṇā: compassion.

Kaṭisūtra: a thin waist-belt.

Kaṭurī: chopper; sickle.

Katyāvalambita: a relaxed standing posture with one hand placed on the waist or thigh.

Kaupīna: loin cloth.

Khaḍga: sword; it may be long or short, single-edged or double-edged.

Khakhara: sounding staff.

Khāndi: groove, champfer, chase between two forms; *kanṭi*.

Kharpara: skull.

Khaṭvāṅga: a club formed by the bone of the forearm or leg with a skull attached to the tip; magic wand.

Kheṭaka: shield, either circular or retangular, with a strap-handle on the back.

Khura: first basic element of the *pābhāga* in the form of a hoof.

Kirīṭa: crest, crown, tiara, diadem, often appearing as a design on the *khura* moulding or on arm-bands and other jewelry.

Kirīṭa-mukuṭa: conical coiffure studded with jewels.

Kīrtimukha: "face of glory", decorative motif showing the grinning face of a lion with festoons of pearls dripping from its mouth.

Krodha-deities: ten fierce deities who often guard gates in Buddhist *maṇḍalas*.

Kṣepaṇa-mudrā: gesture of sprinkling ambrosia. The two hands are joined palm to palm with the tips of indexes touching and turned downward into a vessel.

Kucha-bandha: band worn around the breasts of females.

Kuleśa: lord of *kula* (family).

Kumāra: young boy; Kārttikeya.

Kumbha: form of water jar or pitcher; second element of the *pābhāga*.

Kumbha-stambha: pillar, or pilaster, with a *kumbha* design at the base and top.

Kumuda: white water-lily.

Kuṇḍala: earring.

Kuṇḍī: kind of small water-pot.

Kuṭhāra: hatchet.

Kuṭilā: creeper with long drawn wavy stalks.

Lakuṭa: club held by Lakulīśa.

Lalita: dance pose with the right leg raised though the toes remain on the ground.

Lalitāsana: relaxed seated pose with one leg pendent while the other is placed horizontally on the seat.

Liṅga: male generative organ; the phallic emblem of Śiva.

Mahārājalīlā: sitting posture of princely ease in which one knee is raised and often supports an arm while the other leg either hangs pendent or is placed horizontally on the seat as in *ardhaparyaṅka*.

Mahāvidyās: the ten different aspects of Parāśakti, the primeval Energy; they represent the various aspects and stages of spiritual knowledge and are frequently represented on Devī temples as *āvaraṇa-devatās*.

Mahāvihāra: great monastery.

Makara: legendary aquatic animal with the head of a crocodile, a small proboscis and the body of a fish.

Makara-kuṇḍala: earring shaped like a *makara*.

Makara-toraṇa: an arch (*toraṇa*) with a *makara* at the base on either side and usually a *kīrtimukha* at the apex.

Mali phula phaḍika: a broad band of scrollwork consisting of flowers framed by triangles of beads or lines.

Maṇḍala: mystic circle, single or multiple, or diagram in which a number of deities are visualized or their figures arrayed in a circle (or concentric circles) around the central deity; sphere of divinity; these diagrams may be rectangular as well as circular.

Maṇḍapa: hall in front of the main shrine; *jagamohana*.

Maṅgala: auspicious; lucky.

Maṇi: jewel; gem; one of the treasures of the *cakravartin*, it has a wide-spreading lustre which can remove the darkness of night.

Mantra: short mystic formula or symbols, often meaningless, which figures at the beginning and in the middle of a *dhāraṇī*, and is believed, when recited, to be most efficacious.

Maraṇa: death.

Mastaka: crowning elements above the spire or *gaṇḍi*.

Mātṛkās: mothers; the *śaktis* (female aspects) of certain gods.

Mātuluṅga: citron.

Mayūra: peacock.

Mekhalā: belt, waist ornament.

Mithuna: amorous couple in various degrees of intimacy. When they are engaged in sexual intercourse it is referred to as *maithuna*.

Modaka-pātra: bowl of sweets.

Mudgara: hammer.

Mudrā: symbolic hand gesture; ornaments of human bones.

Muhāṇṭi: projecting fillet at the base of mouldings.

Mukuṭa: crown; tiara.

Mūlasūtra: root part, unit of measurement governing proportions.

Muṇḍamālā: garland of skulls.

Muṇḍi: miniature temple carved on *pāgas* as decorative motifs.

Mūṣala: wooden pestle.

Nāga: serpent; fabulous creature with a human bust, serpent tail and a canopy of serpent hoods. Female counterpart is *nāgī*.

Nāga-keśara: a kind of tree (*Mesua ferrea, Mesua roxburghii*) bearing white flowers.

Nāga-pāśa: noose formed of serpents.

Nāga-stambha: pillar encircled by one or more serpents.

Nakula: mongoose.

Namaskāra-mudrā: gesture of prayer with hands at the breast in the devotional attitude; *añjali-mudrā*.

Nidhi: treasure.

Nigaḍa: chain.

Nīlotpala: blue lotus.

Nirvāṇa: release from rebirth; extinction of all worldly desires.

Noli: moulding with a semi-circular profile; torus.

Nūpura: anklet.

Nyāsa: placing of letters, syllables, words, etc., on different parts of the body.

Pābhāga: division corresponding to "foot"; a set of lowermost mouldings at the base of the temple; *pañcakarma*.

Padma: lotus of any colour except blue.

Padma-pṛṣṭha: profile in double curve with lotus-leaf designs.

Padmāsana: lotus seat.

Pāga: vertical projecting division running up the height of the temple; *ratha*.

Pallava: lush scrollwork with leaves spreading separately from one another, usually without a stalk.

Pañca-ratha: temple with five projecting *pāgas* on each side.

Pañcāgni-tapasyā: severe penance or austerities in which the individual is surrounded by four pots of fire, the blazing sun above constituting the fifth fire (*agni*).

Paraśu: battle-axe.

Parigha: iron club.

Pārśva-devatā: side deities; *devas* (deities) connected in doctrine with the main divinity of the temple, placed one on each side of the temple.

Paryaṅka: seat or couch.

Paryaṅkāsana: seated on a couch or a seat.

Pāśa: noose.

Paṭa: painting.

Pātra: bowl.

Pātra-kuṇḍala: circular earring.

Paṭṭa: flange, plain broad stone band.

Paṭṭi: narrow plain stone band; fillet.

Pheṇi: projecting profile curving upwards, cyma, often decorated with lotus petals.

Pīḍha: "wooden seat"; projecting members constituting the roof of a *pīḍha-deul.*

Pīḍha-deul: temple with a roof of *pīḍhas* aligned in steps forming a pyramidal silhouette.

Pīḍha-muṇḍi: miniature representation of the *pīḍha*-temple carved on the *pāgas* as a decorative motif.

Piśācas: "flesh-eaters"; goblins.

Pīṭha: base or plinth of temple beneath *pābhāga*; seat; a centre or place of worship; temple.

Prabhāvalī: a halo of light; aureole; also known as *prabhāmaṇḍala.*

Pradakṣiṇā: circumambulation path.

Prajñā: wisdom; knowledge; female spiritual consort of a Bodhisattva or a Tathāgata; *śakti, svābha-prajñā, vidyā, svābha-vidyā.*

Prajñāpāramitā: perfect wisdom; supreme knowledge.

Prakṛti: cosmic substance; the uncaused cause of phenomenal existence; nature.

Pralaya: dissolution; destruction of the cosmos at the end of a *kalpa.*

Pratyālīḍha: standing pose in which the left leg is outstretched while the right leg is slightly bent.

Preta: ghost; corpse; they have large stomachs, narrow mouths and exhale fire.

Pūjā: worship.

Pūrṇa-ghaṭa: jar overflowing with foliage; vase of plenty; cornucopia.

Puruṣa: Cosmic man; Cosmic spirit; the ultimate principle.

Puṣpa-kuṇḍala: flowered earring.

Pustaka: book.

Rāhā: centre vertical projection (*pāga*) on each side of the temple.

Raṅganī: flower ornament in small squares.

Ratha: a vertical projection on temple walls; *pāga*; temple car.

Ratna: jewel; gem.

Ratnopavīta: bejewelled *upavīta.*

Rekhā-deul: temple characterized by a curvilinear spire which presents the appearance of a continuous silhouette.

Rudrākṣa: stone of fruit used as beads in a rosary.

Ṛṣi: seer.

Sādhaka: spiritual aspirant.

Sādhana: "realization"; spiritual exercise; formula for the invocation of a deity.

Śakti: "energy", the supreme power, the creative principle, the goddess and source of existence. In Hinduism the female counterpart of a god.

Śālabhañjikā: woman-tree motif; a *yakṣī* embracing a tree and kicking it with her foot to bring it to immediate flowering.

Samabhaṅga: to stand straight without any bend in the body.

Samādhi: the final stage in the practice of yoga in which the practitioner, in deep meditation, becomes one with the object of meditation and attains release; the deepest form of abstract meditation.

Sandhi-sthala: wall portion connecting the *deul* (sanctum) with the *jagamohana.*

Saṅgha: the Buddhist community.

Śaṅkha: conch-shell.

Sāṅkhya: system of Hindu philosophy which enumerates the principles (*tattva*) of which Puruṣa and Prakṛti are the cause.

Sannyāsin: one who completely renounces the world; an ascetic.

Sapta-mātṛkās: the seven mothers.

Sapta-ratnas: the seven jewels.

Sapta-ratha: temple with seven *pāgas* on each side.

Śara: arrow.

Sarpa-kuṇḍala: an earring resembling the coils of a serpent.

Sarpa-yajñopavīta: serpent worn as a sacred thread.

Śāṭī: long unstitched cloth worn by Indian women. Secured at the waist, it hangs down to the lower part of the legs or ankles.

Śava: corpse.

Śava-sādhana: cemetery rituals involving a corpse.

Śava-vāhana: corpse vehicle.

Śavara: savage; mountaineer.

Siddha: a perfected being characterized by supernatural faculties.

Siddhi: a supernatural power or faculty.

Śikhaṇḍaka: mode of coiffure with three or five locks; *kākapakṣa.*

Śikṣādāna: motif of a guru instructing disciples.

Siṁhanāda: "with the voice of a lion"; seated on a roaring lion.

Siṁhāsana: seat with legs carved in the shape of a lion; lion as seat.

Siṁhavāhinī: seated on a lion.

Skandhas: cosmic elements. According to Buddhism, the world is composed of five *skandhas* or cosmic elements—*Rūpa* (form), *Vedanā* (sensation), *Samjñā* (name), *Saṁskāra* (conformation) and *Vijñāna* (consciousness).

Sparśa: touch, contact.

Śṛṅgāra: the erotic sentiment.

Śṛṅkhalā: chain.

Stambha: pillar; column.

Stūpa: "precious tower" to hold relics; a mound or a structure. The Buddhist *stūpas* are of four categories: (1) *śārīrika* (erected over corporeal relics); (2) *pāribhogika* (built over the objects used by Buddha); (3) *uddeśika* (commemorative of the events in Buddha's life); and (4) votive (erected by devotees for attaining religious merit).

Sūcī-hasta: hand pose with the extended index finger pointed down like a needle.

Sukhāsana: seated in any comfortable position.

Sukhāvatī: the Western Paradise of Amitābha; the last stage before *nirvāṇa.*

Śūla: trident; spear.

Śūnya: "void"; emptiness; a state of mind after *nirvāṇa*, about which neither existence, nor non-existence, nor a combination of the two, nor a negation of the two can be predicated. In Vajrayāna it is identified with Compassion (*karuṇā*) which transforms itself in the form of divinities, of the nature of *Śūnya*, for the welfare and happiness of men. In Vajrayāna it is the Prime Cause of all manifestations.

Sūtra: thread; manual of teaching; manual consisting of strings of aphoristic rules.

Tala-bandhana: lower stringcourse immediately above the *pābhāga.*

Tapas: the heat of asceticism.

Tapasvinī: a female practising *tapas.*

Tarjanī-mudrā: hand pose is which the extended forefinger points upward, frequently employed for warning or scolding.

Tathāgata(s): the highest epithet of a Buddha; Buddhas who have attained the highest state of perfection; directional Buddha(s).

Ṭiklī: ornament covering the parting of the hair and ending in a pendant falling over the forehead.

Tilaka: sacred mark on the forehead, made with sandal-paste, coloured earth, unguents, etc.

Tīrtha: holy place of pilgrimage.

Tomara: iron club.

Toraṇa: gateway in the form of an arch springing from two pillars; portal or entrance; decorative motif replacing halo on major divinities.

Tribhaṅga: standing pose in which the body has three bends.

Tridaṇḍa/tridaṇḍī: staff with three forks or branches; three staves tied together.

Tri-ratha: structure with three *pāgas* on each side.

Triratna: symbol indicating three jewels—Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha.*

Triśūla: trident.

Udara-bandha: band or belt for tying the belly.

Upavīta: sacred thread.

Upavītī: mode of wearing a sacred thread over the left shoulder and under the right arm.

Ūrdhvaliṅga: ithyphallic; erect *liṅga.*

Ūrṇā: circle of hair between eyebrows; tiny protuberance or mark between the eyebrows.

Uṣṇīṣa: turban; cranial protuberance; coping of a railing.

Utpala: blossom of *Nymphaea caerulea*; night lotus.

Uttarāsaṅga: cloth which covers the upper part of the body of Buddha and monks.

Uttarīya: cloth for the upper part of the body; scarf.

Vāhana: a conveyance; vehicle; mount.

Vajra: thunderbolt; diamond; that which is indestructible.

Vajra-ghaṇṭā: combined thunderbolt and bell; bell tipped by thunderbolt.

Vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā: *mudrā* in which wrists are crossed in front of the chest, the right hand holds a *vajra* and the left a bell.

Vajra-mastaka: prominent ornament on the *gaṇḍi* or spire consisting of *caitya*-medallions formed by pearls issuing from a *kīrtimukha* or lotus design at the apex.

Vajra muṇḍi: miniature replica of a shrine with a *vajra-mastaka* as its crowning element.

Vajrāṅkuśa: goad tipped with a *vajra*.

Vajraparyaṅka: seated pose with legs crossed and interlocked; *padmāsana*.

Vajra-pāśa: *vajra* combined with a noose; unyielding noose.

Vajraśṛṅkhalā: chain tipped with a *vajra*.

Vāmācāra: Tantric rites utilizing explicit sexual objects rather than symbolical substitutes.

Vāmāvarta: turning (from the right) to the left; lines winding spirally anticlockwise; hair curling anticlockwise.

Vanamālā: garland of woodflowers.

Vandanābhinayī-mudrā: hand posture expressing homage. In this *mudrā*, the right hand is raised with the palm outward and the fingers extended. Also known as *Buddhasmaraṇa*.

Varada-mudrā: hand pose indicative of charity or of bestowing boons. The arm is lowered and the open palm is turned outwards towards the observer with the fingers extended downward.

Vidyādhara: supernatural being who flies in the sky, usually carrying a garland.

Vihāra: monastery.

Vimānikā: small spire crowning the top of *pāga* designs.

Vīṇā: stringed musical instrument.

Viparīta rati: an inverse pose of sexual congress in which the female plays the role of the male, i.e., she is on top of the male; *puruṣāyita*.

Virāla: a rampant lion springing on a crouchant elephant or demon.

Viśvapadma: lotus seat with petals in both upper and lower directions; double lotus.

Viśvavajra: double *vajra*; cross-shaped thunderbolt with a set of three prongs in all the four cardinal directions.

Vitarka-mudrā: *mudrā* of argument or discussion. The right arm is bent, all fingers erect except either the index or the ring finger which touches the thumb so as to resemble a ring. The hand is extended forward with the palm outward.

Vyāghranakha: tiger-claw necklace.

Vyākhyāna-mudrā: hand posture expressing exposition of *dharma*. The right hand is raised, with the inner surface of the palm outwards, the thumb and the index finger joined at the tips and other fingers stretched.

Yab-yum: attitude of god in embrace with his Prajñā.

Yajñopavīta: sacred thread; *upavīta*.

Yakṣa: a demi-god associated with fertility, vegetation, etc., *yakṣī* is the female counterpart.

Yoga-paṭṭa: cloth tied around the legs to enable one to sit with the knees raised in a meditative pose.

Yoginī: ogress or sorceress; attendant of Durgā; subsidiary feminine deity.

Yoni: female organ of generation.

Yoni-paṭṭa: "female" pedestal in which the Śiva-*liṅga* is inserted; *argha-paṭṭa*.

Yūpa: sacrificial post.

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Fig. 150c. Lalitagiri: Maitreya; 74 by 32 inches. Set C. Late 8th century.

Fig. 151a. Lalitagiri: Lokeśvara; 87 by 38 inches. Set A. 9th century.

Fig. 151b. Lalitagiri: Lokeśvara; 35 1/2 by 29 3/4 inches (broken). Set B. 9th century.

Fig. 151c. Lalitagiri: Lokeśvara; 73 3/4 by 32 inches. Set C. Late 8th century.

Fig. 152a. Lalitagiri: Kṣitigarbha; 86 by 36 inches. Set A. 9th century.

Fig. 152b. Lalitagiri: Kṣitigarbha; 77 3/4 by 32 inches. Set B. 9th century.

Fig. 152c. Lalitagiri: Kṣitigarbha; 74 1/4 by 32 inches. Set C. Late 8th century.

Fig. 153a. Lalitagiri: Ākāśagarbha; 89 1/2 by 36 1/2 inches. Set A. 9th century (located at Mahāṅga).

Fig. 153b. Lalitagiri: Ākāśagarbha; 58 1/4 by 22 1/2 inches (broken). Set B. 9th century.

Fig. 154a. Lalitagiri: Vajrapāṇi: 78 by 36 1/2 inches (broken). Set A. 9th century (courtesy Indian Museum, Calcutta).

Fig. 154b. Lalitagiri: Vajrapāṇi; 73 1/2 by 28 1/2 inches (broken). Set B. 9th century.

Fig. 155a. Lalitagiri: Mañjuśrī; 75 by 35 inches (broken). Set A. 9th century.

Fig. 155b. Lalitagiri: Mañjuśrī; 71 3/4 by 27 inches (broken). Set B. 9th century.

Fig. 155c. Lalitagiri: Mañjuśrī; 75 by 30 1/2 inches. Set C. Late 8th century.

Fig. 156a. Lalitagiri: Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin; 83 by 39 inches. Set A. 9th century (courtesy Indian Museum, Calcutta).

Fig. 156b. Lalitagiri: Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin; 79 1/2 by 31 inches. Set B. 9th century.

Fig. 157. Lalitagiri: Ākāśagarbha; 57 1/2 by 29 inches. Set D. Late 8th century.

Fig. 185. Aragarh (Haripur): 3-headed, 4-armed Bodhisattva in *dhyāna-mudrā* (Vajrarāga Mañjuśrī?). 15 1/2 by 10 5/8 inches. Late 10th or early 11th century.

Fig. 186. Amaraprasādgarh: 3-headed, 6-armed Guhya-Mañjuvajra Mañjuśrī; 47 by 26 inches. 10th-11th century.

Fig. 187. Khaḍipadā: Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi; 52 by 22 3/4 inches. Late 8th century dedicatory inscription on back (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar).

Fig. 188. Ratnagiri: Monastery 1; Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi as attendant on Buddha in sanctum. 58 inches high. Second-half of 8th century.

Fig. 189a. Jājpur: S.D.O. compound; Avalokiteśvara. 197 by 62 inches (broken). Late 8th century.

Fig. 189b. Jājpur: S.D.O. compound; Avalokiteśvara; detail of head and torso.

Fig. 190. Udayagiri: rock-cut image of Avalokiteśvara; 71 1/2 by 31 inches. 8th century (photo by Sasanka Mohanty).

Fig. 191. Udayagiri: rock-cut image of Bodhisattva holding a *nīlotpala* (?); 66 1/2 by 28 inches. 8th century (photo by Sasanka Mohanty).

Fig. 192. Ganjam: Khandeśvara Mahādeva temple compound; 4-armed Avalokiteśvara flanked by Hayagrīva and 5 goddesses. 43 by 42 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 193. Kapila: Vajra-Mahākālī temple compound; Avalokiteśvara flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. 60 by 28 inches. 9th-10th century.

Fig. 194. Solaṁpur: Śānteśvarī Thākurāṇī compound; broken image of Avalokiteśvara; 9th-10th century.

Fig. 195. Singhapur: Nārāyaṇa temple compound; Avalokiteśvara. 48 by 28 inches (broken). 10th century (photo by B.K. Rath).

Fig. 196. Singhapur: Nārāyaṇa temple compound; Avalokiteśvara. 42 by 24 inches (broken). 10th century (photo by B.K. Rath).

Fig. 197. Badagada (Bhubaneswar): Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara; 54 by 30 inches (without head). 10th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar).

Fig. 198. Ayodhyā: Khuṭiā temple; Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara with Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara. 40 1/2 by 28 inches. Late 10th century.

Fig. 199. Ratnagiri: Monastery 1; Lokeśvara seated in *lalitāsana*. Second-half of 8th century.

Fig. 200. Vajragiri: Lokeśvara seated in *lalitāsana* with upside-down figure on back-slab; 17 1/2 by 12 1/2 inches. 8th century.

Fig. 201. Acutrajpur: Lokeśvara (bronze); 10 5/8 inches high. 10th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 242).

Fig. 202. Acutrajpur: Lokeśvara (bronze); 3 3/8 inches high. 11th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 302).

Fig. 203. Cuttack (?): Lokeśvara with Sudhanakumāra and Bhṛkuṭī on the pedestal and a Tathāgata Buddha at each upper corner of the back-slab; 35 inches high. 8th-9th century (courtesy Patna Museum, acc. no. 1357; copyright AIIS, Varanasi).

Fig. 204. Banpur: Dakṣaprajāpati temple compound; Lokeśvara with Sūcīmukha on the pedestal. 30 inches high. 10th-11th century.

Fig. 205. Balasore: Bāṇeśvara temple; Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana*. 8 by 5 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 206. Acutrajpur: Avalokiteśvara seated in *vajraparyaṅka* (bronze); 4 3/8 inches high. 9th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 267).

Fig. 207. Ratnagiri: *stūpa* no. 97; Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara holding a *kalpavṛkṣa* issuing from a *ghaṭa*. 10th century.

Fig. 231. Naṭara: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva; 54 by 21 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 232. Ratnagiri: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa; 34 by 16 1/2 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 233. Kendrapara: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva; 38 by 24 inches. 8th-9th century.

Fig. 234. Jājpur: Siddheśvara temple; Puruṣottama-Viṣṇu flanked by *cakra-puruṣa* and *gadā-devī*. 32 by 18 inches. 8th-9th century.

Fig. 235. Ratnagiri: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa flanked by a *preta* and Hayagrīva. 52 1/2 by 29 1/4 inches. Second-half of 8th century.

Fig. 236. Cuttack: Solapuamā compound; Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (from Udayagiri) flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva below and by Akṣobhya and Ratnasaṁbhava above. 56 by 27 inches. Early 9th century.

Fig. 237. Paradipgarh: Pareśvara temple; Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa flanked by Hayagrīva. 10-11th century.

Fig. 238. Paradipgarh: Lokanātha temple; Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa; 79 by 43 inches (pedestal partly buried). Late 8th century.

Fig. 239. Udayagiri: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa; 29 by 26 1/4 inches (broken). 7th-8th century.

Fig. 240. Ratnagiri: Temple 7; Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa flanked by Akṣobhya and Ratnasaṁbhava above. 47 1/2 by 35 inches. 8th-9th century.

Fig. 241. Kuruma: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa; 23 by 15 1/2 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 242. Baḍa-Tārā: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa; 22 1/2 by 14 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 243. Acutrajpur: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa (bronze); 5 1/8 inches high. 10th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 283).

Fig. 244. Avana: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa; 21 by 11 inches. 9th-10th century.

Fig. 245. Ratnagiri: Jaṭā-mukuṭa Lokeśvara/Mahākaruṇa flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī; 22 inches high. 10th-11th century (copyright ASI).

Fig. 246. Solaṁpur: Śānteśvarī Thākurāṇī compound; 4-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara seated in *lalitāsana*. 37 1/2 by 21 1/2 inches. Late 8th-early 9th century.

Fig. 247. Udayagiri (?): 4-armed Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva; 72 by 33 inches. 9th century (copyright Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Avery Brundage Collection).

Fig. 248. Udayagiri: 4-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara flanked by two goddesses above with Vajrapāṇi, 7 Mānuṣī Buddhas and Maitreya at the top; 68 by 48 inches (broken). 8th-9th century.

Fig. 249. Ratnagiri: 4-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva below and two goddesses above on broken section (one missing). 96 by 48 inches (with head). 8th-9th century.

Fig. 250. Ratnagiri: 4-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara flanked by Tārā, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī below and by two goddesses above (broken off). 87 1/2 by 58 inches (with head). 9th century.

Fig. 251. Ratnagiri: 4-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with Hayagrīva, flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī below and by Amitābha and Akṣobhya above. 76 by 37 1/4 inches. 8th-9th century.

Fig. 252. Ratnagiri: 4-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī below and by Akṣobhya and Amitābha above. 75 1/2 by 45 inches (top missing). 8th century.

Fig. 253. Udayagiri: 4-armed Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī below

and by two goddesses above with 7 Mānuṣī Buddhas flanked by Bodhisattvas at the top; 109 inches high. 9th century (courtesy Patna Museum; acc. no. 6589).

Fig. 278. Ratnagiri: 3-headed, 6-armed deity in *pratyālīḍha* on short-legged animal (Yamāri or Hayagrīva?); 39 1/2 by 23 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 279. Kuruma: 3-headed, multi-armed Yamāntaka standing on buffalo-mount; 60 by 27 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 280. Ratnagiri: 3-headed, 6-armed Mahākāla trampling two prostrate figures; 34 1/2 inches high. 10th century (courtesy Patna Museum; acc. no. 6506).

Fig. 281. Kasbā: Bāsulī Thākurāṇī shrine; 2-armed deity in *pratyālīḍha* on a corpse surrounded by 8 *yoginīs* (Mahākāla?). 37 by 20 1/4 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 282. Kapila: Vajra-Mahākālī temple; 2-armed Mahākāla in sanctum worshipped as Mahākālī. 11th century.

Fig. 283. Ratnagiri: Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā; 64 by 41 1/2 inches. Late 8th century.

Fig. 284. Ratnagiri: Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā; 57 1/2 inches high. Late 10th-early 11th century (courtesy Patna Museum, acc. no. 6502; copyright AIIS, Varanasi).

Fig. 285. Shergarh/Patana: Ugra-Tārā shrine; Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā. 48 by 25 inches. Late 11th-early 12th century (courtesy Sri S. Senapati).

Fig. 286. Ratnagiri: Tārā flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Ekajaṭā; 67 1/2 by 26 inches. 8th century (copyright Brooklyn Museum).

Fig. 287. Kaupur: Tārā flanked by Sudhanakumāra and Ekajaṭā; 58 by 21 inches. Late 9th-early 10th century.

Fig. 288. Solampur: Raghunātha temple; Sita-Tārā flanked by Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī and Mahāmāyūrī (?). 51 1/4 by 24 1/2 inches. Late 9th-early 10th century.

Fig. 289. Nāgaspur: Sāta Bhaunī shrine; Tārā dispensing prosperity. 44 by 22 inches. Late 11th century.

Fig. 290. Adasapur: Svapneśvara Mahādeva compound; Tārā dispensing prosperity. Late 11th-early 12th century.

Fig. 291. Acutrajpur: Tārā (bronze). 6 1/8 inches high. 9th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 278).

Fig. 292. Ratnagiri: Tārā; 20 inches high. 8th-9th century (courtesy Patna Museum, acc. no. 6504; copyright AIIS, Varanasi).

Fig. 293. Lalitagiri: Tārā; 55 by 28 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 294. Acutrajpur: Bālukeśvara temple; Tārā. 22 by 13 1/2 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 295. Khangara (Khaḍipadā): Tārā; 18 3/4 by 10 1/2 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 296. Ali (Aul): Lakṣmī-Varāha temple compound; Tārā. 44 by 26 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 297. Ayodhyā: Tārā; 30 1/2 by 14 1/2 inches. Late 10th century.

Fig. 298. Khiching: Tārā; late 10th-early 11th century (courtesy Baripada Museum).

Fig. 299. Acutrajpur: Tārā (bronze); 5 inches high. 8th-9th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 309).

Fig. 300. Paradipgarh: Lokanātha temple; Tārā. 13 1/2 by 7 inches. 11th century.

Fig. 301. Ratnagiri: Tārā or Ārya-Sarasvatī seated on a *simhāsana*; 32 3/4 by 27 inches (broken). 11th century.

Fig. 302. Bhubaneswar: Simhanāda-Tārā (?); late 11th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar).

Fig. 303. Dharmaśālā (Jaraka Crossing): seated Tārā (Tāriṇī) flanked by Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī (?) and Ekajaṭā; 24 by 13 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 304. Sundaragram: seated Tārā (Vilāsunī); 29 1/2 by 14 1/2 inches. 11th century.

Fig. 305. Banpur: Tikirai temple; Khadiravaṇī Tārā with five Tathāgata Buddhas at the top and a *preta* at the base. 85 1/2 by 45 inches. 10th century.

half of 11th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar).

Fig. 329. Nāgaspur: Sāta Bhaunī shrine; Prajñāpāramitā. 26 1/4 by 16 inches. Late 11th century.

Fig. 330. Ratnagiri: *stūpa* no. 226 (south niche); 4-armed Cundā. 9th century.

Fig. 331. Acutrajpur: 4-armed Cundā (bronze); 4 1/2 inches high. 8th-9th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 253).

Fig. 332. Acutrajpur: 6-armed Cundā (bronze); 9 3/4 inches high. 9th-10th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 270).

Fig. 333. Bhubaneswar: 8-armed Cundā with a female companion at each corner of the pedestal; 23 inches wide. 9th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar).

Fig. 334. Udayagiri? 12-armed Cundā with Ārya-Sarasvatī and Ekajaṭā on the pedestal while Akṣobhya is at the top flanked by a Bodhisattva on each side; 56 1/2 inches high. 8th-9th century (courtesy Patna Museum, acc. no. 6500; copyright AIIS, Varanasi).

Fig. 335. Ratnagiri: Uṣṇīṣavijayā seated in *sattvaparyaṅka*; 9 1/2 by 6 1/4 inches. Late 10th-early 11th century (copyright ASI).

Fig. 336. Talcher: Paścimeśvara temple compound; 4-armed Bhṛkuṭī. 10th-11th century.

Fig. 337. Tuṇḍurā: Pañcāgni-tapasyā Pārvatī; 15 by 8 3/4 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 338. Acutrajpur: Bhṛkuṭī (bronze); 13 1/2 inches high. 10th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 274).

Fig. 339. Acutrajpur: Bhṛkuṭī seated above an *alasā-kanyā* adjusting anklets (bronze); 11 3/4 inches high. 10th-11th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 271).

Fig. 340. Ratnagiri: 2-armed female deity with four flanking goddesses; 19 1/2 by 13 1/2 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 341. Acutrajpur: 6-armed goddess seated in *vajraparyaṅka* (bronze); 4 3/8 inches high. 9th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 284).

Fig. 342. Kupāri: 3-headed, 8-armed female deity. 10th century.

Fig. 343. Gareḍipañcana: Buddhanātha Śiva temple compound; 3-headed, 8-armed female deity (worshipped as Durgā) seated in *vajraparyaṅka*. 34 by 18 inches. 11th century.

Fig. 344. Dondua-maṭha: 6/8-armed female deity in *vajraparyaṅka* on broken pedestal with Acala attacking Māra; 23 1/2 by 16 inches (with pedestal). 10th century.

Fig. 345. Baḍa-Tārā: 4-armed female deity (Kurukullā?) in *sattvaparyaṅka* with Hayagrīva on the pedestal; 42 1/2 by 23 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 346. Lalitagiri: Aparājitā; 68 1/4 by 29 3/4 inches. 8th-9th century.

Fig. 347. Udayagiri: headless image of Aparājitā; 28 by 26 inches. Mid-8th century.

Fig. 348. Ratnagiri: Tārodbhava Kurukullā in monolithic *stūpa*; 10th century.

Fig. 349. Udayagiri: rock-cut image of Tārodbhava-Kurukullā; 35 1/4 by 24 1/2 inches. 8th century (photo by Sasanka Mohanty).

Fig. 350. Acutrajpur: Uḍḍiyāna Kurukullā (bronze); 4 1/4 inches high. 11th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 281).

Fig. 351. Chaudar: Vajravārāhī/Vajrayoginī (?); 14 3/4 by 8 inches. 11th century (copyright ASI).

Fig. 352. Dharmaśālā: Vajrayoginī/Ḍākinī (?); 38 by 20 inches. Late 10th-early 11th century.

Fig. 353. Kapila: Vajra-Mahākālī temple; *ḍākinī* striding over a corpse. 11th century.

Fig. 354. Hirapur: Chauṣaṭ Yoginī-*pīṭha*; Kātyāyinī No. 9. 30 by 17 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 382. Sālihuṇḍaṁ (A.P.): Mārīcī; detail of charioteer and chariot pulled by 7 horses. 10th century.

Fig. 383. Caurāsi: Vārāhī temple; Sūrya; detail of chariot pulled by 7 horses. 10th century.

Fig. 384. Ayodhyā: Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī; detail of chariot pulled by 7 sows. Late 10th century.

Fig. 385. Rāmacaṇḍī: Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī; detail of chariot pulled by 7 sows. Second-half of 11th century.

Fig. 386. Tārāpur: Saṁkṣipta-Mārīcī; detail of chariot pulled by 7 sows. 11th century.

Fig. 387. Mārīcīpur: Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī; charioteer. 11th century.

Fig. 388. Mārīcīpur: *dvārapāla.*

Fig. 389. Ratnagiri: Monastery No. 1; Jambhala. 19 by 11 inches. Second-half of 8th century.

Fig. 390. Ratnagiri: Pāñcika/Jambhala; 28 by 19 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 391. Ratnagiri: Jambhala (bronze); 6 3/8 inches high. 9th-10th century (copyright ASI).

Fig. 392. Acutrajpur: Jambhala (bronze); 6 1/4 inches high. 9th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; acc. no. 261).

Fig. 393. Lalitagiri: Jambhala; 36 by 19 3/4 inches. 8th-9th century.

Fig. 394. Udayagiri: Jambhala; 40 1/2 by 25 1/4 inches. Mid-8th century.

Fig. 395. Baḍa-Tārā: Jambhala; 22 by 13 1/2 inches. 10th century.

Fig. 396. Ratnagiri: Jambhala and Vasudhārā accompanied by Mañjuvara; 10 by 7 7/8 inches. 10th-11th century (copyright ASI).

Fig. 397. Ratnagiri: Hāritī; 28 by 18 inches. 9th century.

Fig. 398. Lalitagiri: Hāritī; 35 by 23 1/4 inches. 8th-9th century.

Fig. 399. Ratnagiri: Vasudhārā; 25 1/2 inches high. 9th century (copyright ASI).

Fig. 400. Ratnagiri: Vasudhārā; 30 1/2 inches high. Late 8th-early 9th century.

Fig. 401. Balasore: Bāṇeśvara temple; Kauberī. 15 1/2 by 8 inches. 13th century.

Fig. 402. Khiching: Vasudhārā; early 10th century.

Fig. 403. Lalitagiri: female attendant of Samantabhadra holding a jewel; Set A. 9th century. See fig. 149a.

Fig. 404. Lalitagiri: female attendant of Samantabhadra holding a sword; Set A. 9th century. See fig. 149a.

Fig. 405. Lalitagiri: female attendant of Maitreya holding a flower; Set A. 9th century. See fig. 150a.

Fig. 406. Lalitagiri: stout attendant of Ākāśagarbha holding a jewel in front of the chest. Set B. 9th century. See fig. 153b.

Fig. 407. Ratnagiri: emaciated *preta* receiving boon from 4-armed Vajrapāṇi. Second-half of 8th century. See fig. 263.

Fig. 408. Lalitagiri: emaciated attendant of Ākāśagarbha holding a jewel and a rosary. Set D. Late 8th century. See fig. 157.

Fig. 409. Ratnagiri: Bhṛkuṭī seated in *vajraparyaṅka* as companion of 4-armed Amoghapāśa. 8th century. See fig. 252.

Fig. 410. Bhubaneswar: Bhṛkuṭī as companion of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara with a *preta* attempting to chop down the *kalpavṛkṣa*; 10th century. See fig. 197 (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar).

Fig. 411. Ratnagiri: 2-armed Hayagrīva as companion of 4-armed Amoghapāśa-Lokeśvara. 9th century. See fig. 249.

Fig. 438. Kualo: Kanakeśvara Śiva temple; sanctum doorframe. 9th century.
Fig. 439. Śukleśvara: Maṇikeśvara Śiva temple; *gelaba* scroll. 9th century.
Fig. 440. Kualo: Kanakeśvara Śiva temple; *gelaba, ratikera* and *dhanu-ganthi* scrollwork. 9th century.
Fig. 441. Ratnagiri: Monastery 1; *gelaba* scroll. Second-half of 8th century.
Fig. 442. Bhubaneswar: Tāleśvara temple; *ratikera* scrollwork. 8th century.
Fig. 443. Bhubaneswar: Śiśireśvara temple; *ratikera* scrollwork. Third-quarter of 8th century.
Fig. 444. Ratnagiri: detached door jamb; *kuṭilā, ratikera* and *kuṭilā* scrollwork. 8th century.
Fig. 445. Ratnagiri: Monastery 2; detail of jambs from porch doorframe. 7th century. See fig. 447.
Fig. 446. Bhubaneswar: Paraśurāmeśvara temple; window grille from west end of *jagamohana.* 7th century.
Fig. 447. Ratnagiri: Monastery 2; door jambs of porch doorframe. 7th century.
Fig. 448. Udayagiri: *dvārapāla* and *nāga* at base of door jambs; 8th century (courtesy Patna Museum, acc. nos. 6495-97).
Fig. 449. Ratnagiri: Monastery 2; lintel of porch doorframe. 7th century.
Fig. 450. Ratnagiri: detached lintel with *mithuna*; 10th century.
Fig. 451. Udayagiri: lintel of sanctum doorframe of excavated monastery with Buddha flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi; mid-8th century.
Fig. 452. Bhubaneswar: Śiśireśvara temple; *dvārapāla* and *nāga* on sanctum doorframe. Third-quarter of 8th century.
Fig. 453. Ratnagiri: Monastery 1; *nāga* at base of recess on rear wall of front porch. Second-half of 8th century.
Fig. 454. Udayagiri: *nāga* and *nāgī* in niche at base of door jamb; 8th century (courtesy Patna Museum, acc. nos. 6495-97).
Fig. 455. Ratnagiri: Monastery 1; Period II facade. *Nāga-stambha* at the base of the recess.
Fig. 456. Udayagiri: door jambs with scroll motifs and *mithunas*; 8th century (courtesy Patna Museum, acc. nos. 6495-97).
Fig. 457. Udayagiri: door jambs with *gelaba* and *kuṭilā* scrollwork; 8th century (courtesy Patna Museum, acc. nos. 6495-97).
Fig. 458. Lalitagiri: door jambs with *dvārapāla* and river goddess. 7th century.
Fig. 459. Udayagiri: monastery sanctum door jambs; mid-8th century.
Fig. 460. Lalitagiri: Monastery 3; *kumbha-stambha.* 6th-7th century.
Fig. 461. Lalitagiri: window grille from apsidal shrine; 31 by 31 inches. 2nd-3rd century.
Fig. 462. Jharapada (Bhubaneswar): Avalokiteśvara; 78 by 42 inches (broken). Late 10th-early 11th century (courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar).
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ISBN 81-7017-375-2



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